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VOLUME VI.

King Henry the Eighth.

PART V.

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THIRD COMMISSION

FOR

PRINTING AND PUBLISHING STATE PAPERS.

14*th December* 1837.

VICTORIA R.

VICTORIA, by the Grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland Queen, Defender of the Faith, &c., to Our right trusty and welbeloved Councillor Henry Hobhouse; Our right trusty and welbeloved Councillor John Russell (commonly called Lord John Russell), one of Our Principal Secretaries of State, or Our Principal Secretary of State for the Home Department for the time being; Our right trusty and welbeloved Cousin and Councillor Henry John Viscount Palmerston, one of Our Principal Secretaries of State, or Our Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs for the time being; and Our trusty and welbeloved Philip Henry Stanhope, Esquire (commonly called Viscount Mahon); Henry Hallam, Esquire; and John Allen, Esquire; Greeting. Whereas Our Royal predecessor, King WILLIAM the Fourth, did, by His Royal Sign Manual, bearing date the fourteenth day of September, in the first year of His reign, appoint His right trusty and welbeloved Councillors Charles Manners Sutton, Sir Robert Peel, Baronet (then one of His said late Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State), Charles Watkin Williams Wynn, and John Wilson Croker, together with you the said Henry Hobhouse, to be His Majesty's Commissioners for printing and publishing State Papers: And whereas the said Commission has expired by reason of the demise of His said late Majesty: Now know ye that We, being sensible of the public advantage which has resulted from the said Commission, and having great confidence in your Learning, Fidelity, and Discretion, do hereby authorize and empower you the said Henry Hobhouse, John Russell (commonly called Lord John Russell) or Our Principal Secretary

Secretary of State for the Home Department for the time being, Henry John Viscount Palmerston or Our Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs for the time being, Philip Henry Stanhope (commonly called Viscount Mahon), Henry Hallam, and John Allen, or any three or more of you, to proceed in the execution of the said Commission, and to examine the Papers deposited in the Office of Our Keeper and Register of Our Papers and Records, and to consider which of them may be fitly printed and published with advantage to the Public, and without prejudice to Our Service, and to cause such of them to be printed and published, and in such manner and style, as have been approved by the Commissioners of the Treasury of His said late Majesty, or shall be approved by the Commissioners of Our Treasury for the time being. Given at Our Court at St. James's, the fourteenth day of December, 1837, in the first year of Our Reign.

By Her Majesty's Command,

J. RUSSELL.

FOURTH COMMISSION

FOR

PRINTING AND PUBLISHING STATE PAPERS.

25*th January* 1840.

VICTORIA R.

VICTORIA, by the Grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland Queen, Defender of the Faith, &c., to Our right trusty and welbeloved Councillor Henry Hobhouse; Our right trusty and welbeloved Councillor John Russell (commonly called Lord John Russell), one of Our Principal Secretaries of State; Our right trusty and welbeloved Cousin and Councillor Henry John Viscount Palmerston, one of Our Principal Secretaries of State, or our Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs for the time being; Our right trusty and entirely beloved Cousin and Councillor Constantine Henry Marquess of Normanby, one of Our Principal Secretaries of State, or Our Principal Secretary of State for the Home Department for the time being; Our right trusty and welbeloved Councillor Thomas Lord Monteagle; and Our trusty and welbeloved Philip Henry Stanhope, Esquire (commonly called Viscount Mahon); Henry Hallam, Esquire; and John Allen, Esquire, Greeting. Whereas We did, by Our Commission, under Our Royal Sign Manual, bearing date the fourteenth day of December 1837, appoint you the said Henry Hobhouse; John Russell (commonly called Lord John Russell), Henry Viscount Palmerston, Philip Henry Stanhope (commonly called Viscount Mahon), Henry Hallam, and John Allen, to be Our Commissioners for printing and publishing State Papers: Now know ye that We have revoked and determined, and do by these Presents revoke and determine, the said Commission, and every article and thing therein contained; and know ye further, that We, being sensible of the public advantage which has resulted from the said Commission, and having

having great confidence in your Learning, Fidelity, and Discretion, have nominated and appointed, and do by these Presents nominate and appoint, you the said Henry Hobhouse, John Russell (commonly called Lord John Russell), Henry John Viscount Palmerston, or Our Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs for the time being, Constantine Henry Marquess of Normanby, or Our Principal Secretary of State for the Home Department for the time being, Thomas Lord Monteagle, Philip Henry Stanhope (commonly called Viscount Mahon), Henry Hallam, and John Allen, to be Our Commissioners for printing and publishing State Papers; and We do hereby authorize and empower you, or any three or more of you, to proceed in the execution of the said Commission, and to examine the Papers deposited in the Office of Our Keeper and Register of Our Papers and Records, and to consider which of them may be fitly printed and published with advantage to the Public, and without prejudice to Our Service, and to cause such of them to be printed and published, and in such manner and style, as shall be approved by the Commissioners of Our Treasury for the time being.

And We do also hereby further authorize and empower you, or any three or more of you, to print and publish Calendars of the Principal Contents or of the Heads of the Contents of the Papers deposited in the said Office.

Given at Our Court at St. James's, the twenty-fifth day of January, 1840, in the third year of Our Reign.

By Her Majesty's Command,

NORMANBY.

FIFTH COMMISSION

FOR

PRINTING AND PUBLISHING STATE PAPERS.

9th July 1842.

VICTORIA R.

VICTORIA, by the Grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland Queen, Defender of the Faith, &c., to Our right trusty and welbeloved Councillor Henry Hobhouse; Our right trusty and right welbeloved Cousin and Councillor George Earl of Aberdeen, one of Our Principal Secretaries of State, or Our Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs for the time being; Our right trusty and welbeloved Councillor John Russell (commonly called Lord John Russell); Our right trusty and welbeloved Cousin and Councillor Charles Viscount Canterbury; Our trusty and welbeloved Philip Henry Stanhope, Esquire (commonly called Viscount Mahon); Our right trusty and welbeloved Councillor Thomas Lord Monteagle; Our right trusty and welbeloved Councillor Sir Robert Peel, Baronet, First Commissioner of Our Treasury; Our right trusty and welbeloved Councillor Sir James Robert George Graham, Baronet, One of Our Principal Secretaries of State, or Our Principal Secretary of State for the Home Department for the time being; Our right trusty and welbeloved Councillors Charles Watkin Williams Wynn and John Wilson Croker; and Our trusty and welbeloved Henry Hallam and John Allen, Esquires, Greeting. Whereas We did, by Our Commission, under Our Royal Sign Manual, bearing date the twenty-fifth day of January 1840, appoint you the said Henry Hobhouse, John Russell (commonly called Lord John Russell), Thomas Lord Monteagle, Philip Henry Stanhope (commonly called Viscount Mahon), Henry Hallam, and John Allen, together with Our right trusty and welbeloved Cousin and Councillor Henry John Viscount Palmerston, then one of Our Principal Secretaries of State, or Our Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs for the Time being,

and Our right trusty and entirely beloved Cousin and Councillor Constantine Henry Marquess of Normanby, then one of Our Principal Secretaries of State, or Our Principal Secretary of State for the Home Department for the time being, to be our Commissioners for printing and publishing State Papers: Now know ye that We have revoked and determined, and do by these Presents revoke and determine, the said Commission, and every article and thing therein contained; and know ye further, that We, being sensible of the public advantage which has resulted from the said Commission, and having great confidence in your Learning, Fidelity, and Discretion, have nominated and appointed, and do by these Presents nominate and appoint, you the said Henry Hobhouse, George Earl of Aberdeen, or Our Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs for the time being, John Russell (commonly called Lord John Russell), Charles Viscount Canterbury, Philip Henry Stanhope, Esquire (commonly called Viscount Mahon), Thomas Lord Monteagle, Sir Robert Peel, Baronet, Sir James Robert George Graham, Baronet, or Our Principal Secretary of State for the Home Department for the time being, Charles Watkin Williams Wynn, John Wilson Croker, Henry Hallam, and John Allen, to be Our Commissioners for printing and publishing State Papers; and We do hereby authorize and empower you, or any three or more of you, to proceed in the execution of the said Commission, and to examine the Papers deposited in the Office of Our Keeper and Register of Our Papers and Records, and to consider which of them may be fitly printed and published with advantage to the Public, and without prejudice to Our Service, and to cause such of them to be printed and published, and in such manner and style, as shall be approved by the Commissioners of Our Treasury for the time being.

And We do also hereby further authorize and empower you, or any three or more of you, to print and publish Calendars of the Principal Contents or of the Heads of the Contents of the Papers deposited in the said Office.

Given at Our Court at St. James's, the ninth day of July, 1842, in the sixth year of Our Reign.

By Her Majesty's Command,

J. R. G. GRAHAM.

ORDERS.

AT a Board of Commissioners for printing and publishing State Papers, held at His Majesty's State Paper Office, on the 16th day of February, 1835;

PRESENT,

The Right Honorable Sir Charles Manners Sutton, G.C.B., Speaker of the House of Commons,
The Right Honorable John Wilson Croker,
The Right Honorable Henry Hobhouse;

Ordered,

That the Publication of the Correspondence between the Governments of England and the Governors of Calais and other English Dependencies in France be postponed, and that it be incorporated with the French Correspondence.

Robt Lemon, Secretary.

AT a Board of Commissioners for printing and publishing State Papers, held at His Majesty's State Paper Office, on the 16th day of March, 1837;

PRESENT,

The Right Honorable Sir Robert Peel, Bart.,
The Right Honorable Lord Viscount Canterbury,
The Right Honorable Charles W. W. Wynn,
The Right Honorable John Wilson Croker,
The Right Honorable Henry Hobhouse;

Ordered,

That all the Diplomatic Papers and Correspondence during the Reign of Henry VIII. between England and the Continental Powers be formed into one chronological series, and printed in the same manner and form as the former volumes.

Robt Lemon, Secretary.

STATE PAPERS.

King Henry the Eighth.

Part V.

FOREIGN CORRESPONDENCE.

1473—1527.

The Reader, who adverts to the General Preface, p. xxi., will be surprised that the Part, following that, which contains the Scottish Correspondence, should not contain that with Calais and it's dependencies; but in the Preface to Vol. IV. he will find an explanation of the reasons which have led to the union of those papers with the Correspondence with the Court of France, and it having been resolved, before the printing of the Foreign Papers was commenced, that all the Diplomatic Papers and Correspondence during the Reign of Henry VIII. between England and the Continental Powers should be formed into one chronological series, the Reader will find this resolution carried out in the six volumes now published as the Fifth Part of the Work.

It may be well to take this occasion of stating, with reference to the General Preface, that the Seventh Part, which was then intended to contain the miscellaneous papers, not falling under any of the previous heads, has been finally abandoned as wholly unnecessary.

It is proper here to explain the origin of a small number of documents printed in this and the seventh volumes by the description of Vatican Papers (See p. 459). They are selected from a collection consisting in the whole of thirty-five bundles, which were transcribed under the direction of the Abbate Marini, Archivista of Pope Leo XII., by the permission of His Holiness, which was obtained in 1826 by Mr. William Hamilton (who had been previously to that date Under Secretary of State for the Foreign Department), were

were deposited in 1829 in the State Paper Office, and from thence in 1843 and 1845 removed, by the Order of the Secretary of State, to the British Museum, where they now remain.

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30th June 1849.

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STATE PAPERS.

Part V.

I. King Edward IV. *to* Lord Hastings, &c.[1]

(*Signed*)

We wol that this signed with our hande be sufficient warrant to our Secretarie for our Signet, and to the Keper of our Prive Seal for our Prive Seal, and to oure Chaunceller for oure Great Seal, alle iij. seales to be sette unto the contrepane of the same.

Instructions yeven by the King owr Souverain Lorde, by thadvice of the Lordys of his Counseill, to the Lord Hastinges, his Chambrelain, and his Lieutenaunt of Caleyce, Sir John Scotte Marshall of Caleyce, Maister William Hatclyff Secretarye, and Maister John Russell oon of his Counseill, Ambassadeurs and Comissaries sent unto his brothre the Duc of Bourgoyne[2], with power sufficiant by the Kynges lettres patentes for thexecucion and spede of the matiers that folowyn.

First, aftir that thay be brought unto the presence of the saide Duc, and have made him reverence according, and presented the Kinges letters missives sent in that byhalf, they shall shew and open unto the saide Duc how that the King

[1] At the top: "Memorandum, quod 19 die Januarij anno regni Regis Edwardi 4ti. 12o. ista "billa liberata fuit Domino Cancellario Angliæ apud Westmonasterium, exequenda."

[2] Thomas Rotheram Bishop of Rochester Lord Privy Seal, Lord Hastings, Secretary Hatteclyffe, and Mr. Russell, were on the 29th of February 1472 appointed Ambassadors to treat with the Duke of Burgundy. Rymer, Vol. XI. p. 737. On the 4th of March the Lord Privy Seal (who was in the same month translated to Lincoln) and Hastings were omitted, and others added to Hatteclyffe and Russell. Ibid. 738. On the 20th of May Lord Hastings was restored, and Lord Howard added. Ibid. 778.

 hath

hath wele undrestande and remembred the grete matiers touching thonnour and wele of thaym bothe, which have now of late ripely be communede bitwix His Highnesse of that oon side and thErle of Wynchestre[1], Sir Guillaum de Rochfort, &c. and other his Ambassadeurs for the Duc of that othre side. And, forasmoche as the Kynges affection is and hath be gretly sette to thexpedicion and full perfourmyng of the same, he sent afore Maister William Hatteclyff to his saide brothre, and now adjoignyth to him othre his said Ambassadeurs at this tyme with power sufficiant auctorized and instructed to trete, ferther, appoincte, and conclude in alle the said matiers with the said Duc, or such as him shall like to depute in that partie. Wherupon thay shall desire the Duces pleasure to be sene, opened, and knowen, for the more spedy execucyon of alle the saide matiers.

Item, or they entre communicacion with such as the Duc wole depute, they shall understande by Maister William Hattclyff, how ferre he hath be with theym in communication afore, and according therunto to procede ferther, as shalbe thought to thair discrecions good and agreable to the Kinges entent and pleasure.

Item, of lesse than by thair wisdomes they can conclude with the Duc or his deputies to the Kinges more avauntage, wherunto they shall put thaym in thayr devoir, they shall in alle their communications and appoinctmentes dryve to and rest upon the matiers and articles that folowen, and passe, conclude, and seale with the Duc or his saide deputies in maner and forme comprised in the same. Notwithstonding, the King wele not so straictly arte thaym to the same wordes, but that other like, not varying theffect of the matier, or ells more to the Kinges avauntage, as is afore saide, they shall mow sette in write, and passe with by oon two or mo lettres, as to thaym and to the Duces Deputies it shalbe thought behouffull or convenient. The tenour of the saide matiers and articles is this that foloweth:

Universis et singulis presentes literas visuris vel audituris N. N. Oratores Comissarij et Procuratores Excellentissimi ac Potentissimi Principis Domini Edwardi Regis, &c. Salutem. Cum omnibus ex debito juris naturalis conveniat, principibus presertim, qui clarioris sanguinis prerogativa amplioribus solent donis atque graciis insigniri, celitus sibi collatas dotes atque beneficia non aspernari, sed in eis bonitatem clemenciam pietatemque Dei largitoris omnium reverenter admirari extollere et laudare; justissimum est sic quoslibet jura sua agnoscere prosequique, ut alio non occurrente remedio assumptis armis adversus tirannos et detentores viriliter studeant decertare. Sane inter omnia

[1] Louis de Brugges de la Greethuse. Rymer, Vol. XI. p. 765.

Christiani

Christiani orbis vulgatissima injuriosa facinora nullum temporibus nostris quotidianis attemptatis Lodowici Franciam occupantis par aut equum reperiri excogitari ve potest, qui et regaliam quam detinet injuste possidet multorum que principum pacem et successus prosperos plurimis dolis atque artibus impedit et disturbat. Cujus nempe iniquissimi potentatus exterminium preclaram Christiane rei publice unionem et concordiam pre se ferre protestari que videtur, tanquam qui solus ceterorum omnium litibus discordiam atque materiam seminat atque fovet. Hinc est quod quia duo potentissimi principes, quorum in hac re magis interest, dictus videlicet Serenissimus Rex Dominus noster supremus, fraterque suus Carolus Dux Bourgundie, &c. illustrissimus, suis confederatorumque suorum viribus consideratis, potentes sint per Dei gratiam, et summopere cupiant machinas atque dolos tanti hostis subvertere penitus et calcare, populumque pauperem armis et insidijs ipsius hactenus circumventum de manu hostili liberare, pacique et libertati restituere et donare: Nos igitur N. N. &c. animadvertentes necessarium fore ut preter et ultra ceteras quaslibet confederationes inter ipsum Dominum nostrum supremum Regem, ipsiusque fratrem Illustrissimum Ducem antedictum, temporibus retroactis sub quacunque verborum forma conceptas initas et contractas seu infuturum ineundas et contrahendas, et eis salvis speciales quedam intelligencie pactiones et conventiones pro premissis utilius conducendis de novo habeantur contrahantur et firmentur, de mandato et voluntate expressis ipsius Domini nostri Regis, ac virtute potestatis per suas literas patentes, quarum tenor infra inseritur, nobis attribute, cum honorabilibus et spectabilibus Dominis A. B. C., ipsius Illustrissimi Principis Ducis Commissarijs et Deputatis, potestate per literas ipsius patentes tenoris infra inserti ad infrascripta sufficienti fulsitis, appunctuavimus contraximus conclusimus et concordavimus, appunctuamus contrahimus concludimus et concordamus, pro et in nomine dicti Domini nostri Regis, articulos promissiones et conventiones qui sequuntur.

In primis appunctuatum contractum conclusum et concordatum existit, quod dictus Excellentissimus et Potentissimus Princeps Edwardus Rex, Dominus noster Supremus, se atque suos preparabit magnifice, prout decet, ad transfretandum in Normanniam seu partes Francie eidem vicinas in mense Aprilis, mense Maij, aut ad ultimum in mense Junij proxime futuris, sic que de facto cum exercitu pro conquestu faciendo in ipsis partibus, quatenus mare et ventus obtemperent, intra tempus hujusmodi trajiciet et descendet.

Item, quod ipso Domino nostro Rege sic trajiciente et descendente cum exercitu, ut prefertur, dictus Illustrissimus Princeps Carolus Dux Burgundie ipsius Domini nostri Regis partes, quoad jus et titulum corone Francie, amplexabitur per omnia et tenebit, juvabitque eundem Dominum nostrum

Regem ad conquestum Ducatuum suorum Normannie et Acquitannie, ipsiusque Regni et Corone Francie salvis terris libertatibus et prerogativis eidem Domino Duci inferius concordatis.

Item, quod tam Dominus Rex in Regno suo Anglie alijsque terris sibi subjectis, quam Dominus Dux in patrijs et locis sibi subditis, prefatum Lodowicum Francie communem utriusque ipsorum hostem declari faciet et solemniter publicari.

Item, quod ex nunc ipse Dominus Rex nichil cum ipso Lodowico aliquove alio coronam Francie adversus ipsum Dominum Regem suosve heredes detinente aut usurpante detenturove infuturum forsitan aut occupaturo tractabit, immo nec ipsius audiet oratores, nec ullum responsum literis illius dabit, dicto Domino Duce inconsulto, sed curabit diligenter ipsum eundem Ducem fratrem suum de singulis reddere certiorem, qui tum poterit deputare quos volet ad audiendum intelligendum et discuciendum quidquid hostis nomine afferetur, eritque ipsorum consensus in omnibus requisitus. Et, versa vice, ex nunc ipse Dominus Dux nichil cum ipso Lodowico aliquove alio coronam Francie adversus ipsum Dominum Regem suos ve heredes detinente aut usurpante detenturo ve infuturum forsitan aut occupaturo, tractabit, immo nec ipsius audiet oratores, nec ullum responsum literis illius dabit, dicto Domino Rege inconsulto, sed curabit diligenter ipsum eundem Regem fratrem suum de singulis reddere certiorem, qui tum poterit deputare quos volet ad audiendum intelligendum et discuciendum quidquid hostis nomine afferetur, eritque ipsorum consensus in omnibus requisitus.

Item, concordatum est et conclusum, quod ipse Illustrissimus Dominus Dux, pro auxilio suo quod faciet et impendet ipsi Domino Regi in conquestu supradicto, habebit tenebit et possidebit imperpetuum sibi et heredibus suis ex dono et concessione ipsius Domini Regis comitatum Campanie, aliasque terras patrias et dominia que in quadam scedula papirea nomine et nomine ipsius Ducis sub et supra signata seriatim annotantur, ita quod ad omne dubium removendum terre hujusmodi per situs locales et alias denominaciones specificas ut convenit exprimantur. Quas quidem terras simul et eas super riparia de Somma, quas idem Dux jam tenet in pignore, tenebit habebit et possidebit de cetero, jure hereditario, adeo liberas et exemptas sicut jam tenet aut tenere pretendit terras suas infra idem Regnum Francie sibi jure hereditario pertinentes. Super quibus omnibus Rex dabit et expediet seorsum literas suas patentes in forma valida et efficaci.

Item, quod post descensum ipsius Domini nostri Regis cum exercitu, ut prefertur, dictus Illustrissimus Dominus Dux serviet eidem Domino Regi per spacium unius anni extunc sequentis cum decem milibus armatorum, temporibus

continuis

continuis aut discontinuis, locisque et patrijs quibus eidem Domino Regi pro bono conquestus hujusmodi melius videbitur expedire, et extunc per alium seu alios annum aut annos, prout ipsi Domino Regi videbitur faciendum; ita tamen quod si post servicium alicujus anni per ipsum Dominum Ducem, ut premittitur, Domino Regi prestitum et impensum, cujus stipendia Dominus Rex non persolvit, idem Dominus Rex servicio ejusdem Domini Ducis iterum uti et gaudere voluerit, teneatur ab inicio de terris interim adquisitis supramemoratis, aut alijs casu quo valor supramemoratarum interim adquisitarum ad integra ipsius anni stipendia non sufficiat, eidem Domino Duci de et pro stipendijs dictorum armatorum anno sic elapso per ipsum solutis et supportatis eidem Domino Duci integram facere recompensam, sicque terras ipsas ad valorem et estimationem reddituum decennalium earundem idem Dux accipere teneatur.

Item, quod durante bello Gallicano adversus prefatum Lodowicum instituto et prosequendo, adjuvante Domino ut prefertur, uterque princeps ipsum communem hostem eciam in locis disunitis et separatis pro suis viribus omnifariam infestabit: ita omnino ut in articulo necessitatis, ubi videlicet hostis communis per se aut locum suum tenentem cum sua potencia unum magis quam alterum presserit, ipsum ve eundem hostem ab uno eorum forsitan obsessum teneri contigerit, in hijs et similibus casibus quociens ante finem guerre acciderint, teneatur alter, quam cito ab altero ad hoc fuerit requisitus, versus confederatum suum sic eum interpellantem se trahere, seque cum exercitu eciam proprio suo ere atque sumptu eidem adjungere, communem simul cum eo experturus fortunam.

Item, quod in toto hujus belli progressu quociens, alterutro principe absente et per suum locumtenentem bellum administrante, alterum adesse contigerit in persona, semper locum tenens absentis principi in persona bellum gerenti deferre parereque tenebitur in hijs omnibus que juxta premissa conductum ejus negocij concernere videbuntur.

Que omnia nos A. B. C. Oratores et Commissarij Domini Regis supradicti promittimus et pollicemur Dominum nostrum Regem per omnia quoad ipsum contingunt in forma predicta tenturum observaturum et perimpleturum, hasque presentes citra diem, &c. mensem, &c. proxime futurum ratificaturum approbaturum et confirmaturum per literas suas patentes, eidem Domino Duci assignandas pariter et tradendas.

Item, where in an article above wretyn it is agreid that the Duc shall have certayn londys and lordships, which be named and expressed in a byll signed of the Duces name above and bynethe, with his honde the verray copie of the same byll worde for worde is this that foloweth:

Charles. La Conte de Champaigne, celle de Nevers et de Rethell, et la Baronny de Douzy qui est a Conte de Nevers, la Conte de Eu qui est a loncle

dudict

dudict de Nevers, et est ledict de Nevers heretier dudict de Eu. La Conte de Guyse, et la Ville de Tournay, Bailliage et Pays de Tournef. Ces choses sont ja accordees quie vacan soct. . En oultre y est la Duchye de Bar, toutes les seigneuries et terres que le Connestable tient en Royaume de France. Langres et les appartenances. Le chastell ville terre et seigneurie de Pynguygny, que ceste annee jay a layde de Dieu gaignee dassault.

Item, que les terres de la Rivier de Somme que je tiens en gaigiere avec les seigneuries et parties dessusdictes soient donnees et transportees pour les tenir en telle condicion secont celles que de mon heritage je tiens presentement en Royaume. CHARLES.

Touching the which byll the Kynges saide Ambassadeurs shall fele and understonde the Duces pleasure, wherin it restith at this tyme; and, if by him or his Counseill be devised a minuit of a letter of transport and grante of alle the saide landes, &c. or part of thaym to be made unto him by the King, they shall take a deliberation therupon, and send or bring the same minuit over to be ripely seyn and understanded.

Item, where it hathe be comuned and agreyd that letters patentes made passed concluded and sealed upon the premissez, ther shuld be appoincted and concluded betwixt the King and the Duc a realle and perpetuelle alliance for thaym thair heires successours subgettes londes and lordshipps, under a certain forme theruppon devised and conceyved by the Kinges Counseill, wherof a minuit signed with the Kinges honde hath be delivered to Mr William Hatteclyff; the King wol that his saide Ambassadeurs passe and conclude with the Duc or his Deputies according to the intent and effect of the same minuit.

Item, considered that it hath also be spokyn that byside the same letter of perpetuell alliance, whan the parties have passen therwith, ther shuld be an othre letter conceyved of and uppon a specyall ayde and assistence, which that oo prince shuld be bounde to fynde to the othre in cas he were therunto laufully required, the King wol that his said Ambassadeurs, aftir that thay have passed with the saide perpetuell alliaunce, appoincte conclude and seal with the said Duc or his Deputies letters of assistence aftir thentent and effect folowing:

Universis et singulis, &c. N. N., &c. Oratores Commissarij et Procuratores Excellentissimi ac Potentissimi Principis Regis, &c. Salutem.

Cum dudum nos N. N., &c. virtute potestatis nobis per literas patentes Domini nostri Regis quarum tenor infra inseritur attribute, cum honorabilibus et spectabilibus dominis N. N., &c. Commissarijs Procuratoribus et Deputatis Illustrissimi Principis Domini Caroli Ducis Burgundie, &c. potestate sufficienti per ipsius literas patentes quarum tenor eciam infra inseritur fulsitis, pro et in nomine ipsius metuendissimi Domini nostri Regis quasdam confederacionem amiciciam

amiciciam et alliganciam reales et perpetuas inter ipsum Dominum nostrum Regem pro se suisque heredibus regnis terris patrijs dominijs vasallis ligeis atque subditis ex una parte, ac dictum potentissimum Principem Ducem pro se suisque heredibus terris patrijs dominijs vasallis atque subditis parte ex altera, iniverimus appunctuaverimus contraxerimus et concordaverimus sub certo tenore verborum, prout in literis nostris desuper confectis de dato die mensis, &c. anno instanti plenissime continetur. Sciatis quod ad majorem expedicioremque vim et effectum eorum que in literis predictis invicem appunctuata et concordata existunt, et ut aliquis certus et specificus modus auxilij et assistencie unius principis erga alterum, cum ad id alter ab altero fuerit debite requisitus, taxari limitari et imperpetuum inter se heredesque suos necessitate utilitate aut beneplacito alterutrius eorum id poscente observari et efficaciter adimpleri possit atque debeat, Nos N. N. &c. virtute potestatis nostre supramemorate cum dictis spectabilibus et honorabilibus Dominis N. N., &c. Commissarijs et Deputatis ejusdem Illustrissimi Ducis prefata sua potestate ad infra scripta sufficienti fulsitis quasdam limitationes declarationes promissiones et convenciones pro et in nomine dicti Domini nostri Regis inter ipsum suosque heredes ex una parte ac dictum Illustrissimum Ducem suosque heredes parte ex altera observandas tenendas perimplendas fecimus concordavimus et firmavimus, facimus concordamus et firmamus, sub eo qui sequitur contextu verborum, videlicet, quod quocienscunque dictorum Principum Regis atque Ducis suorumve heredum alter ab altero numerum armatorum ad bellum inferendum suscipiendumve efflagitare curaverit, id sibi facere licitum erit usque ad numerum quinque milium inclusive, tenebiturque interpellatus si bellum ad defensionem geratur tria milia armatorum proprio ere atque sumptu quoad bellum duraverit, alteri suo confederato id deposcenti, in eo casu mittere et prestare, et preterea armatorum milia duo expensis auxilium deposcentis. Quod si bellum non defensionis causa suscipitur, sed alias infertur, tenebitur interpellatus prebere milia armatorum quinque, quorum omnium stipendia ad eum pertinebunt qui auxilio uti volet. Qui quidem modus assistencie sive auxilij inter Regem atque Ducem predictos eorumque successores juxta distinctionem jam factam exigendi invicem et prestandi tunc primum locum habere incipiet et effectum, cum Normannia seu ampla ipsius aut regni Francie pars civitatibus opidis castris et fortalicijs bene munita additionem et obedientiam ipsius Domini Regis redacta fuerit et summissa. Quas quidem limitationes declarationes promissiones et convenciones Nos A. B. C. Oratores et Commissarij Domini Regis supradicti promittimus et pollicemur ipsum Dominum nostrum Regem per omnia in forma predicta tenturum observaturum et perimpleturum, hasque presentes citra diem, &c. mensem, &c. proxime futurum

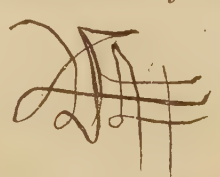
futurum ratificaturum approbaturum et confirmaturum per literas suas patentes eidem Domino Duci consignandas pariter et tradendas, quibuslibet alijs considerationibus pactionibus conventionibus alligancijs ligis et amicicijs inter dictos Regem atque Ducem suos ve oratores et deputatos ipsorum nomine hactenus contractis in omnibus semper salvis.

Item the said Ambassadeurs at any tyme that thay shall passe with seal and delyver the letters before rehersed or any of thaym, wherof is made mencion above, they shall receyve semblable letters of the Duces partie, wretyn collacioned and sealed by such as shalbe for his parte sufficiently auctorized, and the same letters bryng or sende surely to the Kyng.

Item forasmuch as Maister William Hattecliff hath with him many dyvers articles concernyng the premissez by way of instructions to him made by the King, His Highnesse wolle that his saide Ambassadours have a respecte to the same instructions, and endevoir thaym silf to folow that in the same, which may be most avantageous to the Kinges wele and prouffite. And in the same the King understandeth that if in cas above remembred ther shall hap to be assigned the Duc for contentation of a yerely soulde, or for part therof, landes othre than such as by the forsaide bylle the King hath to him accorded, the Duc shall have possede and enjoye the same landes unto the tyme he have of the prouffites and revenues of them perceyved and taken upp the somme or sommes wherfor the same landes were to hym assigned, the same landes incontinent theruppon to resorte unto the King and his assignees.

Item, the Kinges said Ambassadeurs shall by alle the reasons and moynes to theym semed convenient persuade the Duc to be content that the citee church and Archebisshopric of Reynes, where the Kinges of France have right to be sacred, and by thandes of the saide Archebisshopp, be reserved to the King and his successours, and excepted specially and by name fro the Duc in the letters of transport to him to be made as is aforeseide; and, if that can not be so largely agreed, than that they at the leste gete the Duces assent and writyng theruppon to be comprised in tharticles afore writen, that the King and his successours shall mow laufully and frely passe thidderward, entre abide and chalenge there to be sacred, and so retourne at thair pleasure, the said transport of Champaigne and othre landes before remembred by the Kyng made to the Duc notwithstanding.[1]

(*Signed*)



[1] Some words, which are now illegible or obscure in the original document in consequence of damage it has received, are supplied from a copy made in the time of Sir Joseph Williamson.

II. King Charles VIII. *to* King Henry VII.

Treshault et Trespuissant Prince, nostre trescher et tresame Cousin. Nous avons receu les lettres, que par nostre cher et bien ame Jehan Bon, porteur de cestes, Nous avez escriptes, et par luy avons sceu de voz bonnes nouvelles. Dont, si tresfort que faire povons, Vous remercions; aussi de ce que par vos dictes lettres Nous faites savoir touchant feu Seigneur Edouard de Wideville[1], qui se disoit Seigneur de Scalles. Car comme Vous avons escript par Jarretier, lequel aviez envoye devers Nous pour ceste cause, Nous savons certainement que lalee dudict feu de Scalles, et de voz subgectz, quil avoit menez avecques luy en Bretaigne, estoit sans vostre sceu et conge, et a vostre tresgrant desplaisance pour amour de Nous; et ny avons fait nulle doubte. Ausourplus, depuis que Vous avons derrenierement escript, par laide de Dieu et le service de noz bons et loyaulx subgectz, Nous avons gaingne la bataille contre les Bretons[2], et noz autres rebelles subgectz; aussi les villes et places de Dynan et Saint Malo ont este mises en nostre obeissance. Et, nonobstant toutes ces choses, avons fait paix avecques nostre cousin le Duc de Bretaigne, combien que ce Nous eussions voulu. Il estoit bien en Nous de mectre en noz mains le demeurant dudict pays de Bretaigne, et les places dicelluy; mais il Nous souffisoit seullement dasseurer pour le temps advenir le droit que Nous y pretendons, et en chasser noz rebelles subgectz, qui se estoient rethirez. Ainsi que le tout avons charge audit Jehan Bon Vous dire plus aulong. Et sil est chose que puissions faire pour Vous, en le Nous faisant savoir, lacomplirons de tresbon coeur.

Treshault et Trespuissant Prince, nostre
[*trescher et tresame Cousin.*] Donne a la R [2]9e jour dAoust.[3]

(*Signé*) Charles.

(*Contresigné*) Parent.

(*Suscrit*)
A treshault et trespuissant Prince, nostre trescher et tresame Cousin, le Roy dAngleterre.

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[1] Sir Edward Widville is said by Dugdale (Baronage, Vol. II. p. 231.) to have been brother to Richard the first Earl Rivers, and to have been called by some Lord Widville, but never to have received that title. To the barony of Scales he seems to have had no pretension. He was killed at St. Aubin.

[2] The battle of St. Aubin, fought 28th July 1488.

[3] As the peace between Charles VIII. and the Duke of Bretagne was made on the 20th of August, the date of this letter must have been the 29th. The Duke died on the 9th of September 1488.

III. DUCHESS OF BRETAGNE *to* THE GRAND MASTER AND ESQUIRE OF ENGLAND.

TRESCHERS cousins, et bons amis, nous recommandons bien cordiallement a vous. Veillez scavoir, que nous avons ouy, par nostre Chancelier[1] et autres que avions envoie vers vous, le raport de la responce par vous leur faicte sur la charge que leur avions donne; aussi avons receu voz lettres, datees du traziesme jour de ce moys, responsives de ce que vous avions escript et fait savoir par le Sieur Delxsault.

Treschers cousins et bons amis, vous scavez que sur la continuation de la guerre, estante en nostre pays par la rebellion et desobeissance de pluseurs noz subgetz, esperante en mon treshonnoure Seigneur cousin et pere, le Roy vostre maistre, avions vers luy envoie luy remonstrer noz necessitez et affaires, le priant et requerant que son plaisir fust de nous donner secours; lequel, en obtemperant a la priere par nous ainsi faicte, a este son plaisir nous envoier le bon et grant secours, que soubz voz charges et compaignies avez amenez, dont a james a luy et vous nous suymes tenue. Et comme a ceulx de qui avons tousjours desire avoir lavis et conseil dempuis vostre destence, vous avons fait communicquer noz espiciaulx et principaulx affaires; et, entre autres choses, les entreprinses sur noz monnoyes finances et auctorite souvraine sur noz serviteurs, des grans tors, oultrages, violences, rebellions, et desobeissances, nous faictes et portees par le Sire De Rieux. Avecques que vous avons requis nous tenir la main forte vers ledit Sire, au recouvrement de nostre ville de Nantes, en laquelle ledit Sire De Rieux tient le Sire DAlbret, et autres ses adherez contre nostre voulloir, et nous en fait reffus, coume plusaplain par la desclaration que vous a faicte nostredict Chancelier, et autres dessurdicts, que mesmes par la rescription que avez eue par le Sieur Delxsault, est bien amplement contenu. Sur quoy avons veu vues instrucions, et escript de la responce par vous baillee a nostredict Chancelier et autres par nous vous envoiez; par lesquelles est contenu le reffus dudit De Rieux de nous rendre nostredicte ville, ou de mectre pour la seurte et garde dicelle deux cents Bretons et deux cents Engloys, et den faire vuider ledict Sire DAlbret, et autres avecques luy adherez, neantmoinz les offres de nous faictes de bien trecter, et entretenir en estat, offices et pencions en toute bonne seurte, lesdicts

[1] Philip de Montauban, Seigneur de Sens.

DAlbret,

DAlbret, De Rieux, Comminge, et autres estans ouecques eulx, sens y faire roture.

Mesmes de lexcuse de la contrainte sur ledict De Rieux, obstant la rescription et seurte que disiez ledict De Rieux avoir de vous.

Quelles choses a merveilles nous trouvons fort estranges, et que de vostre sceu ne en voz Princes ait celuy De Rieux prins hardement, et povair de mectre les mains en pluseurs noz officiers, gens de finances, leurs clercs et deputez, destituez et instituez plusieurs des gens de noz finances, fait empescher la publication et execution de noz mandemens et ordonnances avisez par nous en nostre conseill, et que ne lavez contrainct a nous rendre nostredicte ville, veu la requeste et soumation vous faicte par nostredict Chancelier, et comme envoiez du Roy vostre maistre, au quel fuymes aliee. Mesmes la promesse et submission dudict De Rieux vous faicte destre fait pugnir capitallement, en deffault de nous rendre nostredicte ville, ainsi que par le Sieur De Maupertuys et le Docteur nous a este dit, et bien amplement raporte.

Et combien que en communicquant de cestes matieres avecques entre vous fut fait quelque ouverture touchant lesdictes finances, neantmoinz laquelle, et que la responce et avis dempuix ait este envoiee par le Sennechal de Vennes audict De Rieux; avons este par pluseurs advertie, quil na lesse la prinse de nostre Tresorier des Guerres, et pluseurs clercs et commis a lever noz finances, et envoie gens darmes chevaucher par my le pays, qui ont prins pluseurs des gens darmes et archiers de noz ordonnaires, que avions ordonne acompaigner nostredict Tresorier des Guerres. Et quelz, apres lavoir conduict, estoint en leurs maisons, et dempuis le partement davecques vous de nostredict Chancelier, a fait prandre aussi aucuns des archiers de nostre garde, et fait mectre en basse fosse, et si continue ledict De Rieux a dire, faire dire, et semer pluseurs erreurs et parolles non vroyes de noz cousins le Prince d Orenge, et Comte de Dunoys, et dautres noz bons et loiaulx subgetz, quelz vertueusement en bonne loiaulte nous ont tousjours serviz. Tendant ledict Sire repudier, scandaliser, et mectre en haigne, nosdicts cousins et serviteurs en la generalite du pays, pour les mectre en danger, ou faire despiter adceque deulx par desplaisir ou autrement soions abandonnee pour plus facillement et aisement parvenir a ses mauvaises fins, et nous mectre en ses mains. Ce que pour nulle chose nous ne souffrirons, veu que ledict De Rieux a prins le hardement de mectre en nous la main, et par force nous oste les anneaulx, pour les bailler audit D Albret; tendant oluy nous marier, et que uncores poursuyt et porte faveur audict D Albret, que par son moien espoire nous avoir et recouvrer.

Bien scavons que, entre les autres mauvaises parolles que vous a portees et dit en pluseurs lieux celuy De Rieux de nosdicts cousins, vous a remonstre

que nosdicts cousins estoint subgetz du Roy de France, parquoy a bonne cause devoint de vous estre tins suspectz, et non luy qui se disoit Breton, aiant son bien en nostre pays.

Treschers Cousins, pour bien vous faire entendre la loyaulte par experiance monstree, estil que mondict Seigneur et Pere party de sa ville de Vennes, son armee rompue et dispersee en pluseurs pars, luy retire, et chace en sa ville de Nantes par les Francoys, ledict De Rieux ovecques eulx; lesquelz il avoit mis en ce pais et Duche. Et a celle ocasion y ont tousjours dempuix continue, et y sont encore a present; et en leurdicte compaignie a bien 35000 combatans suyvy mondict Seigneur, et le assiege en sadicte ville de Nantes, et nous ovecques luy; et que en iceluy siege, pour plus tourmenter la ville, et deffendans dicelle, ont si grant habundance de trect de pouldre, quil fut despence a cause de ladicte artillerie a plus de 1200 mil frans, et que par le Seigneur de Comminge fut entreprins, et granment inportune faire vuider mondict feu Seigneur a se mectre sur mer, et tout habandonnez, fusmes deffenduz, gardez, et preservez par la bonne conduicte de nostredict cousin le Prince d Orange, jaczoit quon luy offreist par meuble quatre cents mil escuz, et par heritage a plus de saixante mil livres de rente, de quoy mondict Seigneur nous et pluseurs autres par plaine prouve fusmes a certain infourmez. Au secours de quoy nostredict Cousin de Dunoys, nostredict Chancelier, le Seigneur de la Hunaudaye, et autres bons personnages estans ovecques luy Lieutenant General de feu mondict Seigneur, mena pour lever ledict siege denviron 25000 personnes, dont y avoit en soulde plus de 19700, quieulx par avant partir les avoint fait poier et souldoier pour le temps de deux moys. Et dempuis ont nosdicts cousins et serviteurs es adversitez et fortunes sourvenuz a feu mondict Seigneur et a nous, tant en bataille, vendicions de leurs biens et heritages, emploiement de leurs amis et creditz, pour recouvrer finances a la soustenance et entretenement de la guerre, et deffence de mondict Seigneur et de nous continue par toutes voyes et moyens, tant que a grant paine vers eulx jamais le pouvons recongnoestre.

Et quant ledict De Rieux vouldra dire la verite, nest homme, comme de ce suymes bien infourmee, qui puisse mieulx parler de la loiaulte de nostredict cousin le Prince, ramenant a memoire linvention et offre par luy faicte a nostredict cousin, de luy tenir la main a se faire couronner Duc, et de quoy luy offrit son scelle, et non par une foitz, mes par pluseurs, y a continue, comme par gens notables suymes amplement infourmee; et que nostredict cousin luy veult maintenir ce que il reffusa; quest chose qui nous donne bien evidanment a congnoestre sa bonne loiaulte, et la grant et singuliere amour que nostredict cousin nous a tousjours portee.

Et

Et entant que saucun doubte faictes, pourtant que a este prisonnier, bien suymes infourmee de la parolle vertueuse que tousjours a porte soit en prison devant le Roy de France en son conseill, lors que y a este mene ou ailleurs a quelque personnage quil ait parle, dont on puisse avoir eu congnoessance, suymes bien infourmee, comme nostre Concelle a tousjours combatu. Et davantage ny a nulle aparence que pour avoir este prins en bataille en danger de sa vie, soustenant nostre fait, y ait cause ny aucune coullour de luy nous deffier, ainczoys par bonne raison naturelle, a celle cause tenuz luy suymes, et granment obligee; et trop mal exemple seroit a noz bons serviteurs, que pour combatre pour nous, et se meptre en danger de corps et de biens, a nous aider a garder nostre droit, nous eussion en eulx maindre fiance que nous navions aux autres qui sen seroint fouiz.

Oultre est il que lors que avons este on danger de tomber es mains de celuy que pour mourir james nous ne eussions espouze, et que par ledict De Rieux, lors se portant nostre tuteur, estoit favorise et porte ledit Seigneur DAlbret, qui a celle chose tendoit, et que fusmes habandonnee desdicts DAlbret, De Rieux, et Comminge, de desplaisir que ne voullions a celuy mariage donner consentement, neantmoinz que fussons on danger de larmee de noz ennemis, qui a tresgrant puissance tenans les champs, faisant conqueste en nostredict pays, tendans par toutes subtilles voyes et moyens nous encloure, enfermer, et aprehender de nostre personne, estans a sept lieues pres de nous, et que sur les advertissemens que avions euz de pluseurs noz bons et loiaulx serviteurs entre les autres noz subgetz les habitans de Rennes, le Seigneur de Meille de nostre coumandement estant en iceluy lieu, les Seigneurs Detissue Debendel et Davenus, noz segretz et singuliers amis, avecques par advertissemens dun nepveu au Seigneur Delxouze, estant en larmee des Francoys, de lentreprinse et conclusion de nous enclore en nostre ville de Redon, en laquelle lors estions; et que desdicts advertissemens eussions avise lesdicts De Rieux, Sire DAlbret, et Comminge, ne voullans quelque chose faire sens leur sceu, et les avoir actenduz empies lesdicts advertissemens lespace de deux jours estans esdicts dangers, sens ce que nulz des dessurdicts vensoissent ne se trouvassent pour nous acompaigner, secourir, ne aider, mes nous lesserent comme abandonnee. Au moien dequoy fusmes par necessite contraincte voulloir nous retirer en nostredicte ville de Nantes, acompaignee seullement de cent saize hommes de pie et environ cinquante deux chevaulx, ou voiage, de quoy fusmes en grant danger tant de noz ennemis les Francoys, que dudict DAlbret, ou la congnusmes la loiaulte et deliberacion de nostredict cousin de Dunoys, nostredict Chancelier, le Seigneur de Lornay Lieutenant de nostredict cousin le Prince, et dautres noz bons subgetz, qui nous ramenerent a nostredicte ville

de

de Rennes prandre les intersignes de nostre principaulte, et la nous fisdrent couronner, qui estoit chose pour nous mectre en auctorite et liberte, et le pourchaz et entreprinse dudict De Rieux et ses adherez estoit pour nous mectre en subjection contre nostre voulloir, dont a tousjours mes nous feussions demeuree en servaige.

Et en ce quest la consideracion de dissimuler avecques ledict De Rieux, comme est contenu par lesdictes articles dactendre la toute vuidange de noz ennemis par avant le contraindre a nous rendre et restituer nostredicte ville et chasteau de Nantes; nous semble bien que en celle raison y a peu daparance, pourtant que ce seroit auctoriser lentreprinse eslevacion et fourme de faire dudict De Rieux, en luy acroissant et augmentant auctorite et courage, en oultre le danger que chascun jour nous peut avenir par ceulx qui a present ont icelle en main, soit par fortune de bataille ou autre chose qui pouroit avenir; oultre que par le desplesir de nestre parvenuz a lacomplissement et perfection dudict mariage tendans pour nous grever, en faire leur profilt.

Et puis que le plesir de Dieu nostre Createur a este de nous faire lonneur de nous avoir constituee en si hault et si disgne degre, et que avons trouve alliez, amis, subgetz, et serviteurs pour nous aider et servir a garder nostre droit; et que avons conclud et suymes deliberee de nous deffendre contre ung si grant et si puissant Roy, coume est le Roy de France, et de nous mectre en danger de la mort avant nous lesser subcumber, suymes deliberee de non nous lesser subjuguer a maindre personnage, qui est nostre subgect; et avons bien esperance que vers et contre touz, vous nous aiderez et secourerez au desir des promesses sermens et aliances faictes entre mondict Seigneur et Cousin le Roy vostre maistre et nous, et par espicial en la querelle vers le Seigneur DAlbret, et tous ses adherez, comme en faisant les sermens et promesses dentre le Roy et nous fut expressement declere; et entendons, que en toutes les choses qui sont pour nous garder comme Princesse, vous nous secourerez et aiderez, et des biens que nous recouverons vous en repartirons; et trouvons bien estrange, que fussiez doppinion que deussion bailler auctorite, et laisser en office, celuy que soubz umbre du povair que luy avons baille veult aller par sus nous.

Et nous semble que le suport et faveur que ledict De Rieux a eu, ou pouroit avoir, de vous, nest ne seroit chose avantageuse pour Monseigneur et Cousin le Roy vostre maistre, le fait duquel en ce pas est couche ainczoys ledict suport, veu la fourme de faire dudict De Rieux, porte grant avantage, et fait grant service au Roy de France, plus que chose qui en cest endroit pouroit avenir, et quelque chose quil vous dye, vous povez entendre, que ce sont choses faintes et toutes simullees. Et quant ce ne seroit les erreurs et semences quil

fait

fait prescher au peuple, navons aucun subgect qui de bon cueur ne nous veuseist servir.

Et a larticle, faisant mention des biens prins par les gens dudit De Rieux sur noz serviteurs, et quil dit nestre de son sceu ne consentement et nen savoir riens: estil que du coumandement dudict De Rieux, tant par lettres signees de sa main, que autrement, ont este prins et emprisonnez pluseurs gentilz hommes de noz maison et ordonnance; ausquelz ont este ostez leurs harnoys et chevaulx, avecques a pluseurs des serviteurs de nostredict Chancelier, prins et oste pluseurs biens, comme or, argent, et autres choses dont ledit De Rieux est bien certain et en a ouy les complaintes.

Et de la doliance que faictes que nostre armee nest plustost joincte avecques vous, et aussi nostre artillerie, estil que nous avions ordonne et deslibere de les vous envoier, et faire mener nostredict artillerie qui estoit a Nantes. Auquel lieu avions envoie gens pour la faire charger, mes par lempeschement qui est en nostredicte place, la prinse de noz deniers et finances ordonnez pour la mise et conduite dicelle par les gens desdits Sires De Rieux et DAlbret, avecques lemprisonment et detencion de pluseurs clercs de nosdicts Tresoriers, qui est la cause, et totalle roture de noz gens darmes et de nostre maison, tellement que nous fault empruncter les deniers pour lestat et despance de nostre bouche, et de nostredicte maison, qui oultre nostre doumage nous vient a tres grant honte, et raisonnablement vous povez bien congnoestre que vous avions envoie nos cousins De Dunoys et De la Roche, les deux plus grans personnages que eussons avecques nous, que pour le present y povions envoier, et qui estoint pour plus tirer de gens et aussi les conduire, et bien amplement vous avions fait savoir de nostre intention par nostredict Chancelier, qui est le plus grant officier qui soit en nostre pays. Et si vous eussiez arete sa charge, avoit de nous coumandement vous tenir compaignie; aussi ou dissimuler ou reffus devers nous retourner, a ce que sur son raport nous eussons avise ce que seroit de faire; mais veu que navez accepte nostredict cousin De Dunoys a nostre Lieutenant General, quel par avant ces heures a eu pareille et plus grant charge, et y alloit tresbien delibere de loyaument nous servir, et quil nest personnage pour aller soubz ung autre qui est maindre que luy; et que navez accepte nostre Lieutenancise Generalle, comme par nosdicts gens vous a este ouvert, nous a convenu prandre autre conclusion; quelle obstant lempeschement de noz finances, et lauctorite prinse dudict De Rieux, qui a este et est cause de troubler grant partie de noz gens et subgectz, et mectre en crainte les gens de noz finances, que nous trouvons grandement difficille de a nostre honneur et profilt y savoir bien pourvoirs.

Et au regard du numbre dEngloys que demandez estre mis a garder nostre personne,

personne, nous suymes en ceste nostre ville, ou y a grant numbre de habitans, qui ont este et tenons noz bons et loyaulx subgetz; et avecques les gens que avons retenu pour la seurte de nous, ensemble le Provost et les Engloys de sa charge nous tenons en bonne seurte; et pour ceste heure nest besoign en avoir plus grant numbre ainczoys des gens de guerre, que avons retenu, et qui sont en ceste ville avecques nous, nous vous en envoirons tout incontinant que aurons recouvrez deniers pour faire aucun poiement, a quoy nous faisons faire dilligence possible, et en envoirons le plus que nous pourons devers vous pour tousjours renforcer. Ja piecza y feussent, si ne fust lempeschement que ledit De Rieux a fait, et tousjours continue, de pis en pis, sur noz deniers, ainsi que vous avons fait remonstrer, et que vous estes tresbien acertenuez.

Et en ce quest que estes comptans, et ne voullez point que tombons es mains dudit De Rieux, ne quil ait puissance de gens de son affinite entour nous, ne le souffrir faire aucun mal, ne desplesir, a nulz de ceulx qui ont bien et loyamment servy Monseigneur mon Pere et nous en noz necessitez et affaires; nous sommes desliberee de bien nous en garder, et du bon voulloir que en avez ensemble de ce que desirez suyvir nostre voulloir; considerans, et estans bien certains, que cest le plaisir de Monseigneur le Roy vostre maistre que ainsi le faictes, vous mercions trescordiallement, et pour ce vous prions que en enssuyvant ce que dit est, vous le veillez monstrer apres parolles par vertueux effect, et ne souffrir ledit De Rieux prandre ne user de lauctorite quelle nous apartient, laquelle il prent sur nous, mais comme nostre rebelle, desoboissant subgect, ne le veillez porter, favoriser, ne aussi soustenir. Car nous sommes deliberee du tout en tout laisser de noz choses arriere pour par justice en avoir raison, vous priant et requerant, comme bons et loiaulx serviteurs de Monseigneur et cousin le Roy vostre maistre, et sur lamitie et alliance qui est entre Luy et nous, vous veillez assister et aider a prandre sa personne, a ce que nous puissons aider et servir de noz subgectz et serviteurs avecques vous, lesquelz il empesche; et mectre hors noz ennemis de nostre pays, ce que ne povons faire au moien de ce que ledict De Rieux a fait et percevere tousjours de pis en pis, qui pouroit estre a la totalle destruccion de nous, noz pays, et seigneuries; et sur ce nous faire savoir de vostre voulloir et intencion par nostre Seneschal de Guingamp[1] nostre conseiller, et le Sieur Delahaye nostre escuier, que envoions presentement devers vous[2], car vostre responce sceue avons delibere envoier de noz gens a toute dilligence vers mondit Seigneur et cousin le Roy.

Au

[1] Peter Cojalu.

[2] Anne of Bretagne on the 8th of February 1489 commissioned Philip de Montauban her Chancellor, William Gueguen, and Roland Goujon to treat with Sir Richard Eggecombe and Dr. Henry Aynesworth.

Au sourplus, nosdicts Conseillier et Escuier vous diront de toutes choses nous sourvenues, et entre autres la responce que noz Ambassadeurs, que avions envoiez vers le Roy de France, ont eue, et coument, avant le partement de nostredit Chancelier davecques vous, ledit Roy de France estoit adverty de la responce que ledit De Rieux avoit faicte sur les points que nostredit Chancelier vous avoit dit touchant celuy De Rieux, affin que puissiez entendre les intelligences et praticques que luy et ses adherez pevent avoir avecques ledit Roy de France. Et a tant soit Dieu, qui, treschers cousins et bons amis, vous ait en sa saincte garde. Escript a Rennes, ce 22^{e}. jour de May.

Dempuix cestes escriptes et noz gens despeschez pour aller devers vous, est arive Maistre Rolland Seliczon nostre Conseillier, quel avions envoie devers Monseigneur et cousin le Roy, qui nous a expose la responce de sa charge, en quoy avons congnu la continuation de plus en plus de la bonne et grande amour que mondit Seigneur et cousin a a nous, et entre autres choses nous a dit que mondit Seigneur et cousin adverty de la fourme de faire et grant desoboissance vers nous dudit Sire De Rieux, quil ne veult, et si na agreable que celuy De Rieux se jouaigne avec vous, et que sil y est a nostre desplaisir que vous en tenez sacsiz, et aussi que nous soiez en aide et nous tenez la main forte pour le mectre en noz mains pour par justice en son cas congnoestre la cause, et que a ceste cause a envoie vers vous ung sien bien preuche serviteur; par quoy, et de si grant affection que possible nous est, derecheff, vous prions et requerons, comme Lieuxtenants de mondit Seigneur et cousin le Roy vostredit maistre, et en oboissant a son commandement, nous tenir main forte a tost le recouvrer, car sa continuelle desoboissance et grant desloiaulte nous porte trop grant foulle, danger, et prejudice, et plus a nostre pais si nous ny pourvoions; et ce faisants nous semble bien que vous acquieterez, ainsi que vous devez, et de plus en plus nous obligerez a vous, ce que de tresbon cueur nous recongnoestrons.

Touchant le cours de voz monnoyes, nous avons fait mectre la matiere en nostre Conseill, et fait appeller gens y congnoessans; et combien quil ait este trouve que le cours que demandez a vosdites monnoyes ne soit pas raisonnable, mais a doumage de nous et de noz subgetz: en esgart a la raison de noz monnoyes, toutesfoiz nous avons eu plus chier porter nous et nosdits subgetz le doumage et perte, que voz gens aint cause de se doulloir. Et en avons fait

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Aynesworth. A treaty was entered into at Redon on the 10th of February, and ratified by Henry VII. on the 1st of April. Rymer, Vol. XII. p. 362. On the 15th of February 1490, she appointed Commissioners to remonstrate with Henry VII., three of whom, viz., Montauban, William Guillemet, and Peter Cojalu, on the 26th of July engaged to repay the expenses incurred by Henry, and deliver the town of Morlaix as a pledge. Ibid. 394.

 expedier

expedier noz mandements, ainsi que pouriez voirs par nosdits mandemens, lesquelz vous envoions pour les faire publier apres que les aurez veuz.

La Duchesse de Bretaigne bien vostre,

(*Signé*) ANNE.

(*Contresigné*) DE FORESTZ.

(*Suscrit*)
A noz treschers cousins [*et bons*] amys, les Grant Maistre et Grant Escuier l . . . . . Monseigneur mon Cousin le Roy dEngleterre.

IV. DUCHESS OF BRETAGNE *to* THE GRAND MASTER AND ESQUIRE OF ENGLAND.

TRESCHIERS cousins et bons amis, bien cordiallement nous recommandons a vous. Nous avons receu les lettres quil a pleu a Monseigneur mon bon Pere, le Roy vostre maistre, nous escripre par le Docteur[1], et oy ce quil nous a dit de sa part, et entre autres quil desire que vous avec toute larmee venez en ceste ville devers nous. Et pourceque cest une chose qui seroit cause de mectre en grant dangier nostre pays de Basse Bretaigne, aussi ce ne sont pas les parolles et termes, que mondict Seigneur et Pere nous avoit mande par noz Ambassadeurs, qui precedentement y avons envoye, ne donne charge de dire a Maistre Henry Wyot, parquoy povons congnoistre que depuis on a donne aucunes choses a entendre a mondict Seigneur et Pere qui ace la meu, et sont gens qui ne veullent le bien ne honneur de lui ne de nous. Pour lesquelles causes, et pour autres inconveniens qui pourroient venir, nous renvoyons par devers lui, et cependent avons requis le Contrerolleur aller devers vous, pour vous dire et prier de par nous de non y voulloir venir, fors en la forme que vous avons mande pour oster toutes suspeczons et ymaginacions. Car, quant vous y vouldrez venir en si grant puissance, vous nous contraindrez de y pourveoir, veu le peu dapparence de raison quil y a de ce faire, et le dommaige que en pourroye avoir. Mais quant lun de vous vouldra venir, avecques le nombre de gens que vous avons fait savoir, pour communiquer et aviser de ce, aussi avoir voz bons avis et conseilz surceque vous semblera pour le mieulx estre afaire en la conduicte de noz matieres et afaires, nous en serons joyeuse; et esperant la venue de lun de vous, nous avons longuement retarde lexpedicion de noz Ambassadeurs, que envoyons devers le Roy de France, en ensuivant la deliberacion, qui en a este faicte

[1] Aynesworth.

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en la presence dudict Contrerolleur et des Ambassadeurs des Roys noz alliez; et vous envoyons par ledict Contrerolleur le double de la charge que avons baillee a nosdicts Ambassadeurs, aceque en ayez la congnoissance; vous avisans que seurs povez estre que navons entencion de ny conclure sans le sceu et bon plaisir de mondict Seigneur et Pere et desdicts Roys, ne en riens contrevenir aux bonnes amictiez alliances et conventions faictes promises et jurees entre mondict Seigneur et Pere et nous; croyant que ainsi le fera de sa part, ainsi que avons charge audict Contrerolleur, Regnault de Brignac, et Maistre Guillaume Leherice, noz serviteurs, vous dire, et tosjours nous vueillez faire savoir si chose desirez que faire puissons, et nous le ferons de bon cuer. Ce sceit nostre Seigneur, qui, treschiers cousins et bons amis, vous ayt en sa saincte garde. Escript a Rennes, le derrenier jour de Juillet.

La Duchesse de Bretaigne, vostre
Cousine et bien vostre,
(*Signé*) Anne.
(*Contresigné*) De Forestz.

(*Suscrit*)
A noz treschiers Cousins et bons amis, les Grans Maistre et Escuier dAngleterre.

V. Spynnelly *to* King Henry VIII.

Sire. Le plus treshumblement quil mest possible a vostre noble Grace et Royale Mageste je me recommande. Plaise Vous savoir, Sire, que jay receu les lettres que de Vostre Grace Vous a pleu menvoyer, contenans que Vostre Mageste a este adverty du service, que me suys parcidevant parforce de faire a feu de tresdigne memoire le Roy vostre Pere, que Dieu vueille pardonner, mavertissant que icelle Vostre Mageste aura aggreable que je persevere et continue en semble pardevers Vous, et que en ce faisant Vostre Mageste le recongnoistra.

Sire. Au regard du service par moy fait au bon trespasse vostre noble Pere, je noseroye presumer de dire ou extimer quilz feussent gueres de valeur, comme je soye de petit entendement et faculte, mais je puis dire que me y suis acquite de mon meilleur sens et de tout mon cueur. Et puis que de vostre grace Vous plaist de moy faire cest honneur, que de Vous vouloir aussi servir de moi, dont treshumblement Vous mercye; je Vous promets et afferme, Sire, que je me emploieray ensemble comme jay toujours fait, et encores mieulx, se Dieu me donne la grace et lopportunite de pouvoir faire chose qui soit a vostre plaisir.

Sire. Je vous envoye avec cestes ung extrait des nouvelles que lEmpereur a rescriptes a Madame[1] passe huit jours, combien que je tiens que de la plus-grant partie en avez desja este adverty; et la cause que jay este ceste fois si negligent de vous rescripre procede par ce que je attendoye nouvelles de Vostre Mageste, neantmoins par cy apres lamendera de sorte que en serez content.

Sire. Hier vint une poste dAlemaigne, aportant lettres dudict Empereur a madicte Dame, datees du 15e de ce mois present en la ville de Trento, contenant que le Cardinal dAmboys avoit este lespace de trois jours vers ledict Empereur, ayant receu, ou nom du Roy Francois, linvestiture de la Duche de Milan, et paye les cent mil escus dor, selon la declairation que en avoit este faicte a Cambray. Et a aussi remonstre audict Empereur que ledict Roy son maistre est tresdesireux de eulx trouver ensemble, pour communiquer parler et deliberer daucunes matieres touchant le bien commun de toute la Chretiennete, et pour establyr et corroborer les traittiez et appointtemens dudict Cambray[2]; dont veritablement, Sire, la couleur se demonstre bonne et raisonnable, moyennant que semblable soit la fin. Mais au regart de moy combien que la commune oppinion des bons personnages de pardeca est telle que lassamblee des deux Princes se fera, neanmoins je suys de contraire oppinion, et me semble que se lEmpereur et ceulx de son conseil considerent ce quilz doyent considerer, ne se confiront esdicts Francois que bien apoint. Dautrepart, il fait a doubter que lesdicts Francois ont de grans amys estans a lenviron dicelui Empereur, lesquilz auroient plusgrant regart a leur singulier prouffit que a celuy de leur Maistre. Et suys este adverty de gens digne de foy, que Monsieur de Govres, le Chancelier de Tirol, et le President de Bresse, sont des principaulx qui semploient de faire adresse ausdicts Francois, dont moy apres avoir eu pluseurs devises a madicte Dame et par certain propos qui sen commenca, je ne me sceu tenir de luy en touchier, en bonne sorte; aquoy elle me respondy, quelle en faisoit doubte; surquoy luy replicqua, que de congnoistre une faulte et non y remedier on ny peut avoir prouffit, dont apres apperceu quelle le print en bonne part.

Sire, en confirmacion de mon oppinion que lesdicts Francois ne vont le droit chemin, il vous plaise savoir que Monsieur de Gheldres ne se depport journellement de faire quelque nouvellete indeue au prejudice de ceste maison, et contre le traittie de Cambray, et des sermens et promesses par eulx faiz pour ledict Seigneur de Gheldres, et ny a personne qui me sauroit faire croire, ne entendre que se lesdicts Francois voulloient que ledict Monsieur de

[1] Margaret, Regent of the Netherlands. See Vol. I. p. 2.

[2] Treaty between the Pope, the Emperor, and the Kings of France and Arragon, concluded at Cambray on the 10th of December 1508.

Gheldres

Gheldres entrenast ledict traittie, il se garderoit bien de faire chose aucontraire. Enoultre, je vous signiffie que, combien que du commencement de la guerre que se fait sur les Veneciens lesdicts Francois consentirent au Marquis de Mantua, que, sil savoit prendre et conqueire la ville de Pesquier, qui de droit luy appartient, quelle luy seroit laissiee; neantmoins, apres quil a eu ladicte ville en ses mains, non obstant les promesses quilz luy en avoient faites, iceulx Francois lont voulu avoir tellement, quilz la tiennent, luy ayant prommis de luy baillier autre recompense. Et pour vous declairer la scituacion de ladicte ville, il vous plaise entendre quelle est scituee entre les pays de Bresse et de Veronne sur lentree du lac de Garde, et y a ung beau pont de pierres sus la riviere, qui passe et fait la separacion desdicts pays, et par ce moyen auront lesdicts Francois tousjours entree es pays de lEmpereur, dont de telles entremises je nen sauroye penser aucun bien.

Le neveu du Maistre des Postes, mon grant amy, qui se tient vers lEmpereur, a escript lettres pardeca du 17^e^ du mois present, lui estant en la ville de Rouverette pardela Trento trois petites lieues, que lEmpereur arriva illec le soir devant du date de ses lettres, ou il doit est delibere, sil parlera au Roy Francois, ou sil tyra devant a Veronne. Et avec ce rescript, quil avoit desja mis les postes de Goris a Padua, et dudict Padua jusques a lEmpereur, qui vraysemblablement fait a entendre quil est seigneur de tout ce quartier.

Quant au nombre des gens de guerre que lEmpereur a en son service, jentend que en pays de Frioly et Esclavonye il y povoit avoir environ deux mil hommes, tant de cheval que de pie, et de Trento sont marchie avec ledict Empereur le nombre de cincq mil pietons et mil chevals; et aussi que depuis que lEmpereur a eu victoir, beaucop dautres gens darmes ont fait suyt apres luy.

Et au regart des Princes de lEmpire, ilz nont volu baillier audict Empereur aucune assistence, jusques a ce quilz ont veu comment ses affaires se sont portez es Ytalies; mais a la journee derniere par eulx tenue a Voirme luy ont accorde douze mil combatans a leurs despens pour le servir le terme de six mois, dont est apparance que ledict accord sortira son effect.

Les Seigneurs Constatin et Silvyo Sabello ont este envoyez par le Saint Pere vers lEmpereur, et se estoient arrivez a Trento apportans cent mil ducas dor audict Empereur, luy ayant requis de la part de nostre Saint Pere de vouloir marchier avant a toute grosse puissance, et quil ne luy fauldra dargent ne de chose qui sera en son povoir, parquoy lon congnoys clerement que nostre dict Saint Pere na aucunement confidence esdicts Francois, et non sans cause.

Touchant les Veneciens, lon dit quilz ont perdu tout ce quilz tenoient en terre ferme, tant ou royaulme de Nappes, que en Esclavonye appartenant au Roy de Hongherie. Et, selon les lettres qui journelement viennent tant

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dAlemaige que de France, lesdicts Veneciens ont assez a faire de gouverneur la ville de Venisse, et ne sceuent encores dun coste ne dautre trouver moyen daucun comfort. Et au regart des ylles et terres, quilz ont ou quartier de la mer, lon dit que lille de Candya sest rendue au Grant Maistre de Rode, mais quant au royaulme de Sipre ne de lille de Corfe nest encores nouvelles.

Le Roy Francois tient encores toute son armee sans faire aucun semblant de donner congie a nul de ses gens darmes, dont fait a croire que cest a fin de veoir comment les affaires des Ytailles, entre lEmpereur, Luy, et les autres Princes, se conduiront.

Les Suysses, pour autant que jentens, sont sur le Roy Francois bien mal contens pour ce quilz se trouverent 11 mil vers Lui pour le servir, dont desquelz il ne retint que 5 mil, et le demourant fut renvoye sans gaiges.

Le Prince de Halnouct, qui a eu charge de la guerre de Gheldres, soy tirant es Allemaiges vers lEmpereur, rencontra en la ville de Spire ung messagier des Veneciens, qui avoit lettres de par lesdicts Veneciens a Monsieur de Gheldres et a pluseurs marchans residens en vostre Royaume dAngleterre, lequel messagier avec toutes lesdictes lettres fut de par ledict Prince envient audict Empereur, dont du contenu dicelles lettres nest sceu pardeca.

Le Roy dEscosse fait faire artilleryes de champ, et pour navires, es pays de pardeca, et avec ce acheter harnois servans a la guerre, dont le tout se conduit par les gens de lArcevesque de Glasquo. Aquoy il pense de sen servir, je ne say, fors que aucunesfoiz vint pardeca des Escossois, qui font courre la voix quil Vous yra faire la guerre pardela. Sire, sil semble a Vostre Mageste que icelui Roy ne se conduit envers Vous, comme Il est tenu de faire, en moyen advertissant, je Vous signifferay les manieres que lon pourroit trouver pour empeschier ses provisions de guerre qui se font icy.

Le Seigneur de Crayfort, Escossoy, demoura en Anvers, disant estre venu pour aller en perlinaige a Amyens; mais, par ce quil a eu depuis nouvelles dEscosse, il est delibere de non partir dillec avant avoir entendu comment le Roy son Maistre fera avec Vous; ne, pour dilligences que jamais ay faictes, nay sceu entendre autre chose de son intencion.

Sire, pour ce que les marchans et subgetz de vostre Royaume nont peu hanter ne converser es pays de pardeca selon lancienne coustume, je Vous certiffie que les Escossoys en ont de mieulx valu, et vauldront encores de plus au temps advenir, se ny remediez.

Sire, je Vous supplye de vouloir par voz lettres signiffier a Madame, que me tenez pour vostre serviteur, et que mavez donne charge de Vous escripre et advertir des nouvelles qui surviendraient, a fin que je Vous puisse sans reproche bien et leaument servir comme je desire le faire.

Au

Au surplus, Sire, il me semble, soubz vostre noble correction, que attendu lestat enquoy les affaires des Ytalies sont presentement, que Vous deveryez envoyer aucun personnaige de par Vous vers lEmpereur, dont en ce faisant se pouroit ensuyr quelque confidence et alyance entre le Saint Pere, icelui Empereur, Vous, et le Roy dArragon, qui selon mon petit entendement seroit bien necessaire pour raformer lexcessif vouloir quont lesdicts Francois contre tous les Princes Chretiens.

A tant, Sire, je prye Dieu le Createur Vous donner bonne vye et longue, avec lacomplissement de voz treshaulx et tresvertueulx desirs. Escript a la Haye, en Hollande, le 26e jour de Juing, anno 15^{c}. neuf.

Sire. Pour ce que le clerc qui escript ces lettres sen va a Malines, et que je ne me oseroye bonnement fyer en autruy, je Vous escripveray en Latin, sil survient chose digne dadvertissement jusques a ce que sera a Malines.

(*Signé*) Vře treshumble e treshobeyssãt
s̃vyteur, THOMMAS SPYNELLY.

(*Suscrit*)
Au Roy.

VI. SPYNNELLY *to* KING HENRY VIII.

PLEASETH Your Grace to understonde that the 27 day of the last moneth I wrot my last letters unto the same. Synst my Lady thArcheduchesse was advertisid from thEmperour of the good and wise communycacions that He hath had with Mr Amnour[1], wherfor she is in good hope that the Lord Berghis in her absence hath, or this tyme, brought all maters unto a good resolucion for booth parties; and, if it be not soo, my said Lady hath been, and is, alweys redy, upon hir fathirs pleasour, to come to summe convenyent place, and joyne with hym and Your Grace booth for the furtherance and conclusion of the said maters; certifying Your Grace that she is very soory she hath taryed so longe.

This mornyng is come newis by diverce letters datid in Bourgoyne the 20^{ti} daye of the last moneth, that the Swissers to the nombre of 28^{ti} thousand beside the horssemen wer aryved ther within six legis of the Duchye for certeyn. And, to thentent that thEmpereur and Your Grace maye have more parfight knowlege therof, my said Lady sendith the originall lettres unto the Lord Berghis; signyfying unto Your Grace that thiese newis been as favorable to your enterprise as can be possible. And here is thought by the comon

[1] Wolsey.

opyneon

opyneon of dyverce wise men, that at this daye a gret partie of the Duchye of Bourgoyne is rebellid to the Frenchemen, and yelden to the Swissers for thEmpereur, and consequently is supposed that the Frenchemen being in that quartier shalbe compelled to put garnysons in the moost necessary places and leve the feeld. Wherfor all those, that desyer your prosperite honnour and prouffight, thynk right expedient that with all celerite and diligence Your Grace shall sett furth upon your enemyes, and sue the good and victoryouse begynnyng, concidering that lenght of tyme is for many reasons prejudiciall unto Your Grace, and specially being so nygh to the wynter. It is reported unto me that certen Bourgonyons which serve Your Grace care not of the said lenght; and surely I thynk the same, for they have noon othir lyving, and that in this warld been two generacions, as men of war and advocatis, which desyer nevir the eend of their enterprisez.

Of the Lord Ligne men have been here dyverce, having their pasport, unto whom I spare not to speke. And what so evir the said Lord Ligne seyth unto Your Grace, I can beleve noon othir, but he or his lief tenaunte is condiscend to it. But they wol not lak of stucys and colors inowe for their justificacions.

The Lord Dissilstain and his company, as my Lady is advertisid, is passid toward Your Grace, and becawse the moost part of theym been Lowe Almaynes, and reteyned above the prise of 8 gildyrns, Your Grace must take good hede that the lettres of his retenu shall make no mencion ovir the said price; and as towching the surplus, yif he aske enny thyng, to be answerid that Your Grace promysed hym no mor, and then he shall calle to my Lady, and she shall satisfie hym as of her owne money, acording to the bargayne. And, becawse he hath not kept his daye, ther must be made a newe composicion of the begynnyng of his terme, wherto my said Lady is well mynded.

A gentilman of the company of the Lord Lygne, called Vadencort, hath brought into this contre certeyne Frenchemen prisoners, amongist whom is oon called Monsr Darpaggion, of my said Lady and dyverce othirs accqweitaunce, and nygh kynnysman unto the Master of the Roodes, that maye dispende yerely 5 or 600 marke; wherfor I thought it right necessary to advertise Your Grace therof. And thus I beseche our Lord to send unto the same prosperous helth, long lyf, with the victory of you enemyez. Wretyn at Lisle, the furst daye of Septembre, 1513.

The Governour of Bresse arived in this Cort yisternyght; howbeit as yit I have understonde nothing.

(*Signed*) Your most humble servant,

THOMMAS SPYNNELLY.

(*Superscribed*)
The Kingis Grace.

VII. Spynnelly *to* King Henry VIII.

Pleaseth Your Grace to understonde that the furst day of this present moneth I wrot my last letters unto the same. And synst my Lord Berghis hath wretyn to my Lady thArcheduchesse that all maters generally have takyn a good weye, and how that your arme shall remeove a Munday next without enny furthar declaracion, wherof she is very glad, and loke to know this nyght or to morow thEmperours pleasor, wher she shall mete with Your Grace.

Oute of Bourgoyne is come non othir newis synst my last letters, but I trust shortly to here of summe good exployte of the Swissers ayenst your enemyez.

The Pencionary of the towne of Andewarp is come hethir this mornyng, and hath shewid me how the Duc of Geldrez hath assembled to gedir 3000 fotemen in the land of Kessyll upon the frontier of Braband, and, as the brute gooth ther, to go serve the Frenche Kinge.

Mr Loys Moreton hath advertisid my Lady by his letters that Your Grace hath rewarded dyverce of thEmpereurs servauntes, and that he is forgotyn; which lettir she shewid me, saying he had disserved better to be rewarded than enny othir, for he had oftyn tymes runne in postes hym sylf up and downe in your besynesses.

I am enformed for certein that the Frencheman prisoner, which the Lord Watham hath not discovered, is Monsr de Busshy, nephew of the Cardenall of Roan decessed, and he is compted the best that was takyn next the Duc of Longevile; but wher he is kept prisoner I can have no knowlege.

The Governour of Bresse hath reported to my said Lady the gret remonstrances that my Lordes of your Counsaill made unto hym for the justificacion of thEmbassadour of Aragon compleyntes, wherby she is well pleased, and perceyveth that all the default lyeth in theym, but she is allweys of opyneon that Your Grace shuld dissymule, and cherise theym, if enny othir weye can not be fownde. And thus for lak of more mater at this tyme I shall make an eend, beseching Or Lord to send unto Your Grace prousperous helth, long lyf, and victory of your enemyez. Wretyn at Lysle, the 3de daye of Septembre.

(*Signed*) Your most humble s[illegible]vant,

Thommas Spynnelly.

(*Superscribed*)
The Kinges Grace.

VIII. Pope Leo X. *to* King Henry VIII.[1]

Leo P.P. X.

Carissime in Christo Fili noster, Salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem. Nostra, dilectique filij nostri Christophori[2] Cardinalis Angliæ, rerum Tue Majestatis studiosissimi, sententia, dilectus filius Balthasar[3], Notarius et Secretarius noster, idoneus visus est qui ad carissimum in Christo filium nostrum Jacobum Scotorum Regem illustrem, in hac rerum, et temporis varietate, Nuntius et Orator noster mitteretur, potissimum qui, ut arma inter Vos cessent, nostra adhibita auctoritate, effici curet, ut quandoque pacatis Regum et Principum Christianorum animis sanctissima et pernecessaria expeditio contra perfidos Turcas, Christiani nominis hostes, sumi possit; prout eadem Majestas Tua ex eodem Balthasare, Nobis probato et caro valde, quique preteritarum et presentium rerum scientiam habet non mediocrem, uberius intelliget. Majestatem igitur Tuam hortamur in Domino, ac paterne requirimus, ut pro nostra et Apostolice Sedis reverentia eundem Balthasarem non solum attentius audire, et in ijs quæ nostro nomine referet, plene credere, verum etiam quo tuto in Scotiam per regnum atque dominia Majestati Tue subjecta exequuturus sibi per Nos commissa se conferre possit, oportunum salvum conductum concedere sine ulla mora aut excusatione velit; prout eandem Majestatem Tuam non dubitamus esse facturam. Nihil enim Balthasar ipse curaturus est, quod ad reipublice Christiane quietem, religionisque nostre incrementum, decusque et commodum Majestatis ipsius Tuæ, non pertineat. Datum Rome, apud Sanctum Petrum, sub Annulo Piscatoris, die 20 Septembris, 1513, Pontificatus Nostri anno primo.

(*Signatur*) P. Bembus.

(*Superscribitur*)
Carissimo in Christo Filio nostro,
Henrico Angliæ Regi Illustri.

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[1] Record Office.

[2] Bainbridge, Archbishop of York.

[3] Balthazar Stuart. In the Record Office is an original letter from the Emperor to the King, dated at Augsburg, 26th December 1513, speaking in high praise of him, when the Nuncio was proceeding on his journey to England.

IX. Spynnelly *to* King Henry VIII.

Please it Your Grace to understonde, that this mornyng I wrot my last letters unto the same. Synst is come the post from Rome and Almayne, by the which I have received a letter from your ambassador Sir Robart Wyngfeld, that shalbe with this.

My Lady thArcheduches is advertisyd from thEmpereur that upon the brief wretyn by the Pope unto the Vice Roy of Napullys, conteynyng, because the Venecyens wold remytte the quarell betwix thEmperour and theym unto His Holynesse, that he shuld for a while desyste of the invasion of warre ayenst theym. Wherto he answeryd that he cowde ner wold so do without the expresse commaundement of the King his master, or of thEmpereur, or the Busshop of Gource his lieutenant general in Italye; and consydering with what subtilte and craftes the said Veneciens have procedid in this mater in tyme past, thEmpereur toke for the best resolucion to ordre unto the Vice Roye that he shuld, with all celeryte and rigore possible, contenu his enterprise; signyfying on the other syde unto the Pope, that he was redye to make a summyssion in His Holynesse and the King of Aragon of the said besynesse, incase the Venecians wold do the semblable, and condiscende to take a trieux for a yer or two, for to juge and apoint the same in the meane tyme. Wherfor I trust shortly it shalbe better knowin.

The Suysses be this post been not best content with the Duc of Melein, for they wold have the castel in their handes, wherto he was not mynded, and in myn opyneon, if they hold fast, he shalbe compellyd to please theym or to breke.

The Adornez of Genys wer in hand with the said Suysses to have a good bande of theym in their assistence for to go to Genys, and put awey the Fregosys. And if they so do, I fere of a new gret mutacion in the duchy of Meleyn.

And, as is wretyn, the Duc of Bourbon and Johan Jacques de Trowis hath sent into Delphynate to prepare the loggyng for their armye, which is in brute of 1800 sperys and 15000 fotemen. And verely I can not se what avauntage these Frenchemen have above all othirs, for it semyth that wynter and sommer is all oon to their enterprises, and nothing difficil unto theym, concidering that they been not rekenyd for wyser, more valyaunte, ner richer, than others, but oonly more diligente and resolute. And if they sett forward, I suppose that it is with the consentement of the Suysses. Howbeit, whatsoever execucion or

eend may happyn ther unto theym, such besynesse is of a consequens by my opyneon, that Your Grace shall rathir wynne by it, thanne lose.

My Lady yisternyght had newis out of Hennaw that upon 800 Almaynes, which had served Your Grace, wer comyng ageyne from the Frenchemen for lak of entreteinement.

As I had wretyn this far, I receyved a letter from Your Grace bering date at Wyndesor the 6th day of Novenbre, which hath taryed very long by the weye; the tenour wherof I shall not faile to put in execucion, and advertise Your Grace therof, with the grace of God, whom I beseche to sende unto the same prousperous helth with long lyf. Wretyn at Termonde, the 26 daye of Novembre, 1513, at 6 of the clok in the mornyng.

This letter was begonne yesternyght.

(*Signed*) Your most humble s̄vant,

THOMMAS SPYNELLY.

(*Superscribed*)
The Kinges Grace.

X. POPE LEO X. *to* KING HENRY VIII.[1]

LEO P̄P. X^s.

CHARISSIME in Christo Fili noster, Salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem. Sicut nuper scripsimus, litere Majestatis Tue, quas ad Nos, et dilectum filium nostrum Christophorum, Tituli Sancte Praxedis Presbyterum Cardinalem Anglie, et venerabilem fratrem Episcopum[2] Wigorniensem, suum hic Oratorem, nuper misit, Nobis summopere placuerunt, iccirco, quod in illis singularem tuam fidem et constantiam erga confederatos tuos perspeximus. Quod autem Majestas Tua Nos rogat, ut de legato mittendo illas excusationes admittamus, quas prefati Cardinalis et suus hic Orator Nobis exposuerunt; sciat Majestas Tua, Nos, si aliter facere possemus, nullum ad Te legatum missuros, ut Tue satisfaceremus voluntati; sed, quia primum per capitula facta in Conclavi ad hoc obligati fuimus; et deinde hoc idem Sacrosancto approbante Concilio in proxima sessione conclusum fuit, et in hac ultima hodie confirmatum, et approbatum, debitum pastoralis nostri officij non possumus non adimplere. Quum igitur legatum omnino mittamus oportet, eum ad Cesaream Majestatem mittendum duximus, quem ipse literis suis a Nobis expostulavit: hoc est prefatum dilectum filium nostrum Cardinalem Angliæ; quem, ut ex literis Majestatis Ejus intelleximus, magis quam aliquem alium sibi mitti cupit.

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[1] Record Office.

[2] Sylvester Gigles.

Eundem

Eundem igitur ut et Majestas Tua admittat, Te hortamur in Domino; et rogamus, quum presertim nihil quod Tibi ingratum futurum sit aut aliquo modo inutile sit tractaturus, ratio postulat, ut Majestas Tua tuum potius quam externum Cardinalem admittat; cum alteruter omnino sit mittendus. Nos autem ideo prefatum Cardinalem Anglie valde renitentem ad Te mittendum censuimus, ut animum nostrum interiorem circa bellum et pacem Tibi exponeret, quem perpaucis alijs committendum duximus. Hujus enim et prudentiam, et erga Te singularem fidem et affectionem recognoscentes, cum eo semper libere, atque aperte omnibus de rebus sumus collocuti. Preterea etiam intelleximus Majestatem Tuam ad felicis recordationis Julium, Papam II., predecessorem nostrum, scripsisse, ut prefatus Christophorus Cardinalis legatus ad Te veniret. Nos itaque Majestatem Tuam hortamur, ut cum hanc legati missionem nullo pacto omittere possimus, et eum tibi mittendum destinaverimus, cujus fides et prudentia et Nobis et Tibi gratissima est, eum velis benigne admittere; in quo de Nobis certe, et de Sede Apostolica, Majestas Tua bene merebitur. Datum Rome, apud Sanctumpetrum, sub Annulo Piscatoris, die 19 Decembris, 1513, Pontificatus Nostri anno primo.

(*Signatur*) JA: SADOLETUS.

(*Superscribitur*)
Charissimo in Christo Filio nostro,
Henrico, Anglie Regi Illustri.

XI. POPE LEO X. *to* KING HENRY VIII.[1]

LEO P̄P. X^s.

CHARISSIME in Christo Fili noster, Salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem. Ex literis Majestatis Tue, et ex eis mandatis que Nobis tuo nomine Venerabilis Frater Silvester Episcopus Wigorniensis, tuus apud Nos Orator, ac Prelatus noster domesticus, exposuit, intelleximus magnopere desiderare Majestatem Tuam ut ecclesie Dunelmensi plenariam indulgentiam concedere vellemus. Ad quam rem a Nobis obtinendam, etsi multe cause allegate sunt, tamen nulla neque gravior ratio, neque causa efficacior, esse potuit, quam cognosci a Nobis fore id Tue Majestati admodum gratum, quam et amamus animo paterno, et illius causa omnia cupimus. Itaque etsi res ea admodum rara, atque insolita sit, tamen Tibi negare nihil potuimus, quod illi acceptum et gratum fore existimaremus. Illam igitur benigne et liberaliter concessimus; cujus nostre

[1] Record Office.

concessionis

concessionis ut Majestatem Tuam planius certiorem faceret, mandavimus supradicto Episcopo Oratori tuo.

Alterum erat Tue Majestatis postulatum, in quo a Nobis petebas, ut dilectum filium Thomam, Elemosinarium antea tuum, quem ad ecclesiam Lincolniensem Nobis commendabas, admittere, eamque illi conferre auctoritate Apostolica vellemus; necnon insuper partem taxe dicte ecclesie, in ejusmodi expeditione solvi consuete, remittere et condonare. In quo primum Nos Majestatem Tuam valde laudamus in Domino, quod non solum judicare de bonis et prestantibus viris novit, sed etiam illorum meritis et virtuti dignum honorem habere, quod et alias et nunc in ipso Thoma perspectum est, quem Nos hominem et gravem prudentia et fide integrum, rerumque tuarum studiosissimum, semper intellexi-mus. Itaque quod de illo benemerenti tale judicium feceris, laude dignum ducimus. De taxe vero remissione, charissime in Christo Fili noster, cum ex literis tuis rem ad Sacrum Venerabilium Fratrum nostrorum Collegium rettulissemus, res valde nova et insolita visa est; hoc enim unum est ex certissimis subsidijs hujus Sancte Apostolice Sedis. Itaque illa potissimum ratione recusatum est, quod, si hic aditus aperiretur, quo modo alijs Principus[1] petentibus negari posset, non haberemus; que res maximo damno ac detrimento Sedi Apostolice ac Sacro Collegio, quod magna ex parte his taxis participatum, esset. Atque etiam illud constabat, dictam ecclesiam non ita incommode se habere, ut hoc quasi levamento indigeret. Quare, charissime in Christo Fili noster, hoc Tibi postulanti prestare non posse doluimus. Sed accident profecto tempora, cum dilectum filium Thomam predictum alijs in rebus recompensabi-mus. Sed de his rebus omnibus, ut ad Majestatem Tuam latius perscribetur, supradicto Episcopo Wigorniensi mandavimus, cujus literis adhibebit fidem Majestas Tua. Datum Rome, apud Sanctum Petrum, sub Annulo Piscatoris, die 7 Februarij, 1514, Pontificatus Nostri anno primo.

(*Signatur*) JA. SADOLETUS.

(*Superscribitur*)
Charissimo in Christo Filio nostro
Henrico, Angliæ Regi illustri.

XII. POPE LEO X. *to* KING HENRY VIII.[2]

LEO P̄P. X^s.

CARISSIME in Christo Fili noster, Salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem. Significavit nuper Nobis dilectus filius noster Hadrianus[3], Tituli Sancti

[1] So in orig. [2] Record Office. [3] Adrian de Castello.

Chrisogoni

Chrisogoni Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ Presbiter Cardinalis Bathoniensis, qui in isto inclito Regno tuo collectorie fructuum ac proventuum Camere Apostolice debitorum curam habet, quendam Georgium Ardizonum, mercatorem Januensem, officialem exigendi unius denarij ex quolibet ducato ab illis qui per cambium extra prefatum Regnum pecunias transmittunt, instare et urgere, ut hujusmodi vectigal solvatur, etiam ex pecunia collectorie Apostolice, que pecunia quotannis ad Cameram Apostolicam per cambium mittitur a Vice Collectore; quod sane vectigal, sicut satis omnibus constat, nunquam ex dicta pecunia exigi consuevit, ut testari potest Venerabilis frater Riccardus[1] Episcopus Vintoniensis, qui superioribus annis, ut accepimus, per decennium curam habuit colligendi hujusmodi denarium ex quolibet ducato, et nunquam ex pecunia collectorie Apostolice quicquam exegit. Quocirca Majestatem Tuam in Domino hortamur, ne patiatur predictum Georgium pecunijs Camere Apostolice novum vectigal sua cupiditate imponere, ac tantum detrimentum pro suo privato commodo ipsi Cameræ contra jus ac laudabilem consuetudinem inferre; in quo Majestas Tua pro justitia et sua equitate Cameræ ipsius indemnitati consulet, et Nobis rem gratam faciet. Datum Rome, apud Sanctum Petrum, sub Annulo Piscatoris, die 10 Junij, 1514, Pontificatus Nostri anno secundo.

(*Signatur*) JA. SADOLETUS.

(*Superscribitur*)
Carissimo in Christo Filio nostro
Henrico, Anglie Regi Illustri.

XIII. POPE LEO X. *to* KING HENRY VIII.[2]

LEO P̄P. X^s.

CARISSIME in Christo Fili noster, Salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem. Que Majestas Tua a Nobis postulat, partim ad commodum, partim ad amplitudinem Venerabilis Fratris Thomæ, Electi Eboracensis, spectantia, de his locuti sumus latius cum Venerabili Fratre Silvestre Episcopo Wigorniensi, tuo Oratore, Prelato nostro domestico, quibus ipse perspicere plane potuit animum nostrum flagrantem desiderio Tibi in omnibus, quoad per Nos licet, morem gerendi, pro quo justissime omnia cupimus. Sed cum de cunctis ipse a Nobis habeat in mandatis ut ad Majestatem Tuam copiose perscribat, tamen nominatim ad Te Nobis visum est scribere, hunc honorem, quem persone Tibi

[1] Fox.

[2] Record Office.

grate,

grate, ac Nobis quoque accepte, postulas[1], eo quod maximi fit, et semper factus est, aliquas semper, nec eas mediocres, habere difficultates. Quo enim multi pervenire contendunt id qui assequuntur, et in summam amplitudinem simul vocantur, et videntur preclaro de suis virtutibus et meritis judicio a Sede Apostolica esse exornati, sed res nulla tam ardua ac difficilis est, quam non Tuæ Majestatis causa grato et libenti animo suscipiamus. Cum etiam confidamus, tue commendationis testimonio, nisi hominem tanto honore dignissimum Nobis per Te propositum non fuisse, quanquam ad commendationem tuam nostra in illum singularis benivolentia accedat. Itaque spondemus Majestati Tue Nos hac in re que Tibi grata sint omnia facturos, ipsumque tempore opportuno, ac maturitate creationis expectata, in amplissimi ordinis honorem vocaturos. Sed de hoc quoque mentem nostram ex prefati Episcopi Wigorniensis literis Majestas Tua intelliget Nos in eis rebus, quas Tibi gratas fore intellexerimus, nostram Tibi et fidem et benivolentiam perpetuo prestabimus. Datum Romæ, apud Sanctum Petrum, sub Annulo Piscatoris, die 24 Septembris, 1514, Pontificatus Nostri anno secundo.

(*Signatur*) JA. SADOLETUS.

(*Superscribitur*)
Carissimo in Christo Filio nostro
Henrico, Anglie Regi Illustri.

XIV. POPE LEO X. *to* KING HENRY VIII.[2]

LEO P̄P̄. X.

CARISSIME in Christo Fili noster, Salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem. Etsi, quod antea scripseramus[3] ad Majestatem Tuam, nunquam Nobis suspecta fuit Venerabilis Fratris Silvestri Episcopi Wingerniensis, Oratoris apud Nos tui, probitas, et innocentia in eo veneficij[4] crimine, quod ei objectum, nec

[1] The King had applied in favour of Wolsey, for the See of York, which had become vacant by the death of Cardinal Bainbridge at Rome in July 1514.

[2] Record Office.

[3] On the 25th of November 1514 Leo wrote to Henry to acknowledge the receipt of two letters, the first a letter of friendship, the other relative to the charges against the Bishop of Worcester, of whose innocence His Holiness was glad that Henry entertained the same opinion as Himself, adding, " deinde ea que objecta fuerunt ita vacillare nobis visa sunt, ut si qua esset antea suscepta ab ullo " dubitatio, eam imbecillitas criminum et inconstantia accusatorum penitus abstergeret. Sed ille " vir nobis et a principio innocens, et ad extremum perpurgatus, plane judicatus est."

[4] He was accused of poisoning Bainbridge.

argumentis

argumentis nec verisimili ulla ratione suffultum fuit; tamen quo tardius ad Te perfectam absolutionem totius rei mitteremus, ea fuerunt in causa: primum, quod accusatorum omnibus objectionibus refellendis et diluendis spatium ac locum dare voluimus: deinde, quoniam ipsa sententiæ pronunciatio in Consistorio nostro secreto de Venerabilium Fratrum nostrorum sententijs et votis facienda erat, dedimus operam ut singuli seorsum Cardinales rem diligenter excuterent, ac plane cognoscerent; ut non repente, sed instructi et edocti, accederent ad votum proferendum. Igitur rebus omnibus diligentissime circumspectis et examinatis, causa omni discussa et cognita, in eodem Consistorio nostro secreto omnium Venerabilium Fratrum nostrorum votis pro veritate et innocentia contra falsam suspitionem dictis, nemine discrepante, solum ante oculos Deum et justiciam habentes, eum absolvimus, diplomataque sub plumbo confici jussimus absolutionis hujusce, quæ ad Tuam Majestatem missa cognosces. Quod vero, et ante pronunciationem nostram certi eramus prefatum Episcopum ab omni ejusmodi crimine et suspicione alienissimum esse, idque aliquotiens ad Tuam Majestatem scripsimus: primum in eam sententiam et indubitatam opinionem Nos adducebat vita hominis, moresque, qui hanc labem nullo modo neque infamiam accipiebant; deinde eorum quæ objiciebantur imbecillitas et inconstantia Nobis semper frivola et inanis visa est; postremo vocatis ad Nos viris peritissimis causam hanc agitantibus, eorum judicia et sinceras opiniones ac sententias fueramus perscrutati. In quibus omnibus cum predicti Episcopi innocentia statum suum obtineret, nec in verisimilem ullam suspitionem posset pertrahi; id quod Nobis certum erat, pro certo ad Majestatem Tuam scribendum existimavimus. Nunc tota causa perspecta et judicata, actisque omnibus rite et legitime servatis, letamur veritatem et probitatem non succubuisse invidiæ, quod Tuæ quoque Majestati gratum et jucundum esse existimamus, tum propter justitiam cujus observantissimus haberis, tum quod hominis Tuæ Majestati fidelissimi, Nobis acceptissimi, fama et integritas in suo statu et honore pristino conservata est; quod, cum justitiæ proprium est, tum utrique nostrum debet esse jucundum. Datum Romæ, apud Sanctum Petrum, sub Annulo Piscatoris, die 9 Januarij, 1515, Pontificatus Nostri anno secundo.

(*Signatur*) JA: SADOLETUS.

(*Superscribitur*)
Carissimo in Christo Filio nostro
Henrico, Angliæ Regi Illustri.

XV. The Emperor Maximilian *to* King Henry VIII.[1]

Maximilianus, Divina favente clementia, electus Romanorum Imperator, semper Augustus, ac Germaniæ, Hungarie, Dalmatiæ, Croaciæ, &c. Rex, Archidux Austrie, Dux Burgundiæ, Brabantiæ, &c., Comes Palatinus, &c. Serenissime Princeps, Frater, et Consanguinee noster charissime, Salutem, cum incremento perpetuo nostri fraterni amoris. Quod Nobis semper libere de fraterno animo Serenitatis Vestræ erga Nos et serenissimos filios nostros persuasimus, id jam habunde ex literis Serenitatis Vestræ Nobis comprobavit magnificus Robertus Ingilfeld[2], Consiliarius et Orator suus apud Nos. Quod Nobis tanto jucundius fuit, quod non ita est sicuti communes hostes nostri voluissent, et publice jactabantur, cum magna omnium perturbatione. Nos tamen, qui habemus exploratum sincerum animum Serenitatis Vestræ, nec aliud credimus, aut unquam cogitavimus, quam quæ de optimo fratre debemus, gaudemus ex animo Nos in spe nostra non fuisse fraudatos. In Nobis autem Serenitas Vestra semper illum optimum, fraternum, sincerum, et integrum animum re ipsa comperiet, quem semper ipsa et claræ memoriæ Genitor suus comperierunt. Hoc de Nobis libere credat et sibi polliceatur Serenitas Vestra. Retulit Nobis idem magnificus Orator suus, ipsam missuram ad serenissimos filios nostros Oratores suos, ex quibus latius intelligemus bonum animum et mentem suam erga Nos, Catholicum communem Fratrem, et eosdem serenissimos filios nostros charissimos, quod Nobis gratissimum erit, et maxime expediens communibus rebus nostris omnibus. Nos igitur confestim mittemus unum ex nostris ad Serenissimam Margaritam Filiam nostram, qui una cum Joanne Domino de Berges, cum eisdem Oratoribus contractabunt; et Nos (ut diximus) in nulla re sumus defuturi ad commune bonum et gloriam omnium Nostrum, sicuti eidem Oratori suo latius declaravimus: a quo intelliget apertius Serenitas Vestra, quam Omnipotens felicem et incolumem longevem conservet. Datum in Civitate nostra Imperiali Augusta, die duodecima mensis Maij, Anno Domini 1515, Regnorum nostrorum, Romani tricesimo, Hungariæ vero vicesimo sexto.

(*Signatur*) Vester bonus Frater Maxi^{9}. I.

Ad mandatum Cæsareæ
Majestatis proprium,

(*Contrasignatur*) Ja: de Bannissis.

(*Superscribitur*)
Serenissimo Principi Domino Henrico Angliæ et Franciæ, &c. Regi, Consanguineo et Fratri nostro charissimo.

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[1] Record Office.

[2] Sir Robert Wyngfeld.

XVI. Pope Leo X. *to* Cardinal Wolsey.[1]

A
Leo PP. X'.

Dilecte Fili noster, Salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem. Hodie, Deo concedente, in secreto Venerabilium Fratrum nostrorum Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ Cardinalium Consistorio, omnium votis contemplatione illius clarissimi et Sedi Apostolicæ conjunctissimi Regis consentientibus, Circumspectionem tuam in ipsum ordinem amplissimum legimus, et adscivimus, ejusdemque Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ Cardinalem creavimus; et quidem solum, quod splendius[2] et illustrius multo visum est: sed etsi honor iste maximus, resque ipsa multas solita est habere difficultates, tamen illi tanto Regi, tamque preclare de Nobis et Sede Apostolica merito, nihil non fuit concedendum, cujus et egregia virtus de præterito magno præsidio rebus ecclesiasticis fuit, et in futurum eadem voluntas speranda est; sicut Nos illius fide et pietate, necnon erga Nos benevolentia, inducti, spe certa confidimus: tua vero probitas, et in rebus Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ ac nostris Nobis spectata voluntas ac prudentia fecerint, ut personam Circumspectionis tuæ idoneam judicaremus, quæ tante dignitatis culmine esset decoranda. Cognovimus enim te amantissimum nostri, et in rebus quæ ad Nos pertinent nostri honoris dignitatisque studiosissimum; fecimus ergo et merito et libenter. Tu vero, cum ejus ipsius Sancte Romane Ecclesie, cujus dignitati antea tanquam bonus prelatus semper studuisti, nobilis jam pars et honorificum membrum existas. Decet Circumspectionem tuam, tanquam sacerdotem indutum salutari Domini, ita amplissimum hunc honorem gerere, ut Dei liberalitate ac Sedis Apostolicæ meritis erga te pensitatis, omni tempore et loco ejusdem Sancte Romane Ecclesie dignitati, usque ad effusionem etiam sanguinis si opus sit, adsis et adsistas; imprimisque apud illum invictissimum Regem causam Sedis Apostolicæ, cui perpetuo favisti, tanto studiosius foveas, quanto ea res magna ex parte non modo ad debitum officij tui, sed etiam ad amplitudinem dignitatis tuæ pertinet, ut judicium nostrum, quo honor iste maximus, intercedente illo optimo Rege, nostro illi obsequendi desiderio et tuorum meritorum intuitu in te collocatus est, ut perpetuis in Nos ac Sedem Apostolicam officijs comprobetur, quod Deo et Sancto Spiritu cooperante te

[1] Record Office.

[2] So in orig.

facturum

facturum non dubitamus. Datum Romæ, apud Sanctum Petrum, sub Annulo Piscatoris, die 10° Septembris, 1515, Pontificatus Nostri anno tertio.

(*Signatur*) JA: SADOLETUS.

(*Superscribitur*)
Dilecto Filio nostro Thomæ, Sancte Romane
Ecclesie Presbytero Cardinali Eboracensi.

XVII. PACE *to* WOLSEY.[1]

REVERENDISSIME in Christo Pater, et Domine mi observantissime. Post humilem commendationem. Tam fidum nuntium nunc habui, ut non fuerit necesse, characteribus mutatis, ad Dominationem vestram Reverendissimam scribere. Octava die præsentis mensis ad hoc oppidum de Isproke sanus et incolumis perveni, quo tribus diebus celerius applicuissem, nisi adversa valitudo Domini Michaelis de Abbatis, qui ab equo lapsus crus fere sibi fregit, me impedivisset. Hic inveni Reverendissimum Dominum Cardinalem Sedunensem, cui ea celeritate, quam res postulabat, commissionem meam aperui. Et quum Dominatio ejus Reverendissima perlegisset literas Dominationis vestræ Reverendissimæ, et ex dicta mea commissione apertissime intellexisset optimum et humanissimum animum Majestatis Regiæ et Dominationis vestræ Reverendissimæ, una cum summa fide quam uterque vestrum ei habet, non solum utrique vestrum gratias egit, quantas verbis exprimere et animo concipere potuit, verum etiam Deo immortali se obligatissimum esse affirmavit, quod tam magnos, tam fideles, tam denique potentes in rebus adversis amicos et dominos reperisset; quo factum est, ut omni humanitate erga me Dominatio ejus Reverendissima usa sit, et omnem quemcunque potuit honorem respectu Dominationis vestræ Reverendissimæ mihi exhibuerit. Quod autem ad negotia Majestatis Regiæ pertinet, illa non minus curæ erunt Dominationi ejus Reverendissimæ, quam animæ suæ salus. Præterea, quoniam Majestas Regia et Dominatio vestra Reverendissima tantum in eo confidunt, tam parcus erit pecuniæ Regiæ exponendæ, quam sanguinis sui effundendi; vultque ut nihil pecuniæ frustra abjiciatur, sed in honorem et commodum Majestatis Regiæ omnis erogetur.

Quantum attinet ad Magnificos Dominos Helvetios, Dominatio ejus Reverendissima dicit, adventum meum fuisse opportunissimum, propterea quod

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[1] Record Office.

Galli,

Galli, sua solita largitione usi, jam inceperant cum Dominis Helvetijs de pace tractare, ad Ducatum Mediolanensem in suis manibus sine interruptione retinendum. Veruntamen Dominatio ejus Reverendissima vestræ Reverendissimæ Dominationi pro certo significat, quod dicti Domini Helvetij erunt paratissimi facere omnia, quæ volet Majestas Regia et Dominatio vestra Reverendissima contra Gallos, tocius orbis Christiani turbatores, contra quos etiam Majestas Cæsarea omnes vires suas parat, et personaliter illos in Italia aggressurus est, quia decrevit illustrissimum Dominum Franciscum Ducem Bari (nobilissimum et summis virtutibus præditum adolescentem) Ducem Mediolani creare, tamquam germanum fratrem Maximiliani, qui dimisso turpissime Ducatu in Galliam migravit. Atque etiam constituit Gallicam ambitionem opprimere et pessundare, quo facilius Majestas Regia suum jus hæreditarium in regno Franciæ recuperet. Quod quum ita sit, nihil nobis nunc deest præter pecuniam, quam si mecum attulissem, Reverendissimus Dominus Sedunensis effecisset, ut intra decem dies post adventum meum Domini Helvetij Gallos fuerint aggressi. Quare Dominationi vestræ Reverendissimæ iterum atque iterum supplico, ut pecunia omni celeritate mittatur: in mittendo nihil erit periculi, quia nunquam persolvetur, nisi observatis omnibus conditionibus quas Dominatio vestra Reverendissima commissioni meæ inseruit. Nunc advenit tempus invadendi Gallos, quia Rex Francorum est ita pecunia exhaustus, ut vagetur hinc inde per Italiam pecuniam extorquendo, quæ res effecit ut maximum odium omnium in se concitaverit. Dominatio vestra Reverendissima mihi isthinc discedenti dixit se optare potius duabus horis cum Reverendissimo Domino Sedunensi colloqui, quam habere centum milia aureorum. Profecto Dominatio vestra Reverendissima non sine causa illud desideravit, quia nunquam natus fuit vir majori prudentia, neque magis expertus in rebus magnis tractandis. Ad hoc est magis affectus, ut restituat Majestatem Regiam in suum regnum Franciæ, quam ut recuperet illa quæ in Ducatu Mediolanensi amisit. Et hac de causa personaliter ad Helvetios mecum est itura brevi, cum ut respondeat summæ humanitati et benevolentiæ Reverendissimæ Dominationis Vestræ, tum ut omnia celerius in commodum Majestatis Regiæ perfitiantur. Item Dominatio ejus Reverendissima omnem operam dabit, ut Magnifici Domini Helvetij, conjunctis copijs Cæsareæ Majestatis, invadant Gallos, priusquam Rex ab Italia discedat; id quod maximi est momenti. Et quoniam Majestas Regia et Dominatio vestra Reverendissima tam magnam spem in Reverendissimo Domino Cardinale Sedunensi collocarunt, ipse constituit interesse conflictui, ut vos clare intelligatis Dominationem ejus Reverendissimam tam paratam esse exponere vitam pro vobis, quam vos parati estis ei et Magnificis Dominis Helvetijs nunc succurrere.

rere. Bona autem sua in hijs rebus nihili æstimat; quia jam Helvetiis donanda misit x milia ducatorum, ad interrumpendos tractatus Gallicos. Ut dicam summatim, nihil in hoc Reverendissimo Domino Sedunensi deest, quod ad sapientissimum et nobilissimum principem consummandum pertinet. Quamobrem peto ac repeto ut Dominatio vestra Reverendissima mittat pecuniam, cujus nunc defectus rebus nostris maximo est impedimento; ideo quod non solum Majestas Cæsarea, sed etiam omnes ejus Consiliarii, et præcipue Reverendissimus Dominus Cardinalis Gurcensis, pessime sunt erga Gallos animati, ut paucis rem expediam, vel nunc, vel nunquam, regnum Galliæ recuperandum est. Notabile indicium animi Cæsareæ Majestatis erga Gallos est illud, quod nuper dimisit Oratorem Gallicum ad nullum colloquium admissum, ignominiose magis, quam honorifice. Reverendissimus Dominus Sedunensis Dominationem vestram Reverendissimam vehementer orat ut summæ pecuniæ in commissione mea expressæ addat xx milia coronarum, alioquin numerus xx milium Helvetiorum compleri non poterit. Quoniam hic audimus Regem Gallicum laborare totis viribus, ut cum Sanctissimo Domino nostro colloquatur, ad res suas cum Sanctitate Ejus componendas; laborandum est etiam Dominationi vestræ Reverendissimæ in eadem re diligentissime, ne Sanctitas Ejus a nobis alienetur.

Nunc fit diæta inter Helvetios. Quid decernent et concludent, Reverendissimus Dominus Sedunensis brevi intelliget. Ego, ut primum nuntius hac de re allatus erit, omnia ad Dominationem vestram Reverendissimam perscribam. Litteræ, quas Dominatio vestra Reverendissime ad me dabit, mittendæ sunt ad Magnificum Dominum Robertum Wyngfelde; quia is intelliget quo in loco apud Helvetios sim; ad quos intra biduum vel triduum, ut Reverendissimus Dominus Sedunensis mihi significavit, profecturus sum una cum Dominatione ejus Reverendissima. Valeat felicissime Reverendissima Dominatio vestra, cui me humiliter commendo et trado. Ex Insbroke, 12 Novembris, 1515.

Excellentissimæ Dominationis vestræ Reverendissimæ humilis servulus,

(*Signatur*) Ri: Paceus.

(*Superscribitur*)

Reverendissimo in Christo Patri ac Domino, Domino, Thomæ, Miseratione Divina, Presbytero Cardinali Eboracensi, Domino suo observantissimo.

Cito.
Cito.

XVIII. PACE *to* WOLSEY.[1]

THE sixtent daye offe this present [monthe I did writt] my laste letters[2] *unto your Grace from [Isbruke, certyfy]ynge the same off all thingis than [occurrant. At] this tyme youre Grace schall undrestond [that] mi Lorde the Cardinal Sedunensis and I [be this day] butt forti milis fromme the Swisses, wythe [whome is the] Duke offe Bari, namidde and decl[aride by] the Emperowre Duke offe Millen, for to [sollicide] his owne cawse agaynst the French King. Evyn att owre [arryvin]ge we shall have a resolution off the sayd [Swices, what] theye wull do. I have perfect knowlie[ge that] yffe mi cumminge do not interrupte all [the] Frenche King hys practisis, that the sayde Swisses wull agre [with] Hymme for moni, bi the vehement labore off [the] Duke offe Savoye, who doithe n[ott oonlie] procure herein the French King his cause, butt [moche more] his owne, withe the French Kyng his mony; for yffe t[he Swisses] do not agre with the French King, the sayde Duke off [Savoy] is lyke to lose hys Dukdome. Mi Lorde [the Cardinall] Sedunensis haith declaridde the hole [cause of] mi cumminge unto the Emperowre, say[ing that herein] he haithe doon nothing contrari [to my commyssion], wherin your Grace is [content that he may shew all thynges fidis et intimis amicis. I doo certify your Grace herof, to] thintent that, yffe this thinge be far[ther know]en than yowe wolde, that it be not imputid [unto me]. Albeitt I trust everi thynge is for the beste, [for the] Emperowre is marvaluseli well contentidde [herwit]he, bycause He intendithe the same thinge that [we doo] go abowte. I have twyse wretyn unto yowre Grace [for] moni, to be here present for the Swisses; for wytheowte [that] nothinge wyth them can be doone, and especialli [at] thys tyme, because offe the French King hys grete offirs offe the contrari parte; whoos labure is not [gret]ter for to helpe Hymme selfe than to hurte us. [Wher]fore it is tyme to loke to the oppression offe [his] intolerable ambition; for He doithe now, aftre [his] late victorie*[3]*, opynli avante Hymme selfe, that [He] wyll do mo ande more excellente actis than evir didde Alexander Mangnus. I nevir hadde wrytynge fromme yowre Grace synst mi departyne owte offe [Eng]lande, wheroffe I do gretli marvayle, conside[rata] rerum mutatione. The French King haithe lateli sende a*

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[1] British Museum, Vitell. B. VIII. f. 204. The original is holograph, and wholly in cypher except the conclusion. It has been damaged by fire, and the lacunæ are supplied from a contemporary, but imperfect, decypher in the Record Office.

[2] This letter is in the same volume, f. 200, but much burnt. It is also in cypher.

[3] At Marignano.

[*secret*]

[*secret*] *messanger unto the Duke offe Bari offerynge* [*unto hy*]*m twenty thowsande ducatis yerly for to renu*[*nce his ti*]*tle offe the Dukery offe Milen, ande un*[*doubtidli he*] *hadde acceptidde the sayde offre,* [*had nott my commyng ben. I did yister*]*daye see ande rede letters offe the Popis* [*Ambassadours resident*] *in Swyce lande, wherin thies wurdis w*[*er formally*] *comprisidde,* "*desperandum est de He*[*lvicijs, nisi*] *Rex Anglie succurrat, et nisi idem* "*re*[*sistat Gallis*], *occupabunt omnia.*" Valeat felicissime [*Reverendissima Dominatio vestra*], cui me humillime commendo et trado. Ex oppido K[*empti, 20mo.*] Novembris.

Excellentissimæ Dominationis vestræ Reverendissimæ
fidelissimus Servulus,
RI. PACEUS.

(*Superscribed*)
Reverendissimo in Christo Patri ac Domino
Domino Thomæ, Mi[*seratione*] Di[*vina*],
Presbytero Cardinali Eboracensi; Domino
suo observandissimo.
In Anglia.

XIX. POPE LEO X. *to* WOLSEY.[1]

A
LEO PP. X^s.

DILECTE Fili noster Salutem, Salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem. Jam non, sine honoris nostri et Ecclesiæ lesione, transire potest tam diuturna detentio dilecti filij Polidori[2], in collectoria istius incliti Regni multis annis officialis nostri et Camere Apostolice, pro cujus liberatione sæpe alias scripsimus.[3] Accedit, quod collectorie nostre domus et ipsius Camere Apostolice adhuc clausa tenetur, exportataque bona, et supellex; ac collectorie libri, sigilla, et cetera officij monumenta, nondum sunt restituta: certe eo ista graviora videntur in isto inclito Regno, quo istius Regie Majestatis in Nos et hanc Sanctam Sedem observantia, et clarissimorum progenitorum sunt omnibus notoria. Nos profecto Polidorum non deliquisse, at si quid peccavit, quod nondum intelligimus, Nobis quibus servivit petivimus per repetitas nostras literas condonari. Quare de honore nostro et ecclesiæ agatur, que nullius ministri demerito ledi debet. Tuque illius jam honorabile membrum, et nostrarum manuum creatura sis, in te quoque hujus rei, et indignitatis portione parva redundat, presertim cum apud istum Regem tanta

[1] Record Office. [2] Polydore Vergil.
[3] One of these letters, dated 1st June 1515, is in the Record Office.

gratia

gratia et auctoritate polleas; non parum etiam Nos monet ratio et respectus honoris dilecti filii nostri Hadriani, Tituli Sancti Chrisogoni, Presbyteri Cardinalis Bathoniensis, qui cum collectorie ipsius curam habeat, ut Nobis et Regie Majestati obsequeretur, posthabito ipso Polidoro non nihil de suo jure remisso de collectoria, ut Nos et Ejus Majestas voluimus, disposuit. Cupientes igitur ex animo, ut tenemur, nostro et ipsius Cardinalis honori consulere; qui Nobis est, ob egregias ejus virtutes, doctrinam, et in Nos et hanc Sanctam Sedem prestantissima merita, gratissimus atque acceptissimus, tibi vero et ob easdem causas, et quod tuæ dignitatis in rebus omnibus studiosissimum se prestitit, ac in primis quod, cum Nobis carissimus sit pro tua erga Nos Nobis perspecta benivolentia, eodem amore et loco esse debet, quique et istius Regie Majestatis honorem, observantia, et totius regni commoda singulari diligentia quantum ad ipsum attinet prosequitur, et semper prosecutus est: ut tandem cuncta in pace et bona Majestatis istius Regie ac tua gratia conquiescant, dilectum filium Franciscum de Chierigatis, Cubicularium nostrum, et Apostolice Sedis Notarium, ac Juris utriusque Doctorem, ad Majestatem Regiam mittendum duximus, te hortantes, ac magnopere requirentes, velis pro tua in Nos et hanc Sanctam Sedem devotione ac fide eidem Francisco apud Regiam Majestatem et ubi opus fuerit ita adesse, eamque ita dirigere, ut rebus quas supra diximus, opportune et cum benignitate ac clementia regia, ac tua, provideatur; et simul, quod maxime et toto corde desideramus, idem Cardinalis, Ecclesia, et res suæ omnes posthac solito Majestatis Regie favore et gratia foveantur. In qua re Circumspectio tua ita Nobis gratificabitur, ut nulla alia re profecto magis obsequi et placere unquam valeat, id quod ita a te expectamus, ut nullo modo dubitemus. Datum Florentiæ, sub Annulo Piscatoris, die primo Decembris, 1515, Pontificatus Nostri anno tertio.[1]

(*Signatur*) JA. SADOLETUS.

(*Superscribitur*)
Dilecto Filio nostro Thomæ, Sanctæ Romanæ
Ecclesiæ Cardinali Eboracensi.

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[1] In another letter of the 12th of March 1516 the Pope desires that Polydore Vergil may be immediately sent home.

XX. PACE *to* WOLSEY.[1]

PLEAS itt your Grace. After the wrytynge off my former letters, whyche yow schall receve at thys tyme, Mr Melchior Langho arrividde unto thys citie wyth all suche letters, instructions, and advertisementes, as were sende bi hym frome the Kyngis Highnesse and your Grace to my Lorde the Cardinal Sedunensis and me, to the singular grete comforte off us boith; for we, seynge evidently the total ruine off Fraunce, and that the Kyngis Highnesse and your Grace do so wysely and substantially in every condition endever your selfe unto the same, have that thynge that we most desirydde; for we be as goodde frendis to the Frenchemen as they be to us.

Nunc ad res Helveticas. The 20^ti^ daye off thys present monyth, at my beynge in Surryke, a grete numbre off the best, most valiant, and wyse capitans didde cum to me, and offrydde them selfes to serve the Kyngis Grace, gevynge unto me all suerties that I wolde desyre off there fidelitie; for to continue the warre not oonly in Itali for the recovery off the Duchy off Milan, but also to procede in to Fraunce at the Kyngis commaundment and wagis, there to continue as longe as I schulde be in there cumpany. For thys there most kynde offre I didde geve unto them most harty thankes in the Kyngis name, and schewidde unto them what honer profyte and perpetual suertie schulde ensue unto them bi the continuance off thys there goodde and benevolent mynde towardis the Kyngis Grace. I made them also, aftre the maner off there cuntreye, the best chere I couith devise for the Kyngis honor. And in fardre communication hadde betwixte us concernynge our hasty entrie in to Itali, they desiridde me instantly to sollicite thEmperour to cum, accordynge to hys promyse, to the citie off Constance, for a final conclusion betwixte Hym and them; so that wythowte more delaye we myght procede in to Itali, and geve bataigle to the Frenchemen; and in the mean tyme advertise the Kyngis Grace off there intent to meate wyth Hym in Fraunce. I answerde herunto that I hadde by especiall currors advertisydde thEmperour off every thynge necessari, and espetially off hys hasty cummynge to Constance, for the respecte affore rehersydde. Itt fortunydde, to all our grete comfortes, that whyls we were in thys communication, arrividde unto me a curior frome thEmperour wyth verraye kynde and substancial letters, thankynge me for my faythe and diligence in hys causis, beynge commune

[1] Record Office. Holograph.

wyth

wyth hys most dere brodre Kynge off Englande and Fraunce, and that accordynge to my desyre and counsayle He wolde cum to Constance wythowte fayle wythin 4 or 5 dayes. The sayde capitans, havynge thys knowliege, were gladde above reason, and sayde they wolde all accumpany the Lorde Galiace and me to the sayde citie: and so didde, for to abyde thEmperours cummynge. And thus we taryede all togedre unto the daye prefixidde; and in the mean tyme arrividde to thys citie 6 ambassadors off the Swyces, for to conclude in lyke maner wyth thEmperour and me. But thEmperour haith kepte no promise wyth us, to the grete hynderance off my causis, but to none apparent hurte as yet; but yff He continue in thys hys slownes and negligence, He maye fortune to do no goodde to odre men, and hurte Hym selfe most off all. All thAmbassadors and capitans off the Swyces were marvalusly evyl contentidde wyth thEmperour for thys hys deade, and schewidde unto me that He nevyr kepte promise wyth them; and that, wythowte ony respecte hadde unto Hym, they intendidde to departe, but for my sake they were contentidde to tary unto the tyme I schulde have fardre knowliege off hys mynde. Wherfore I depechydde a curior in all hast possible to the sayde Emperour, and advertisydde Hym playnely, in conveniente wurdis, what parel schulde ensue boith to Hym and odre men, yff He didde not cum hydre accordynge to hys promise. And because I thoght itt necessari to have sum wyse person to sollicite my wrytynge unto the sayde Emperour, I didde also wryte oon lettre unto thAmbassador of Arragon, a veraye wyse and substantial man; knowynge the absence off Syr Roberte Wyngfelde for causis necessari. The sayde Ambassador off Arragon didde not oonly accomplysche my desyre in every thynge, but also depechydde unto me a curior in all hast, and advertisydde me that thEmperour approvidde and laudidde my wrytynge and counsayle in every thynge, and wolde folowe the same, but for certayne respectes He couith not cum to Constance, but wolde drawe nere therunto; and that thEmperour desirydde me to cum unto Hym 3 dayes jorney frome thys citie, for to treate wyth Hym suche thingis as apparteignidde unto Hym and the Kynge my Soverayne Lorde. When the Swyces hadde knowliege of hys mynde, that He wolde not cum hydre, but have me awaye, they sayde playnely unto me, that yff I departidde to thEmperour, they wolde departe home; and when the fame schulde be spredde abrode in there cuntrey off my departynge frome Constance, every man wolde beleve that all thynges declarydde unto them in my Princes name were but fables. And all thies there wurdis were off verraye troith. Wherfore I didde counsayle herin with my Lorde the Cardinal Sedunensis, and sum odre also off thEmperours counsayle, beynge resident here; and itt was concludidde betwixte us, that in no cace I schulde departe

 hense;

hense; but that we all wyth oone assent schulde wryte unto the sayde Emperour the necessitie off myne abydynge here, and the parell that myght ensue bi my departynge. And thus I have interteignidde the sayde Swyces yet, not wythowte cost and chiarge, but all is well exspende. Farthermore, for to have a resolute answere, I desirydde the Lorde Galiace to ryde to thEmperour to declare unto Hym all parelles, and to stirre Hym forwarde. He was ryght gladde to take apon hym thys labor, and to returne agayne wyth all diligence, and at hys returne I schall have large knowliege off the sayde Emperours mynde. Suer I am that He intendith as yet no hurte, nodre goith abowte ony concorde or appoyntement wyth the Frenche Kynge. And when He schall intende oodrewyse, I am suer to have perfecte knowliege theroff. Wherfore your Grace maye, wythowte fere, continue your mynde stedfastly towardis the ruine and the oppression off the Frenche pryde, unto suche tyme that yow schalbe advertisydde bi me how all thynges schall succede here. As for the Frenche Kynge, yow neade not fere Hym, for He is more affrayde to offende the Kyngis Grace, than He is to be punyschydde in Hell for hys intolerable ambition; whyche thynge doith ryght well appere by suche communication as He hadde wyth the Pope, promittynge recompence off the brekynge off hys fayth in sollicitynge the Scottes agaynst us. As touchynge thEmperours desyre to speke wyth me, itt is for none odre intent, but for to have sum off the Kingis mony for to paye sum off hys soldiors; but I schall handle Hym well enoghe herin. He schall not, bi my consent, cast awaye the Kyngis Graces mony, as He doith hys owne. The Lordis off the Canton off Surryke haith constitute a Diete to be celebrate in there towne the furst Sundaye off Lent, wherin I schall have sum answere; but harde itt wulbe to have a final resolution, because off the dissension as is yet emongist them. They have constitute the sayde Diete in the despite off suche Cantons as doith schewe sum favor to Fraunce. Suer I am that I schall have no answer there but goodde, bi the means off the Lordis off the towne, whyche doith constantly favor my causis contra omnes gallizantes. Nothynge can hurte my causis, but oonly thEmperours slownesse; for yff He set forwarde, we schall have mo men than we have mony to paye wagis. Where your Grace doith wryte, that I schall do ryght acceptable service unto the Kyngis Grace, yff I brynge the Swyces in to Itali; I assure your Grace I am at a perfecte poynte wyth the best capitans off all the cuntreye, not oonly to procede in to Itali, but also in to Fraunce, si res in Italia bene succedent. Wherfore necessari itt is, that in omnem eventum your Grace make provision off mony to be in aredinesse at tyme convenient in thoos parties where we schalbe; off the conveyance wheroff I have myne opinion in my odre letters declaridde. I do hourely tary for a resolution off thEmperour,

thEmperour, and I trust verrayly to have oone goodde, thoghe thies Almaynes be so diligent in resolvynge there matiers, that they hadde levyr lose a grete citie, than to arise from there dinar to defende the same. Valeat felicissime Reverendissima Dominatio Vestra, cui me humillime commendo et trado. Ex Constantia, prima Februarij.

Excellentissimæ Dominationis vestræ Reverendissimæ
Fidelissimus Servulus,
Ri : Paceus.

Where your Grace doith fere that thEmperour schulde conduce the Swyces, at our beynge in Itali, agaynst the Venitians, do yow take no maner off thoght for that; for the Swyces wull not medyl wyth thEmperour in folowynge Hym oone fote. They saye they wull have none Emperour in the felde, but the Lorde Galiace and me; for hym they do esteme for hys wysedome and fayth, and me for my Kyngis mony; and a litle the more, because they do evidently see nowe that I was not sende in to there contreye to disseve them. Farthermore they have no maner off trust in the sayde Emperour as touchynge mony, but oonly in the Kyngis Grace, and they have advertisydde me to beware that the Kyngis mony cum not in to hys handis, sayynge that they do well knowe that the sayde Emperour hadde oone 100000 crownys off the Kyngis Grace in the tyme off the last warre, for to set them forwarde in to Burgunde; and they hadde nevyr theroff past 40000 floreyns: and that was the chyffe cause that made them cum to appoyntment wyth the Frenche Kynge at that tyme. My Lorde the Bushoppe Verulanus, Ambassador for the Popis Holines in Swycelande, is ryght evyl contentidde wyth the Pope for hys late communication hadde wyth the Frenche Kynge; and he haith advertisydde Hys Holines to take goode heade what He doith, and to forsake the sayde Frenche Kynge be tyme, and take hys frendis party, and espetially the Kyngis Graces. The sayde Ambassador doith firmely stike to the Kyngis causis in Swycelande, knowynge and seynge evidently that suche waye as the Kynge schall take is most for the Popis honor and suertie. Agantur ei gratiæ; est prudentissimus et fidelissimus vir, et Reverendissimo Domino Sedunensi addictissimus.

(*Superscribed*)
Reverendissimo in Christo Patri ac Domino
Domino, Miseratione Divina, Tituli Sanctæ
Ceciliæ Presbitero Cardinali Eboracensi,
Domino suo observantissimo.

XXI. PACE *to* BURBANK.[1]

M^R. BURBANKE, wyth most harty commendations. Aftre the wrytynge off my odre letters, I recevidde yours datidde the 30 off January wyth the duplicates, for fere off the interception off M^r. Melchior, whoo arrividde here in savetie. As towchynge newe inventions off somer schalbe grene, yow didde verraye wysely and kyndly offre your lyffe therin, for yow schall not dye therfore; non solum promovi expeditionem contra Gallum, sed jam sum in armis cum meis Helvetijs, sicut latissime scribo ad Reverendissimam Dominationem communem. Somnient alij, quicquid velint; ego apertissime video, quid expedit Christianissimo Regi nostro et suo regno. Fac ut omnes amici mei pro salute mea orent, quia non modo in bellum, sed in conflictum ipsum, sum iturus; et qualiscunque eveniat sors, ea contentus ero, si victoriam ab hostibus reportabimus; aliquid fortasse merebor laudis, si occidar, gloriosum erit pro patria, Principe, et Domino occubuisse. Yow maye schewe unto my Lorde, that I knowe ryght well not oonly *Wingfeld*, but also the *Emperour*; there inventions and ceremonys schall not let me to accomplysche the Kyngis desyre and my masters commaundment. As touchynge the matier off hym that wolde be *Pope*, I schall wryte yow sum thynge oone odre tyme, and not nowe. Deus rem bene vertat. I thanke yow most hartly for your singular love schewidde unto me in all myne owne causis, wheroff I am informidde largely bi one John Clyphton. Quicquid mihi boni proveniet, erit non minus tecum commune, quam cum fratre meo vel meipso, testor Deum. I praye yow schewe unto my Lorde, that I am at intolerable expences for me to bere emongist thies Swyces, whome a man must have allwaye at meate and drynke wyth hym, or schiame hys Prynce, hys master, and hym selfe; wyche I nodre can nor wul do. Hec scripsi inter strepitum armorum et tympanorum. Omnes amicos saluta. Vale, felicissime. Ex civitate Curiensi, 20 Februarij.

Non minus tuus quam suus,

RI : PACEUS.[2]

(*Superscribed*)
Domino Gulielmo Burbanco,
amico suo charissimo.

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[1] Record Office. Holograph. The words printed in Italics are in cypher in the original.

[2] The following is on a separate half sheet of paper, placed loose within the letter:

" Syr, Yow maye schewe unto my Lorde Cardinal myne opinion off somer schalbe grene, and " put hys Grace owte off doubte that dremes and newe inventions can not let me to do that I se " most expedient accordynge to my chiarge; advertisynge hym in lyke maner that I have not " oonly usidde all diligence in settynge forwarde the Swyces, but also in kepynge thEmperour " frome takynge ony concorde or peax wyth the *French*. For I have interruptidde diverse

" practisis

XXII. PACE *to* WOLSEY.[1]

In mi last letters wretyn unto your Grace frome the cytie of Cure[2], *I* advertisidde the same that I wolde ryde frome thense to the *Emperour* for to speke wyth Hym off every thynge necessari concernynge the advauncement off thys our *enterpryse in to Italy;* and so thys daye have I doon. *My Lorde* the *Cardinal Sedunensis*, *Syr Roberte Wyngfelde*, and I, dydde dyne wyth the sayde *Emperour*, and aftre dynar hadde large communication wyth Hym, in the whyche He manifestly declaridde hys mynde in thys, that He intendidde to be allwaye wythin oon dayes jorneye off the *army of the Swyces;* and *when* itt schulde cum to the *strikynge of batayle*, He wolde be emongist the furst. Farthermore He schewidde that He hadde made provision off all maner off thynge necessari for thys interprise. He is nowe but 3 dayes jorney longe frome *Trente*, in confinibus *Italie*. I schewidde unto Hym secretly your *Gracys mynde in that He* schulde not in ony maner agree wyth the *French Kynge*, repetynge suche wurdis as He Hym selfe sayde unto your *Grace* in the felde at *Terroane;* and that your *Grace wolde be* a faythful *procurator of hys yn this*, that the Kyngis Highnesse schulde not forsake Hym. He was marvaluse gladde to here thys, and sayde that He wolde wryte letters off thankes unto your Grace herfore, and committe unto my credence thys thynge folowynge, viz[t]. that He wolde not oonly entre in to *Itali* to *fyght* wyth the *Frenchemen*, *but also invade Fraunce*. And for that intent He desirith your Grace to move the *Kyngis Highnesse* to do the same; for He saythe that He wull set the crowne apon the Kyngis *Graces hedde there*. Wherfore He thynkyth that itt is most necessarie that the *Kyngis Highnesse be alwaye in aredynesse for that intent*, quia res ejus agitur. To morowe I do departe hense to Trent, there for to meate wyth the *Lorde Galyace* and all the *armye*, and frome *thense* to procede wythowte delaye in to *Italye* agaynst the *Frenche men*, whoo haith

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" practisis made secretly diverse wayes for that purpose; so that thEmperour Hym selfe haith " wretyn unto me therin, as yow schall see bi hys letter directidde unto me, sende wyth thies " present unto my Lorde Cardinal. The sayde Emperour is departidde towardis Itali, and we " schall schortly june wyth Hym.

" Do yow move my Lorde Cardinal, as I have wretyn unto hys Grace, that all humanitie maye " be schewidde unto thys gentil man berer heroff, for the Lorde Galiaces sake: whoo is oone off " the noblest and wysest men that evyr I didde see, and the most substantiall and faythful to the " Kynge in thys interprise; and necessari itt is that he have sum honorable rewarde, wherunto " yow schall be privey: I doubt not, do yow helpe, that itt be in royalles or nobles."

[1] Record Office. Holograph, and partly in cypher. The cyphered passages are printed in Italics.

[2] These are not preserved.

made

made a crye opynlye in *Mylan*, that no man, *in* payne off deth, schall speke oon wurde off the cummynge of the Swyces thydre; wherbye your *Grace maye* well perceve in what *cace theye do stonde.* I am ryght gladde that your *Grace* in your last letters doith approve all that I have doon hydretoo; for itt is nowe in suche case that nothynge bi me can perische, quia exitus *belli* est *incertus*, et *in manu Dei; but ytt ys not lyke*, but itt most neadis succede well, for we have the goodlyest army off *Swyces that evyr was seen*, and most redy to *fighthe*, and the *Frenche men be* affrayde *of us* affore theye *do se us*, and when we schall cum nere *them*, *we do gretli fere that* they wull runne *awaye.* I do hourelye loke for answer off diverse my letters. Valeat felicissime *Reverendissima Dominatio Vestra.* Ex Founce, 26 Februa.

Ri. Paceus.

(*Superscribed*)
Reverendissimo in Christo Patri ac Domino Domino Thomæ, Miseratione Divina, Tituli Sanctæ Ceciliæ Presbitero Cardinali Eboracensi, Domino suo observantissimo.

XXIII. Pace *to* Wolsey.[1]

I have recevydd your Gracys letters datyd the 18 *of February*[2], *wheryn I do perceve that your Grace doubtidde sore, lest that the dethe of the last Kynge of Arragon*

[1] Record Office. Holograph. The passages and words printed in Italics are in cypher in the original despatch.

[2] The body of these letters is not preserved, but in the Record Office is found the following Postscript in Wolsey's handwriting:—

" Aftyr the signyng of thies my letters, arryved here Thomas Coton, bryngyng with hym your " letters contaynyng the hoole resolucion of your matters, and in what state the same standythe " at this tyme; which wer ryght comfortable newys to the Kynges Hyghnesse, me, and all other " the Kynges counsaylours; and to the same your wretynges, and every substanciall poynt " contaynyd therin, aunswer schalbe forthwith made, to be sent unto you by the next post with " all diligence. Wherfor necessary it is that not withstandyng this alteracion by the dethe of " the late Kyng of Aragon, ye substancially solicite thEmperour and also the Suches to procede " in to the Duchye of Myllayn for thexpulsion of the Frenschemen owt of the sayde Duchye, and " that the sayd Emperour in no wyse leve this commodious occasion now geven to Hym for the " subduyng of the sayd Frenschemen; the semblable wherof, if it be slackyd, schall never be " seyn hereafter. And what daunger may ensue to thEmperour and all Italye, if the Frenschemen " establysche thayr maters in the sayd Duchesse, it is evident and manyfest. In consideracion " wherof ye must with all diligence solicite thEmperour to this voyage, in whom I fere schalbe " the stoppe for lacke of substance. And therfore ye may write or say unto Hym, that ye have " goode hope the Kynges Grace schall advance summe money unto Hym, and that therof ye trust

" to

Arragon[1] *schulde have pervertidde al the interprise of* the *Emperor and the Swyces to be made in to Italy for the expulsion of the French King: but, as I have advertisidde your Grace hertofore, it is not so; for the Emperour, notwithstondinge the sayde Kynges dethe, is stedfast, and the Swyces doith nothinge regarde itt, but oonly that theye be gladde therof, because theye lovydde Hym not* tamquam *perfidum, so that his dethe here haith hindrede no thinge, but rather, accordinge to your desire, set everie thinge forwarde. Where your Grace ferith that mi letters schulde have bene interceptidde, bi reason that in the space of* 25 dayes *yow hadde no worde frome me, I thinke no letter of mine haith bene interceptidd, excepte oon, conteyninge tis in fewe wurdis, videlicet, that al my businessis here succedidd well, and that your Grace schulde loke for no mo letters frome me unto the time that Thomas Cootton schulde cum withe sum conclusion, shewynge that affore his cumminge I cowde write nothinge of* certayntie *nor substancial: ande this is the cause that your Grace was so longe withe owte my letters.*

Farthermore, there is none so redy conveyance owte off the *Swyce* lande as is in odre places, wythowte intolerable costis for me to bere. And yet in tyme off necessitie I have regardidde none suche costis, but send unto your *Grace* 2 besidis Thomas Cotton; of the whyche oon didde ryde owte of the sayde *Swyce* lande to Bruxellis in 6 dayes, as I am advertisydde by *Syr Thomas Spinelli.* Non est verisimile ut ille sit in scribendo negligens, qui pro patria, Principe, et Domino, singulis horis mori est paratissimus.

The *Emperor* haith appoyntidde that Syr Robert Wyngfelde and I schall speke wyth Hym tomorowe, for to make unto Hym overture off suche thingis as the *Kingis Highnesse* and your *Grace* hath committidde unto us, whyche undoubtidly schalbe to hys comforte; for thoghe grete practisis be made and lyke offres unto Hym bi the *French King*, yet, as itt evidently unto thys daye apperith, He intendith in no wyse to forsake the *Kingis Highnesse.* Wherfore itt is expedient and necessari that your *Grace* move the *Kingis Highnesse* that, howe so evyr the businesse of Itali schall succede, He do styke fast wyth the sayde *Emperour*, for the havynge off Hym schalbe grete suertie for the *Kinges Highnesse and his Realme, ande by the losse of Hym grete inconvenientis* might falle. He is nowe wythin fyfty mile Englysche off Itali, to the grete comforte off the *Swyces*, and the grete fere off the *Frenchemen, who intendith not to*

" to bryng to Hym goode tydinges by the next post, to thintent that He may therby be the better " incouragyd to sett forthe with the Suchys without delay; foreseyng in any wyse that ye so " handyll this overture in puttyng thEmperour in hope of summe money, that by reason therof " He neythyr delay tracke ne differre hys settyng forthe, but procede thereunto without delay."

[1] Ferdinand King of Arragon died 16th January 1516, and was succeeded by Charles, afterwards Emperor.

fight with us, *but to stoppe us frome* victuallis asmuche as they maye. The Lorde *Galiace tis daye* departith to Verona wyth all the army off the *Swyces*, whome I schall folowe, aftre that I have spoken wyth the sayde *Emperour*. I have at large advertisidde your *Grace* in my former letters off the necessitie off mony, that is here, for the payment off the secunde monythys wagis. The grete cause off thys necessitie procedith bi thys mean, that we have bene compellidde to laye owte sum mony secretly, bi the advise and counsayle off my Lorde the Cardinal Sedunensis and all odre the Kyngis frendis, for the interruptynge off the *French Kyngis practysys*. And yff we hadde not so doon, itt hadde bene impossible to have broght the sayde *Swyces* in to Itali. Over thys the Swyces be *unreasonable* in askynge mony, and remedi is there none, but to content them at this tyme; quia talis est illorum *barbaries*, ut pecuniam petitam neganti *mortem minentur*. And I am ryght gladde that itt haith so fortunydde Syr Roberte Wyngfelde and me to meate to gedre here at thys tyme, not to thintent he schulde have hys parte off thys intolerable troble emongist the Swyces (as he nowe haith), for I wolde not wysche itt to a dogge, sed ut sit testis intolerabilis mali, tolerandi tamen, quia necessitas rerum sic postulat. *Where the Frenche men doith prate* and *lye of there* 8 *Cantons of the Swyces*, your *Grace schal have thys* true answere unto that *lye*, vizt that we have nowe in the *felde* the best *capitans* wyth the most *valyant men of al the hole* 13 Cantons; *sed paciamur Gallos* illo se pascere *mendacio*, *because yt cost them* about 200 and fyfty *thowsande scutys*, *wiche be* undoubtidly wythowte remedy clene lost wythowte ony maner off *profeyt* unto the sayde *Frenchemen*. And thys is sum thynge, besidis that they have bene compellidde bi my cummynge hydre to exspende *in susteyninge* there army in Itali.

Aftre that we have hadde communication with *the Emperour*, I schall wryte unto your *Grace agayne bi the nexte post*, but I can put no doubt but that we schall have suche answere as yow desyre, considerynge that the sayde *Emperour* doith make diligent labor for the same selfe thynge that the *Kyngis Highnesse* doith desyre. Valeat felicissime Reverendissima Dominatio Vestra, cui me humillime commendo et trado. Ex Tridento, 4 Martij.[1]

Excellentissimæ Dominationis Vestræ Reverendissimæ
Fidelissimus Servulus,
Ri. Paceus.

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[1] This is the last which has been preserved of Pace's despatches, while he was on this mission, except the following copy of one addressed by him to the Emperor:

"Exemplum literarum Ricardi Pacei ad Cæsarem.

"Sacratissima Majestas, post humillimam commendationem &c^a^. Accepi literas Sacratissimæ "Majestatis Vestræ datas die 12 præsentis mensis apud Erenbergium; quibus a me petit, ut, quia "Verona

XXIV. Pope Leo X. *to* King Henry VIII.[1]

A
Leo PP. X^s^.

Charissime in Christo Fili noster, Salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem. Desiderabamus jamdudum responderi per Majestatem Tuam requisitioni nostræ ei factæ per Nos super Kalendarij correctione, quod a sedibus equinoctiorum et ciclorum decursu temporum prola[*ps*]um inveniebatur
de recta Pascatis celebratione in Sacro Lateranensi Concilio propositum per Theologos, Astrologos, aliosque viros doctos, ac rerum ejusmodi peritos,
et civitatibus regnorum ac dominiorum tuorum consistentes, mature et diligenter examinaretur. Compendium insuper quoddam, ac nonnullas propositiones diversos correctionis Kalendarij modos
ad te destinavimus.[2] Verum cum nullum hactenus a Majestate Tua super hoc habuerimus responsum, magnoque teneamur desiderio, ut inter cætera in dicto sacro Lateranensi Concilio discutienda, hoc quoque maturius et consultius terminari valeat, quo pluribus et sanioribus fuerit doctorum virorum sententijs et approbatione munitum; Majestatem Tuam iterum in Domino hortandam et requirendam duximus, ut desiderio nostro hujusmodi, publicæque utilitati oportune favere, ac universitatum et doctorum virorum prædictorum in regnis et dominijs tuis existentium sententias et opiniones in scriptis redactas ante primam saltem hebdomadam quadragesimæ proxime futuræ, in qua ultimam futuram sessionem, concedente Domino, celebrare

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" Verona cingitur obsidione, mittam ad eam 50 millia renencium quæ invictissimus Rex meus " (ut ipsa ait) nuper Augustam per mensarios misit. Sciat igitur Majestas Sacratissima Vestra " illam summam pecunie missam fuisse ab Anglia ad Elvetios, ante discessum suum, retinendos " pro continuatione communis expeditionis. Sed posteaquam intellexerunt discessum Elvetiorum, " illico peccuniam revocarunt, sicuti Majestas Vestra potest copiose intelligere a Domino Jacobo " suo fucaro; qui binas accepit literas circa illius pecuniæ revocationem, et ego totidem, quare non " est in potestate mea hanc summam peccuniæ erogare, nec ullam aliam, injussu Serenissimi Regis " mey, sicuti latius scripsi magnifico Domino Roberto Wingfeld, Majestate Vestra Sacratissima " ita mandante. Applicuit magnificus Dominus Anchises Vicecomes, attulitque mihi ab invict- " issimo Rege meo et Reverendissimo Domino meo Cardinale Eboracensi hoc mandatum, ut omni " celeritate una cum ipso versus Helvetios tendam: sicuti facturus sum: nihil apud illos tracta- " turus, nisi quod sit cum Sacratissima Majestate Vestra comune, et ad ejus honorem gloriamque " pertineat, quorum invictissimus Rex meus non minus studiosus est, quam sui honoris glorieque " proprie. Valeat felicissima Sacratissima Majestas Vestra, cuy humiliter me comendo et trado. " Ex Memnyngho, 14 Junij, 1516.

" Excellentissimæ Sacratissime Majestatis Vestræ fidelissimus servulus,

" Ry. Paceus."

[1] Record Office.

[2] See Rymer, Vol. XIII. p. 552., and Herbert's Life of Henry VIII. p. 87.

 intendimus,

intendimus, ad Nos ulterius mittere non differas: ut collatis hinc inde peritorum eorundem scriptis et sententijs, quod probabilius, ac rationi magis consentaneum videbitur, ad laudem Dei, Ecclesiæque ejus Sanctæ Catholicæ honorem, ac populi Christiani commodum et utilitatem, decerni et terminari valeat. Datum Romæ, apud Sanctum Petrum, sub Annulo Piscatoris, die 8 Decembris, 1516, Pontificatus Nostri anno quarto.

(*Signatur*) BEMBUS.

(*Superscribitur*)
Charissimo in Christo Filio nostro
Henrico, Anglie Regi Illustri.

XXV. POPE LEO X. *to* KING HENRY VIII.[1]

LEO $\overline{\text{PP}}$. X^{s}.

CARISSIME in Christo Fili noster, Salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem. Graviter commovissent Nos Majestatis Tuæ litteræ, ea presertim ratione adjuncta qua Venerabilis frater Silvester Episcopus Wingorniensis, Orator tuus, apertius querelam et sensum animi tui Nobis exposuit, si nostram in nostra conjunctione violanda conscientiam ulla ex parte lesam offendissent. Sed quanquam nullam culpam in Nobis agnoscamus, tamen summus et pene infinitus amor erga Te noster non patitur Nos sine magno dolore ferre qualemcunque offensionem animi tui conceptam adversum Nos. Res itaque exposcit ut ad omnia respondeamus tanto studiosius et magis sedulo, quanto noster paternus affectus in Majestatem Tuam est ardentior, cujus vicissim amorem et benivolentiam erga Nos plurimi omnium rerum facimus. Nos, carissime Fili, si parum essemus memores quantum tua egregia et preclara virtus de hac Sancta Sede et Universali Ecclesia promerita sit, non Nos sempiternam laudem nominis tui, quod ex eo facto maxime immortalitati commendatum est, imminueremus, sed nostram vel ingratam vel obliviosam naturam coargueremus, quorum unum magis viro, ne dum Romano Pontifice, alienum sit, non est facile existimare: ab utroque certe abesse cupimus. Sed et ea tunc tempora, et tua opera ita eminens, et tale tantumque periculum abs Te huic Sanctæ Sedi tunc depulsum est, ut vel maxime ingratos ad summam gratiam habendam potuerit compellere. Non solum enim temporalis potestas Sanctæ Matris Ecclesiæ per Te servata fuit, sed etiam spiritualis illa perniciosa dissensio tua virtute imprimis et opera ad

[1] Record Office.

unitatem

unitatem redacta. Accessit perpetua animi tui significatio in eam partem, ut quod antea suscepisses, tanquam patrocinium injurijs affectæ Apostolicæ Sedis, id Te in omne tempus suscepisse declarares; ut et præteritorum tuorum beneficiorum memoriam, et parati in omnibus periculis, quæ accidere possint profugij spem, in Te uno precipue propositam haberemus. Nam de eis officijs, quæ Nobis privatim et domui nostræ prestitisti, alienum nunc tempus dicendi est; ne cum omnia commemorare longum sit, aliqua prætermittere videatur esse ingratum. Quibus omnibus Nos ita grati esse vehementer expetivimus, ut perpetuam Tecum conjunctionem enixe optaverimus; ut nihil pro Majestate et amplitudine tua nec laboris nec periculi fuerimus recusaturi. Tibi quoque nihil unquam negari juste petenti instituerimus. Itaque quo tempore Majestas Tua petijt a Nobis, ut Tornacensi Ecclesie administrationem dilecto filio nostro Thomæ Cardinali Eboracensi, tunc Lyncolniensi Electo, permitteremus, fecimus id et continuo et libenter et in forma brevis literis Majestati Tuæ morem gessimus: ex ijs enim, quæ tunc fuerant narrata, extabat species quædam honestatis; quod is, qui ad eam ecclesiam electus fuisset, ad administrationem suam vel nollet, vel contemneret, accedere. Postea vero, postulante illo et flagitante a Nobis justitiam, cum pace istic facta omnem pristinam suspitionem desijsse esset verisimile, quid potuimus facere aut debuimus? Sumus enim justitiæ pro pastorali officio omnibus debitores, eamque summis pariter atque infimis administrare tenemur. Si vero in impetratione illarum literarum, quæ usque adeo graves Majestati Tuæ visæ sunt, aliquid vel falso narratum, vel quod narrari debuerit prætermissum fuit, primum et appellandi et de surreptione eas impugnandi potestas partibus sit, et alia sunt juris remedia ad eos casus parata. Deinde earum litterarum forma communis est, et quotidie in manibus versatur, ut nihil in illis singulare aut præcipuum fuerit additum. Quod Majestas Tua ex hominibus in Regno tuo hujus Curiæ peritis poterit plene cognoscere. Clausula vero invocationis brachij sæcularis, quæ ita suspitiose interpretata est, non de industria addita est ad tuum statum, quod absit, perturbandum. Quid enim injustius et magis nefarium oriri a Nobis posset, quam ut Nos, qui statum nostrum tua virtute, et opera tenuimus, tuum nunc statum labefactare conaremur? Presertim qui paci semper studuimus, immo quidem Deum quesumus, ut Te et in statu et in salute incolumem maxime conservet. Sic enim non dubitamus magnum quoque statui et saluti nostre fore in omnibus periculis paratum subsidium; sed ea clausula et in ejusmodi literis semper additur, et ejus tamen ea est sententia, ut quibus in locis invocatio brachij sæcularis datur, ab eorum locorum Rege et Domino, non autem extrinsecus, executio justiciæ cum auxilio militari, quod clerici non præstant, si opus sit, postuletur. Quod autem attinet ad revocationem

administrationis

administrationis alias præfato Cardinali Eboracensi, tua contemplatione et illius meritis exigentibus, concessæ; hoc volumus certum habere Majestatem Tuam, si electi Tornacensis pertinaciam in fidelitatis juramento Tibi secundum capitula pacis debito recusando, si ejusdem suspectos motus et conatus, presertim in sollicitandis ad rebellionem civibus predicte civitatis, rescissemus, nunquam Nos eas literas concessuros; neque dictam administrationem revocaturos ullo modo fuissemus. Sed quod justitia ut videbatur adducti fecimus, multo magis eadem suadente justitia facere recusavissemus. Quæ quoniam Nobis cupimus esse notiora, Nos prefatas litteras earum totum tenorem hic pro expresso habentes, et earum vigore gesta ostentataque omnia, necnon pœnas et censuras in eis appositas, etiam si fortassis inflictæ sint, ad eum finem atque effectum ut rationibus et allegationibus partium utrinque auditis et cognitis, intelligere plenius possimus, utra pars jus et justitiam foveat. Motu proprio, et ex certa scientia, tenore præsentium ad quatuor menses suspendimus, et suspensas ac suspensa fore decernimus, non obstantibus quibuscunque. Hortamur autem Majestatem Tuam in Domino et eam plane oramus, ut servata pristina sua erga Nos benivolentia, de nostro erga se animo id existimet quod est de optimo et amantissimo patre existimandum, tanquam Tibi nunquam simus neque in amore neque in omni amoris effectu defuturi: quemadmodum plane debemus, et incomparabili virtuti tuæ, et tuis maximis erga Nos et in hanc Sanctam Sedem officijs. Sed de his omnibus et alijs quibusdam copiosius ad Majestatem Tuam præfatus Episcopus, Orator tuus, perscribet; cui plenam fidem adhibere poteris. Datum Romæ, apud Sanctum Petrum, sub Annulo Piscatoris, die quinta Februarii, 1517, Pontificatus Nostri anno quarto.

(*Signatur*) JA. SADOLETUS.

(*Superscribitur*)
Carissimo in Christo Filio nostro,
Henrico Angliæ Regi Illustri.

XXVI. SIR RICHARD WYNGFELD *to* KING HENRY VIII.

PLEASITHE it Your Highnes. The 16th daye of thys present monnythe I wrote you my laste letters[1], and with the same sente Your Grace the articles of the chalenge,

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[1] This letter, which is in Caligula, D. VII. 181, contains the following passage, which explains the third paragraph in the text: "Thys daye I have presentyd unto the Kyng, your good brother "and cosyn, the sworde, whyche Your Grace deliverde me; for the nymble handlyng wheroff He "hathe

chalenge, and one memoriall[1] of certen considerations had by your good broder the Kynge here, of suche chaunge as Your Highnes maye have fownde in the saide articles. And for that your sayde good broder perfitly knowyth that the saide articles where not commyn to Your Graces handes at the tyme of sendyng forthe of suche articles as I received on Wennesdaye laste, with other wrytynges fro my Lorde Cardinall, He deferryd to shewe hys plesure for hys resolution in them, tyll He myght here, how the saide articles, late by Hym sente, myght be aggreable to Your Highnes; whiche He thowght verrelye where so reasonable, that Your Grace wolde be with them contentyd. I have at lenghte, Sir, advertesyd my Lorde Cardinall how I fownde your good broder disposyd, apon the contenu of certen instructions sent unto me fro the saide Lorde Cardinall, to be by hym declaryd to Your Grace.

Where I wrote to Your Highnes that the departure of your good broder shulde have been the Mondaye, the same was defferryd to the Tuesdaye by reason of the festyne kept the Sondaye at nyght, whyche nyght He suppyd in the hall of the Castell, where I harde Hym saye the good Prince Edwarde was whonte to kepe hys grete festes, and at the same to be servyd of the viande by noble men on horsbacke. At the sayde supper, whyche began at 8te of the clocke, was the Legat Boysye, the Cardinall of Lorraine, and the Ambassadoures apon the ryght hande of Hym, with certen Ladyes entermedlyd, of the which my Lady hys syster satt next Hym, and on hys other hande satt the Duchesse of Denmours and the Duke of Alencon, with other Princes and Ladyes in semblable manner. And affter the saide supper, whiche was full of hye service

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" hathe or knowythe no feate, but thowght it not manyable, and callyd the Admirall to Hym, and " cawsyd hym to feell the weght theroff; who shewyd Hym that he had seen Your Grace wellde " one more pesaunt then the same, as delyverly as cowde be devisyd: but, for suche promesse as " he had made Your Highnes, he myght not disclose the manner howe, savyng that it was by the " meane of a gauntlett; not doubtyng but, and He desiryd to have a semblable gauntlett, that " Your Grace wolde sende Hym one. Wherin He desiryd me to wryte unto Your Highnes, and to " make You requeste on hys behallff for a lyke gauntlett. And for a recompence, iff Your Grace " wolde sende me one of your armyng doblettes, He shuld cause one paire of curasses to be made " for you with all diligence, suche as Your Highnes had not seen, and trustyd the same to be redy " for You by your metyng: the secrete wherof was only for the easy beryng and susteignyng of " the weight of suche peces as reste upon the curasse, whyche moste commonlye is borne apon " the shoulders. Wherapon, Sir, I shewyd Hym that by the next poste out of England I thowght " Your Grace wold sende your doblett, whyche iff it shall lyke You to do, Sir, I shall solicite the " advauncement of the said curasses with all diligence. I demaundyd Hym, Sir, whyther the Grete " Esquyer had any feat for the handlyng of suche a peasaunt whepon. Wherunto He answerde " that He thowght he had none; nevertheles He wolde cause hym to fele the sworde, and to knowe " hys opinion therin; and prayde me to make Your Highnes hys harty thanckes for the sayde " sworde."

[1] This memorial is in the State Paper Office.

and

and duryd a longe season, the daunces began, whiche contenued, as I harde saye, unto thre of the clocke in the mornyng: whiche I thyncke made the Ladyes more unmete to dislodge at the daye appoynctyd. The pastyme of the sayde Kynge, sythen Wennesdaye unto thys daye, hathe been at the chase, no daye exceptyd. And thys daye He restyth in the honnour of the service of Our Ladye, at a place callyd Borewe, within thre leghes of thys toun, where the Duke of Burbon and bothe the Duchesses loke for Hym to morrowe. It is sayde He wyll be at Amboyse on Palmesondaye; and from thens to Bloys the wheke followyng.

Sir, Your Grace shall also understande that the Quene here with the Kynges moder, make all the serche possible to brynge at the assemblee the fayrest ladyes and damoiselles that may be fownden. The dowghters of Navarre be sente for; the Duke of Lorrains dowghters or systers in lyke manner. I hope at the leste, Sir, that the Quenes Grace shall brynge suche in her bande, that the visaige of England, whiche hathe allweys had the preyse, shall not at thys tyme lose the same. Also, Sir, I do loke howrely now to receive your armyng doblett, to the intent the curasse, whiche the Kyng your broder hath promesyd You, myght be put to the makyng. And I do thynke semblably that the Kynge here lokyth for one gauntelett for the handlyng of the sworde whiche Your Highnes sent Hym.

And where it is afore wryttyn that your good brother wolde have restyd thys daye, for that He fayllyd the harte yesterdaye, He hathe thys daye by force kyllyd a grete harte, whyche is the thyrde He hath so slayne, the later ende of the weke paste; and is this evenyng commyn to thys toun, and to morrowe He entendythe semblablye to hunte; and wyll not fayle, as byfore, to be Palmesondaye at Amboyse. Besechyng the Hollygoste to have Your Highnes in Hys moste blessyd tuition; at Chastell Herault, the 26th day of Marche.[1]

(*Signed*) Yor most humble srvant & subjett,
WYNGFELD R. K.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Kynges Highnes.

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[1] The treaty for the interview between the two Kings received the confirmation of Francis on this day and at this place. Rymer, Vol. XIII. p. 705. This fact is stated also in Wyngfeld's letter to Wolsey, Caligula, D. VII. 187.

XXVII. Ri. Wyngfeld *to* King Henry VIII.

Pleasythe it Your Highnes. The 9th daye of thys present monnythe I wrote unto the same my laste letters[1], sythe whyche tyme your good brother the Kynge here hathe been by the moste parte at the chase; and on Satterdaye laste wele late in the nyght He retournyd to thys toun, and on Mondaye I whente to vesit Hym beyng at hys dynner; affter the whyche He withdrue Hym selff into hys garderobe, where He devisyd with me of manny thynges. Among the others He shewyd me to have received wrytyng fro hys Ambassadour resident with Your Grace, by the whyche He was ascerteyned of the exploicte and dispatche of the Ambassadours of Flaunders; neverthelesse He sayde to knowe wele the same shuld be no lett of any thynge passyd and concludyd betwene Your Highnes and Hym; and further sayde that contenuyng the amytie with the cordiall love and intelligence whyche nowe reignyth in Ye bothe, whyche is lyke, God wyllynge, by the reason of the enterveue to take suche perfection as heraffter, the same shall not be violable, shuld be cause that eche of You shuld not be onlye the more honnouryd and estymyd of outwarde Princes, but rather adoryd of them. By thys me thowght He myght understonde or meane, that the Kynge Catholique wolde not so diligentlye have sowght to Your Grace other for hys passaige by your Reaulme, or for the concludynge of any veue to be taken betwene You, but for that He knewe perfytlye the enterveue to be determenyd betwene Your Highnes and your sayde good brother. Wherunto I answered Hym, that, thowghe I had no knowledge the same to be done, yet I thowght that it was moche necessarie the Kynge Catholique to seke to Your Grace to be assuryd how He myght be entreatyd in cas fortune of wedder shulde cause Hym to arryve to your Reaulme; and shewyd Hym that, the more perfytt and entiere that the amytie faythefull love and cordiall intelligence shuld be betwene You, the more shuld Ye be bothe estymyd by all the Princes of Cristendom. And fro thys matter He fell to devise of hys grete shippes, whyche He had all redye, and also of one newe, whyche is nowe a makynge of the gretenesse of Your Graces; and reasonnyth, in thys mystere of shipmans craffte, as one whyche had understondynge in the same: but, Sir, He approchythe not Your Highnes in that science.

And sone affter thre of the clocke the sayde affternone He wente to hunte for the wylde bore, and cawsyd me to go with Hym, whyche bore was kyllyd affter

[1] Caligula, D. VII. leaf 201, is a letter from Wyngfeld to Wolsey of the 9th of April, but the one to the King of that date has not been found.

suche manner as here followythe. When He cam to the place, in the whyche the bore laye, there was caste of one hownde onlye to hym, the whyche incontinentlye had hym at the baye, and then immediatlye was throwen off upon a twentye cowple of howndes, with thre or fowre brasse of mastyes lett slyppe, all whyche drue to the baye, and ther plukkyd downe the pore bore, and the Kynge, with divers others, beyng a fote, with theyr bore speres had dispatchyd hym shortlye; and then the Kynge hym selff, affter theyr fasshon, kutt of the ryght fote of the sayde bore, whyche done He mountyd to horsbacke, and passyd throwghe the forreste to have seen a flyghte to the heron, at the requeste of Monsr. de Lottryke; unto whyche disporte I assure Your Grace He hathe no more affection then Your Highnes hathe. Notwithstondynge, the sayd Seignour de Lottryke, with divers others, do what they can possible to fashion one appetite to be in Hym, whyche shalbe harde for them to brynge about, affter my conceyte. All whyche makythe me to remembre my father Tyler, when he shewythe Your Highnes of the hyghe pleasures which he fyndes in hys hawkes, when it fortunythe them to do weli, whyche I dare not saye is verry seldom; but howe fantastyke theye be, he never makythe boste. Sir, by all the waye it pleasyd your said good brother to devyse with me, whyche was in manner all fowndyd of the manner of theyr huntynge by force, sayeng plainlye that He thowghte the Frenschemen wher onlye theye, whyche where masters of that craffte. Wherunto I shewyd Hym that He shuld have moche ado to cause Your Grace to passe Hym that poincte, for thowghe it so where, that He usyd the sayde manner of chasynge, and none other, whyche was a grete reason that He myght be more skyllfull in it; yet I assuryd Hym that Your Highnes, with divers suche others as Ye have browght uppe in the same manner off huntynge, I was sure cowde not be amendyd by any nation cristenyd; and further shewyd Hym that, thowghe Your Grace had as grete delyte to hunte by force as any Prince myght have, yet Your Highnes usyd aswell mannye other facions of huntynge, aswell to the contentation of suche as avaictyd apon you, as for your owne pleasur, to the intent that every man myght take pastyme affter hys appetyte, som with theyr howndes, som with theyr greyehowndes, and som with theyr bowes. In all whyche sortes of huntynge I shewyd to knowe Your Grace to have no fellowe, for the assuryd and perfyte knowledge of all that belongyd to that arte. Sir, in effecte ther shalbe moche ado betwene You in the debatynge of thys matter.

And havyng none other pastyme then as a fore is rehersyd, your good brother retournyd to thys toun about 8te a clocke in the nyght. And at my commynge to my lodgynge I fownde there my fellowe Clarencieulx[1], whome

[1] Thomas Benoilt.

yesterdaye

yesterdaye in the mornynge I presentyd to the Kynge your brother, in passynge by one gallerye fro the Quenes lodgynge to hys garderobe, beyng coyffyd and in hys nyghte gowne, wher my sayd fellowe Clarencieulx deliverd Your Highnesses letter, and made your recommendations unto Hym. And takynge us bothe with Hym into hys sayde garderobe, where He openyd and redde Your Graces sayde letter; affter the whyche done, He shewyd me to have understondyd, by your saide wrytynges, your pleasour concernynge the publication of the chalenge, whyche He ordeignyd to be done the affternone followynge at thre of the clocke; at whyche tyme I assure Your Highnes He had cawsyd all the noble personnaiges of hys courte to be present in one place callyd the terrasse, whyche over lokythe all the courte. And in the sayd place, by my sayde fellowe Clarencieulx, accompanyed with all the officers of armes and trompettes about thys courte, was publysshyd the sayde chalenge; affter whyche done the halteboysses began to blowe up with ryght grete melodye in rejoysement of the good newes. I assure Your Grace that all the worlde here is resuscitast fro dethe to lyff, for sythe the wrytynge of my laste letters, by reason of suche brutes as hathe been blowen abrode in thys courte, many folkes have been in dispaire off the enterveue and metynge betwene You; so that at thys present it is not possible to devyse more comforte and joye to be in men, then is generally amonge them, to begynne fro the gretyste to the moste inferyours.

And, Sir, the sayde affternone byfore the publication, your good brother beyng in hys garderobe fyll in talkyng with me of your Order of the Garter, and axed me wydder there where any place voyde; and I shewyd Hym that I knewe none other but that the Emperours place was voyde[1]; and He shewyd me how grete honnour it was to Your Highnes to have grete Princes and personnaiges, estraungers, of your Order, and sayde the same was a meane to cause Princes to lyff to ghydders in fraternall love, the ones with the others; and so showyd me of the Princes estraungers whyche ware of hys Order, as of the reaulme of Naples, of Italye, and other places; and at the laste sayde that the Kynge Catholique had received hys order, and He had received the Toyson. Sir, affter my conjecture He wolde gladlye, that a lyke enterchaunge myght be betwene You off your Orders[2]; whyche matter I durste not toche in any wyse, havynge none other knowledge of Your Highnesses pleasour in that behalff. He shewyd me also to have received newe wrytynges fro hys Ambassadour resident in your courte, by the whyche He understode the veue to be concludyd betwyxt Your Highnes and the Kynge Catholyque, in cas He shuld not passe

[1] Maximilian I. died 12th January 1519.

[2] Francis was not gratified in this wish till 1527.

by your Reaulme, and the same to be done within your pale, affter the veue passyd and had betwene Your Grace and Hym. All whyche me thowght by Hym He toke in verry good parte, beyng assuryd by hys sayde Ambassadour that Your Highnes wolde nowise dyffer the tyme of your commynge over, in attendynge the arrivynge of the Kynge of Castyll to your Reaulme, nor preferre ony other veue to be byfore thenterveue betwene You and Hym.

And, Sir, with lyke communication approchynge the howre appointctyd for the publication, He whentc Hym sellff up unto the Galletasse, wher I thyncke the Quene and my Ladyes hys mother and syster where, with the other Ladyes, to se the manner of the publication. And the Cardinall of Lorrayne, with all the other grete personnaiges, and I in theyr companye, whente to the sayde terrasse, where the sayde publication was made in manner afore rehersyd. And thys mornynge betymes your sayde good brother is departyd fro thys toun, and the Ladyes departe thys affternonc thre leghes hens, and so forthe shall kepe on theyr preatye journeys to Parrys, where theye intende to be byfore the ende of thys monnythe, and there not to tarrye paste fyve or six dayes, but to drawe towardes the place appointctyd for the metynge. Sir, it hathe lykyd Your Highnes to make suche rapporte unto the ostaiges of suche knowledge, as I made unto Your Grace, of the good recueil, with the familier enterteynyng, whyche the Kynge your good brother hathe made me; whyche thynge is commyn from them to the knowledge of theyr maister here, in suche manner that I do promisse you, Sir, that, and I where hys naturall subgiect, and of hys Pryvye Chambre, as it hathe lykyd Your Hyghnes to appointcte me with You, he cowde no more familierlye use me, then he doythe contenually; commaundynge me not to forbere to resorte to Hym at my pleasur at all tymes, with newe and straycte commaundement, aswell by Hym gyffyn as by the Admirall, to all the huyssyers to opyn unto me wheresoever He may be. And, as for the gentyllmen of hys Prevye Chaumber generally, whensoever I com thydder, make me the beste entertenement that is possible, and specially the Rochepott, brother to Mountmorencye. All whyche, Sir, I knowe wele procedythe onlye to do Your Highnes singuler honnour and pleasure; besechynge the Hollygoste to preserve the same with moste prosperous estate. At Bloyse, the 18th daye of Apryll.[1]

(*Signed*) Yo$ most humble $vant

WYNGFELD R. K.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Kynges Highnes.

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[1] Caligula, D. VII. leaf 210, is a letter to Wolsey of this date, printed by Ellis, 1st series, Vol. I. p. 166. The first-mentioned volume contains various other papers, of a subsequent date, relative to the interview between Henry and Francis.

XXVIII. Ri. Wyngfeld *to* King Henry VIII.

Pleasythe it Your Highnes. The 18th daye of thys present monnythe I wrote to the same my laste letters, and the nexte daye followynge in the mornynge, byfor my departynge fro Bloyse, I whent to vesit the Dolphyn[1], to whose chaumbre I was conveyed by the Seigneours De Lescue and Suffoke, where whe fownde hym in hys bedde. And, for that thys berer, my fellowe Clarencieulx, was present, I shall not encomber Your Grace with wrytynge of the pleasaunt pastyme, whyche I sawe hym make, aswell beynge in hys bedde, as affterwardes in makynge hym redye; for he was mervelouslye wele disposyd to be joyouse as ever I sawe chylde, and amonge other thynges toke a mervelous pleasur in yonge Kyngston, whome affter he had seen ones he callyd hym Beaufylz, whome he wolde somtyme have knele downe, and somtyme stande up. In effecte, Sir, I have not seen any chylde take a greter fantasye to no creature, then he dyd to the sayde Kyngston. I sawe hym out of all hys clowttes. I assure Your Highnes it is as fayre a babe as can be, and as large for hys eage.

And, Sir, I whente the same daye with the Admirall to dynner with the Legat hys broder, and by the waye in devisynge of the Kynge hys maisters journeys to Parrys, I demaundyd hym wher he thowght that he wolde be on Saincte Georges daye; wherto he answerde that he cowde not verrelye tell, but he thowght that he myght be other at Montpypeawe or Chasteau Neuf, and further sayde, "for that ye have spokyn of Saincte Georges daye, you "have put me in remembraunce of certen devyses," as hys maister had had latelye with hym; whyche was, Sir, onlye ensuynge suche purposse as I advertesyd Your Highnes of in my laste letter, concernynge one enterchaunge to be made betwene You, at thys metynge, of your Orders: and sayde further that hys maister wold not fayle to desir at the sayde metynge to be your sworne brother; whyche thynge considered, with the alliaunce off mariage takyn and promesyd betwene You, he thowght that the receivynge eche of you others Order, shuld not be thowght thynge other straunge or diffecyl to be done: and for the conclusion sayde, "Monsr lAmbassadour, I wolde I cowd "reporte to you the semblable wordes, whyche the Kynge my maister hathe "devised to speke to the Kynge hys good brother at theyr metynge, whyche "I promesse you, on myne honnour, be of suche efficacye that, iff your maister

[1] Francis, born 1517.

"cowde

" cowde have appetyte a mordre mon maistre, aiant entendue lesdictes parolles, " il le logeroit dedens son cueur, sil estoit possible." Off all whyche devises me thowght necessarie to advertis Your Highnes, to the intent that by good deliberation Your Grace may prepare suche answer as shall stonde moste with your pleasur, when the semblable requestes shalbe made unto Your Highnes; the whyche I beseche our Lorde to preserve with longe and moste prosperous honnour. At Bogeansye, the 20ti daye of Apryll.

I have sente to Your Highnes two severall letters, the one of the 9th daye, and the other of the 18th daye of thys present monnyth, bothe addressyd under the Frensche Ambassadours packettes; the whyche I truste be commyn to Your Highnesses handes.

(*Signed*) Yor most humble ꝺvant,
WYNGFELD R. K.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Kynges Highnes.

XXIX. SPYNNELLY *to* WOLSEY.

PLEASE it Youre Grace to understonde the 17[1] and 18 daies of this moneth I wrote unto the same, and the Saterday next after Seint Bartilmewe day the Emperour retournyd from huntyng into this towne of Brusselles, and the Lord Marques[2] yesternyght from his house of Evra.

Syns my last letters the thre Dukes of Almayne[3] toke leve of the Emperour, and went to ther owne countre, promysyng to be at Acon[4] agayne. The cause of ther commyng was to visite His Majestie, and also for ther perticuler affers concernyng the confirmacion of ther prerogatives; the whiche with good and resonable colour haith bene putte in delay till the metyng at Acon, wherof as I understonde they remayne metely satisfyed, but nothyng pleased of the Lorde Marques his recule, thynkyng he shulde more had estemyd and cherished them then he didde; insomoche that this joynned unto the generall imprencion yt is saide the Almaynes haith of hym, he shall have no small payne to please them: and where they loked for greate rewardes

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[1] This letter is in the Museum, Galba, B. VI., but in two parts, the first part f. 203, and the subsequent f. 198.

[2] Philip de Croy, Marquis of Arschot.

[3] From the letter of the 17th, these appear to have been the Dukes of Mecklenburg, Pomerania, and Brunswick.

[4] Aix la Chapelle, where the Emperor Charles V. was crowned on the 23d of October 1520.

they

they had very litell, laiyng all the defaulte to the seid Lorde Marques, as the Secretary Maximilian and Tosondour[1] showed me.

The Emperour and his Counceill haith taken suche way with the Electour of Mayaunse, that he shall not come hether, as he had writyn to doo; and all for the sparyng of costes and charges.

As to the goyng to Acon, it wilbe abowte Mighelmes, though the preparacions here bene slacked, because moche money nedith; and the Lorde Marques is not hasty to lay owte, and also that daily is made provision therof; certifiyng youre Grace that I seyng with what greate interesses losses and labour money is purvayed uppon the revenues to come, and howe we be but at the begynnyng of our voyage, I cannot what I shulde saye of oure progresse; for by reason of the insurreccion of Spayne all the execucion and successe stande nowe in the handes of the astates of Almayne, the whiche bene greate in nombre, and consequently of diverse opinions, and have heretofore done small effecte, notwithstanding the Emperiall townes saith they will gyve mervelious assistaunce to His Majeste, and helpe Hym forewarde in his journey.

And for the deficulties that from day to day apperith in these enterprises, and the seid Marques his timerous condicions, it is murmurred, by his will he wolde gladly from Acon come home agayne, and that the Emperour oonely uppon the persuasions and exortacions of the Almaynes haith sticked fast, and clerely determyned to contynue his seid voyage. Nevertheles I thynke no certente may be had in the mater till the metyng of Acon, and that in case he goo forewarde, it shalbe into his owne paternell dominion, and abowte to aggre and appease the differaunces amongest the lordes and townes of the Empire, where in must have at the lest 5 or 6 monethes; and after kepte at Norymbarg the Generall Astates, that shall endure 3 monethes as they say; for the whiche consideracions, though He opteyned ther his dissires, He cannot goo into Italy before the latter ende of the next somer.

The Cardynall of Turtose[2] and other of the Counceil of Spayne writeth, His Majestie nedith to go thether agayne, if He estemed that countre; and the semblable saith all the Spanyardes beyng here, and howe all other remedies servith of nothyng. Signifiyng unto youre Grace that Toledo and Madryll sent suche assistence to Sogovia, that the Alkalde with the 200 speres and 4000 fotemen had no leasure to tary for the 800 speres more that shulde come to hym, and was compelled with losse of some of his men to recule back; the whiche successe is of a evill consequens, and specially in Spayne, where they be grounded asmoche uppon reputacion, as eny other nacion that I knowe. The

[1] Toison d'Or, the Imperial herald.

[2] Adrian Boyens.

Emperour

Emperour and his Counceill here lay moche inadvertence to the seid Cardinall and Counceill ther, saiyng they shulde never had experymented his honor and auctorite against the comons and generalite, withowte they had bene stronger and suer to wynne, for the difficultie that is in punyshyng the seid commons and generalitie, and howe it shulde had bene done perticulerly, and dissimulde the remenaunte till a convenient tyme.

The Lordes as yet melled openly with nothyng, but secretely it is saide the Marques de Villayne, Duke Delymphantase, and the Counte Doronia do ther best for augmentacion of the people commocions.

The Astates is thought shall assemble at Avilla; and some wise man doubted they shall refourme the Counceill, and every of them, after ther affeccion and inclinacion, name ther fryndes. Other be aferde they shall sware the Quene agayne, and take Her owte of the place and rule where She is. Howbeyt her indisposicion is suche, that after my mynde She can do nother good nor evill, but in conclusion it will not goo wele.

Nowe by the newes owte of Fraunce it semyth the French Kyng with moche celeritie preparith to sende an army into Italy, of the whiche the Lorde Marques is in greate suspeccion for the realme of Naples, and I thynke the Frenche Kyng hath the semblable of Millayne. Nevertheles the Viceroy of Naples, as I understonde, writeth that the French Kinges presence with suche greate power shall make lose to the Emperour all his fryndes ther, and putte in daunger the seid realme, in case the Emperour tary in Almayne. Wherfore the Lorde Marques is in greate thoughtes, and I beyng two daies past at dyner with the Chaunceler, after we had dyned, I devysed with hym, and, amongest other thynges, saiyng the Emperours honour was not wele regarded in ther first sending the Provost Dotreke in Ambassedour to the French Kyng; who answered me it was done agaynst ther willes, and that we woll have them to do so, and howe the seid Frenche Kyng begynnyth to speke high, and that he cannot tell uppon what grounde, albeyt that his maister and they all have ferme trust in the King Highnes and your Grace bothe, that eny enterprises shalbe suffered to be done in ther prejudise.

The French Kinge hath sent moche ordenaunce into Tourney, and as they say fortefieth Ardre, and doth meny other thynges, wherby apperith rather inclinacion to warre then to peax.

And Peter Navarre haith sent hether to demaunde 100000 ducates for a accion that he pretendith to have for a lordisshypp that the Kyng of Arragon gave hym, and toke it syns a way fro hym, when he torned Frenche, saiying, if he is not satisfied, he shalbe compelled to obteyne a letter of marke agaynst the Emperour subgettes, the whiche maner of procedyng is reputed to be done by

by the consent of the Frenche King for to pike a quarell and come to the breache. How be yt for my parte I thynke they threttith for fere, and not for eny mynde they have to the warre, knowyng us of litell corage, and supposing by that meanes to bring abowte some of ther driftes. Wherfore for to stoppe the same, and totali disjoynne this simulate intellegens that is betwene the Emperour and the Frenche Kyng, in advoidyng also further amitie betwene them, under your Grace correccion, as a pore servaunt that I am to the Kyng, I will see oones in my daies the alliaunce betwene the Emperour and the Frenche Kyng his doughter clerely dissolved; the whiche effecte will not be difficile to your Graces excelent prudence: and that done, the Kynges Highnes shall remayne absolute lorde of the felde, and no practisis might afterward be made wherby his auctoritie could declyne. For, that poynt excluded, no mater of momente or of eny suertie or perseveraunce betwix them may ensue.

With greate dissire the Emperour loketh for newes from his Ambassedours ther, and aswell for the tidinges of Spayne, as for the same owte of Fraunce, the Lorde Marques shewith very pore countenaunces.

And, as I here say, he haith contracted the lordshipp, bought of the Quene of Arragon in Fraunce, with the Lady Vandome, for a yerly rent to be paid uppon ther lande that she haith in this countre.

The Cardinall Sedonensis is loked for every day.

I was at Andwarpe, and ther I sawe dyverse houses belonging to the Stiliardes[1], that haith in clothe at the yates the armes of Englond, with writinges that ther is solde Englishe clothe; and so they do daily, to the greate prejudice of your merchauntes. And havyng knowlege, the Deputies of the seid Stiliardes, at their metyng at Bruges with yours, wolde not condiscende to the reason. Seyng I also by long experience howe your Grace tendred the wele of the Kynges subgettes, and howe vigelant you be for ther profite, I will not forbere to advertise your Grace that the King of Denmarke, by the contynuall offences and harme receyved of the seid Stiliardes, and especially of late at a towne by Hym beseged in Swedia, that He is merveliously evill mynded agaynst them, and determyned, as sone as He may, to be revenged: moreover that the Emperour, by reason of the extorcions and roberies at dyverse tymes made the seid Stiliardes unto the subgettes of Holonde, Selonde, and Braband, not willing them suffer to occupie estwarde, haith to them no better mynde. Wherfore unto me is thought that some perticuler consideracion might be devised and made betwene the King Highnes, the Emperour, and the seid of Denmark, with suche convencions, that oonely the same (withoute entre into eny warre) shulde

[1] See Anderson on Commerce, Vol. I. p. 228.

serve to represse the pride and orgule of the seid Stiliardes, and cause them to be contented, as right will require. Wheruppon I moved to the Audiencer Annyton, and some communycacion I had this mornyng with the Lorde Marques, who aunswered me that the Emperour wilbe redy at all tymes to doo all maner of thinges not oonely concernyng the commune wele of they two Prynces, but the King Highnes owne particuler, wherin you shall fynd Hym always to procede syncerely, withowte so moche regarde as other haith; and was pleased I shulde write it unto your Grace, the whiche may advise what is to be done in the mater, and ordre your pleasure accordingly.

A Scottish shipp is come to Camfere in Selond, that deperted from Edenburgh the 21^{ti} day of this moneth, with the whiche is arryved a servaunt of the Archboisshopp of Seint Andrewe, and a nother of the Archeboisshopp of Glaske, that, as they say, goeth into Fraunce to the Frenche King and to the Duke of Albony, for to have the seid Duke into Scotlonde, for whome is prepared for hys commyng, and saith affirmatyve he shall not faile to goo: and this haith shewed me Messer Raphaell de Medecis, that haith spoken with them, and by reason of Phelipp Galtrotte his father in lawe, that dothe the busynes at Andwarpe of the seid Archboisshoppis, he is come to suche knowlege; wherof to morowe I will advertise Sir Richard Jernyngham, your Ambassedour in Fraunce.

The Lorde Bewren leping with a horse haith broken his legge. And the Counte of Porcen shall mary this weke the Prynce of Semay[1] his doughter.

This letter was begonne the 27^{ti} day of August, and other newes I have none. Thus Jhesu preserve your Grace in good and prosperous helthe. At Brusselles, the 29^{ti} day of the seid moneth in the mornyng.[2]

(*Signed*) Yowr moost humble and boundyng
servant,
THOMMAS SPYNNELLY.

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[1] Charles de Croy.

[2] The first half-sheet of the next letter from Spynnelly to Wolsey is in the Museum, Galba, B. VI. 201. It mentions that the insurrection of the Commons of Spain daily increased, and that they had taken Medina del Campo, and burnt the town. A further letter of the 15th of September states the loss at Medina to have been greater than was before supposed, and mentions that the Estates of Castille were assembled at Avila, but had determined nothing for the government of the Realm. Ibid. 206.

XXX. Pope Leo X. *to* Wolsey.[1]

A
Leo PP Xs.

Dilecte Fili Noster, Salutem, et Apostolicam Benedictionem. Accurate et perdiligenter Venerabilis frater Hieronymus Episcopus Asculanus, noster istic Nuncius, expressit Nobis suis litteris, egregia tuæ Circumspectionis in Nos et hanc Sanctam Sedem officia, nec solum quotidiana illa, quæ nostram cum isto Rege clarissimo mutuam benivolentiam, conjunctionemque continent, sed et quæ novissime Deo, et Sanctæ Catholicæ Fidei præstitisti, cum Luterianos libros, quacunque deferuntur, furoris secum inauditi semina, et vel novæ vel renovatæ heresis Ussitarum damnatam perfidiam, tanquam venenum, spargentes, aditu et ingressu totius incliti hujus regni prohibuisti, diligentiamque adhibuisti, ut et Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ dignitas, et in fidei unitate nitens, Christianæ pacis concordiæque tranquillitas ea esset, quæ esse deberet; nec temeritati, et insolentiæ perfidorum adversus eam, tuto et libere latrare liceret. Quod Nos officium tuum, et si cum alijs multis, tamen inter multa longe præcellens, et omni summa laude, et maximis gratijs dignum vehementer in Domino commendamus. Quamquam enim omnes tuæ operæ, et pro personæ nostræ honore ac statu recepti labores Nobis sint, ut esse debent, gratissimi; tamen hæc ipsa actio, pro fidei incolumitate suscepta, tanto est gratior, quanto est honestius Nos reipublicæ commodo moveri, quam privato. Quamobrem egit quidem Circumspectio tua rem sua virtute et gravitate dignissimam, quod ipsum satis est gravi et prudenti viro id fecisse quod deceat; sed crede Nobis, magnam hæc tibi res auctoritatem, magnam integritatis et sapientiæ famam, apud Deum et homines allatura est, vel jam attulit. Quæ reliqua sunt, etsi te eadem virtute prosecuturum non dubitamus, tamen hortamur Circumspectionem tuam in Domino, ut similem constantiam producere ad extremum, nec servare solum, sed etiam augere gloriam defensæ Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ dignitatis, in qua tua quoque continetur, velis. De quo latius cum Circumspectione tua idem Hieronymus, Nuncius noster, nomine nostro aget, cui summam habebis fidem. Datum Romæ, apud Sanctum Petrum, sub Annulo Piscatoris, die 16 Martij, 1521, Pontificatus Nostri anno octavo.

(*Signatur*) Ja: Sadoletus.

(*Superscribitur*)
Dilecto Filio nostro Thomæ, Tituli Sanctæ Ceciliæ Presbitero Cardinali Eboracensi.

[1] Record Office.

XXXI. Sir Robert Wyngfeld, &c. *to* Wolsey.

Pleasythe it Your most reverend Grace. The 17th we wrote unto the same, and yesternyghte we spacke with the Chaunceller, who amonges other thynges shewed unto us thEmperour was advertist by lectres from the Marquys of Mantua datyd the 9th of thys present monnythe, and by others from Banisius, that the distresse of the Frenschemen at Lode was gretter then they thowghte, and how six companyes of men of armes, Frensche, had been slayne, drownyd in the ryver of Ade, and takyn prysoners; affermynge not paste 20ti without horses or harnes dyd skape, and also of fotemen to the noumbre of 1000 distressid; insomoche that suche overthrowe largelye excedyd theyr dommaige of the former conflict.

Furthermore he declaryd unto us that thEmperours armye had passyd the sayde ryver, and takyn a stronge place namyd Pischegytton, whiche the Frenschemen kepte, and that the same whente towardes Cremona, where was the Lord Lescu, Bonavalle, Frederico Debuzelo, the Signor Jheronimo Tryulce, and John de Medicis, with 300 speres and 1200 fotemen, reliques of all the Frensche armye, whiche had sente their horses to Bresse, and other townnes voisynes, to be solde, havynge no waye to kepe them in Cremona for lacke of mete.

And as for the Lorde Lottrycke, the brute was that he shuld be gone to Venice. And because other particulers been comprinsyd in the foresayde advertismentes, and that the Chaunceller saythe the copie thereoff shalbe sente to be communicate with the Kynges Highnes and your Grace, we remytt us to the same.

Tochynge the Veniciens, thEmperours Ambassadours wryte, that apon knowledge of the premisses they whente to speke with them, and desiryd them not to receive into theyr townnes the Frenschemen, and to provide that thEmperours sayde armeye might have, out off theyr dominions, vitaylles for theyr monney. To the fyrst theye answerde, theye wolde the Frenschemen where at the devyll; and to the seconde, that none of them shall entre into any off theyr wallyd townnes, and that all pleasure and commodities shalbe made to thEmperours men, with manny other curtoise wordes, as the tyme and prosperous successe then requyryd. Wherefor your Grace maye perceive that the Frenschemen have joinctlye loste, with the Duchye of Milan, those whiche they reputyd theyr frendes abuff all other, and that commonlye every man followythe the fortune; and consider also in what greate perplexitie the sayde Frenschemen maye be, whyche, as semythe by the sayde advertismentes,

desiryd

desiryd nothynge so moche as the commynge of thEmperours armye byfore Cremona, to the intente they maye have som colour to yelde it, and by appointement to save theyr personnes. And immediatlye affter Lode was takyn, Vigevene and Noarre where delyverde. And thus we beseche the Hollygoste to have your Grace in hys moste blessyd tuicion. Wryttyn at Bruges, the 20ti daye off Maye.

Yours moste bownden with theyr humble service,

(*Signed*) WYNGFELD R. S.
(*Signed*) WYNGFELD R. K.
(*Signed*) THOMMAS SPYNNELLY.

(*Superscribed*)
To my Lord Legates good Grace.

XXXII. POPE LEO X. *to* WOLSEY.[1]

LEO P̄P. Xs.

DILECTE Fili Noster, Salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem. Egimus tuæ Circumspectioni paucis ante diebus gratias multis quidem pro tuis magnisque officijs, sed ex eo imprimis, quod ad extirpandam et evellendam ex mentibus cunctorum Luterianam heresin, si qua forte in animo cujusquam resedisset, tantam tu diligentiam, tantam virtutem adhiberes. Sed cum denuo ex litteris Regijs, et tam Circumspectionis tuæ, quam Venerabilis Fratris Hieronymi Episcopi Asculani, Nuncij nostri, regio ipso etiam Oratore hic Nobis significante homine et gravissimo, et Nobis gratissimo, didicerimus, quæ ab isto vere summo et præstantissimo Rege in impietatis ignominiam, Catholicæ fidei gloriam, decreta atque instituta fuerant, ea nunc perfecta fuisse, librosque infectos erroribus perniciosissimis, Dei legem infringentes, unitatem Christianæ reipublicæ discindentes, coacto cœtu doctissimorum et ornatissimorum hominum in magna populi multitudine, solenni ritu combustos fuisse, verbaque facta de fidei orthodoxæ puritate, sanctæ hujus Apostolicæ Sedis primaria dignitate, tuamque in his omnibus eximijs et commemorandis operibus primam et vocem et auctoritatem extitisse; non duximus alienum iterum tibi agere gratias in eo quod ejusmodi est, ut sepe, ac sepius, ac denique innumerabiles, illas mereatur. Agimus igitur quot et quantas possumus; et quanquam, ut sepe jam scripsimus, tui hoc abs te honoris gradus postulet, et hæc a te Sedi Apostolicæ, cujus nobile imprimis membrum es, opera debeatur; tamen in agendo, et tua

[1] Record Office.

excellens

excellens virtus honorem, et in Nos singularis voluntas summam nostram benivolentiam, postulat. Quorum utrumque et dedimus antea Circumspectioni tuæ libenter, et in posterum daturi sumus. Sed quoniam quam et Nobis grata acciderit tui hæc, et in Dei honorem, decusque animi, et in Nos privatim, sicut in ecclesia Wingorniensi[1] etiam Nobis perspectum est, quam tuæ operæ acceptam ferimus, amoris testificatio, et quam a te perpetuo eadem speremus, scripsimus supradicto Nuncio nostro, ut is toto affectu animi cum Circumspectione tua conferret, ab eo planius intelliges, eique fidem habebis. Nos, quod nostræ curæ est, dabimus omnino operam, ut in amplianda tua dignitate, sicut expetere videris, quoad quidem Nobis licuerit, virtus tua quotidie magis et honori tibi sit et voluptati. Datum Romæ, apud Sanctum Petrum, sub Annulo Piscatoris, die 7 Junij, 1521, Pontificatus Nostri anno nono.

(*Signatur*) JA. SADOLETUS.

(*Superscribitur*)
Dilecto Filio nostro Thomæ, Tituli Sanctæ Ceciliæ Presbitero Cardinali Eboracensi, Nostro et Apostolicæ Sedis in Anglia Legato.

XXXIII. SIR RICHARD WYNGFELD, &c. *to* WOLSEY.

PLEASYTHE it Your Grace to understonde that the 12th daye of thys present monnythe from Mastrighte we wrote our laste letters unto the same[2], and the 14th in the evenynge we arryvyd to thys toun of Bruxelles, at whiche tyme I, Sir Richarde Wyngfeld, received letters from Maisters Fitz Willeams and Jernyngham beringe date of the 8te, with the copie of suche as theye had wrytten unto your Grace, conteinynge the soubdayne chaunge of the Frensche Kynge. Wheruppon the next daye in the mornynge we whente to thEmperour, and declaryd to Hym the contentes therof; to the whyche He sayde the Frenschemen be accustomyd to condescende to communicacions and treatynges, and under colour of the same to take theyr advauntages, and speciallye havynge theyr armeys and puissaunces in aredynes as they have nowe. Declarynge further He wolde not departe from suche promesses as He had made to the Kynges Highnes, not doubtynge but it shalbe wele consideryd by Hys sayde Highnes that, at the makynge theroff by hys Ambassadour on hys behalff, ther

[1] Cardinal Julius de Medici was made administrator of the See of Worcester on the death of Bishop Sylvester Gigles.

[2] On the same day Wyngfeld wrote a letter to Sir William Fitzwilliam; Caligula, D. VIII. 58. That to Wolsey has not been found; nor has the despatch from Fitzwilliam and Jernigam.

was

was no knowledge of the invasion of Navare and takynge of Pampilone; supposynge Hys Highnes do not understonde to entre into any manner of mediacion or composicion upon theyr other variaunces, without first the sayde Navare and Pampilone maye be restoryd and repairyd accordynge to the treaties. Sayenge also to us He wolde shewe the matter to hys Counceil, and theruppon and in hys other affaires take resolucion, wherunto we shulde be made prevye. And the same daye we dynyd with the Chaunceler, with whome we had longe devises, and perceived they shall not refuse the compremise, beynge rayntegrate of Navare, accordynge to thEmperours sayenge; wheroff we thowght necessarie with diligence to advertes your Grace, to the intent that your wysedom maye perceive they entende not, by all that we suppose, to sende to Calles, without fyrste to se the sayde restitucion and raintegracion; for otherwyse they do rekyn thEmperour, besyde hys prejudice, shuld suffer the hyghest dishonnour that myght ensue to H̄ys Magestie, to the whyche they can in no manner thyncke the Kynges Highnes or your Grace wolde consente.

The sayde Chaunceller shewyd us that the Gryffyer de lOrdre was com by postes fro the Lorde Nassowe, and browght newes that the Castell off Florenges, immediatlye affter the approches made and the artillerye layde, was without any resistance delyverd by composicion, theyr lyffes savyd, with such raunsons as be convenable to theyr degre. In the whych place was takyn the Lorde Jamays, seconde son to Messire Robert de la Marche, and as they saye there was in hys companye 400 men of warre and dyvers of them of the ordonnaunces of Fraunce.

As to the further procedynge of thEmperours armey, they entende not the same to be employed otherwyse then againste theyr rebelles beynge in thEmperours dominions and under thEmpyre.

Moreover we advertis your Grace that yesterdaye about thre of the clocke the Audiencer Haneton cam to us, and desiryd us in thEmperours name to have pacience unto Mondaye for the knowledge of hys resolucion.

Item, in the evenynge I, Sir Richarde Wyngfelde, received a letter from Master Fitz Willeam wrytten at Boleign, apon Thursdaye laste was, concernynge hys goynge over, and the Frensche Kynges desir for your Graces commynge to Calles.

And thys mornynge we have been with thEmperour, and shewyd it to Hym, wherto He answerde to us plainlye agayne, He desirythe the peas asmoche as any prince lyffynge, and lykewyse to compleas to the Kynges Highnes in all that laye in Hym. Howbeit, unto the Frensche Kynge hathe satisfied Hym as byfore towchynge the Realme of Navare, He is wele assuryd the Kynges Highnes wyll not procede to any mediacion betwene Them.

Syns

Syns we whente at dysner with the Lord Berghes, whome we fynde allwayes, affter hys accustomyd manner, moche enclynyd to the conservacion and augmentacion of the amitie betwene the Kynges Highnes and hys maister, semynge to hym that there was never tyme more necessarie for bothe theyre honnours and suerties off theyr estates, then at thys present, considerynge the subtyll and coulorable demeanour usyd by the Frensche Kynge, and affermyng, in cas betwene them be not takyn som perfytt direccion, shortelye myght ensue suche successe as shall redonde to theyr commune prejudice; and thowght ryght requesite the Kynges Highnes shuld cause immediatlye your Grace to repaire to Calles, at the whyche journey maye be wele treatyd and concludyd suche perfytt intelligence and strayte conjunccion as the welthe of the parties requirythe, without suspeccion of the Frenschemen, havynge themselffes consentyd and desiryd the same. Also the sayde Lorde Berghes thinkes thEmperour myght com to Saint Omer, or ther about, for the tyme your Grace shall tarry at Calles.

As to the sendynge of Maister John de la Saulche, we thyncke it is delayed, aswell for to have som newes out of Spayne, as out of England.

Finallye, forasmoche as we can conjecture, if the Frenschemen have the castell of Pampilone, it may be sayed they have conqueryd all Navare, and that consequentlye they shall not lyghtelye condescende to the restitucion, as thEmperour intends they should do before the compremyse; and, in cas the sayde castell holde, and that the Spanyardes do expell them out of the cuntrey, they shall followe the victorye, and not consente to any mediacion without firste havynge the hole reparacion accordynge to the treaties. Wherfore your Grace maye knowe the grete difficulties that apperythe to concorde and appeas thys besynesse.

Wrytten thus far, thEmperours Huyssher of hys Chaumber is arryvyd with letters from the Bisshop of Elva[1] to Hys Majestie. And, bicause we have no wrytynges from your Grace, we maye happyn to be demaundyd dyvers questions, as well of thEmperour as of hys Counceill, to the whiche we can not tell what answer we shall make. As knowyth Our Lorde, who have your Grace evermore in hys moste blessyd tuicion. Wryttyn at Bruxelles, the 16th daye of Juyn.

And I, Sir Richarde Wyngfeld, most humbly beseche your Grace that accordynge to suche promes as it lykyd you to make me at my departynge, in cas your Grace shall com to Calles, that I maye be one of those whyche it shall pleas the Kynges Highnes to appoincte to attende apon you; and that

[1] The Bishop of Helvas was the Ambassador resident in London.

I maye

I maye in thys behalff by your next letters knowe the Kynges Highnesses pleasure and your Graces.

Yours moste bownden with theyr humble services,

(*Signed*) WYNGFELD R. K.

(*Superscribed*) (*Signed*) THOMMAS SPYNNELLY.[1]

To my Lorde Cardinalles good Grace.

XXXIV. FITZWILLIAM *and* RI. JERNIGAM *to* KING HENRY VIII.

PLEASE it Your Highnes to understande, that the Wensday after I departed from Your Grace[2] I arryved here, where the Frenshe King lyeth, which is two postes from Digion towardes Lyons, notwithstanding that I laye a hole daye and half a night on the see, and landed at Sandgate a lege from Calays, where I coulde have no post horses, but was forced to take cart horses to bringe me to Bulleyn. And after I had made Maister Jernegan pryvey to such charge as Your Highnes and my Lord Cardynalles Grace gave me, on the mornyng following he and I went unto the King, and delivered unto hym your gracioux letters, and made your recommendations accordingly; signifieng unto Your Grace, that though He will not bee contented to submitte and compremitte all thinges into your gracioux handes, yet He sayeth He will geve unto Your Highnes as large auctoritie in this behalf, as ever King in Fraunce gave to any Pope, Emperour, King, or Cardynall, in causes semblable; trusting that Your Grace will desire no further of Hym, ner bee myscontented with Hym, bycause He hath not graunted to the sayd compremyse, for He sayeth their was never noon of his progenitours that ever graunted to any suche bandes, ner also noon of his Counsaill will advise Hym to graunte the same; like as, by my Lord Cardynalles letters, Your Highnes shall perceyve more at large.

[1] From a further despatch of the 22d (Galba, B. VII. leaf 35.) it appears that various communications had passed between them and the Emperor and his Council, the effect of which they put into the shape of a memorial (Ibid. 36.), and inclosed to Wolsey; and that the Emperor, upon the return of his messenger from France, "with moche instaunce desired Sir Richard Wyngfeld to take payne "to go over with diligence" to declare the same to the King. And Wyngfeld departed to England the same night. Ibid. 37.

[2] The instructions to Fitzwilliam and Jernigam, given early in the year, but without date, are in the Museum, Caligula, D. VIII. leaf 5. Fitzwilliam joined the French Court at Romorantin on the 4th of February, Jernigam having been antecedently there, and from that date till the latter part of the following October their correspondence is continued with little intermission. Ibid. 9–119. But Jernigam appears to have gone home in February and returned in May, and Fitzwilliam to have made a hasty journey home between the middle of May and the beginning of July.

 Furthermore,

Furthermore, please it Your Highnes, the Frenshe King in devising with us shewed us of his grete ship, and desired me, William Fitzwilliam, that at suche tyme as I shuld bee dispached homewardes, I wold goo by her, and see her; of which offer I was right glad, for I am gretely desirous to see the New Havon. Wherfore we thinke it convenient that he, that shall come next hider in ambassad, make diligence, to thentent I maye goo that weye, and not oonly see the said Newe Havon[1], but also the said ship, and therupon mete my Lord Cardynall at Calays, and make reaport therof aswell unto Your Highnes as to His Grace.

Also I, Richard Jernegan, moost humbly beseche Your Highnes that I maye knowe your gracioux pleasour what I shall doo, for now my charge is fully expired; and that I, William Fitzwilliam, bee not forgotten, according to your gracioux promyse at my last departing. And thus the blessed Trinitie ever have Your Highnes in his blessed tuycion. At Dargilly, the 2de day of July[2], by your moost humble and obeissaunt subgiettes and servauntes,

(*Signed*) Wyllm̃: Fytz Wyllm̃.
(*Signed*) Rychard Jarnegan.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Kinges Highnes.

XXXV. Wolsey *to* Fitzwilliam, &c.

In my right harty maner I commende me unto you. The day immediatly folowyng the sendyng furth unto you of my last letters, your servaunte arryved here, bryngyng with hym your writynges; and the same day Labaty, the French Kynges Ambassadour, delyverde unto me letters patentes under the French Kynges Grete Seale[3], not onely conteynyng the auctorite, by Hym and his Counsaile divised and gyven to the Kyng or his Lieutenaunte, for the mediacion and pacifieng of thies differences betwixt thEmperour and Hym, but also shewyng thre wayes for thestablisshyng of abstinence of warre by the space of 6 wekes: by the one way, to begynne the 25th day of this present moneth; and the other to begynne from the intimacion to be yeven to the armyes on both parties, and to indure by the space of 6 wekes as above; declaryng also, by

[1] Probably Ambleteuse. See Vol. V. p. 562.

[2] They wrote on the same day to Wolsey a letter, of greater length, which is in the Museum, Caligula, D. VIII. leaf 66.

[3] These letters patent have not been discovered.

instruccions

instruccions[1] sent to his said Ambassadour Labaty here resident, the causis and reasons movyng Hym not to admitte the fourme of compromyse and truxe specified in the minutes to you, Sir William Fitzwilliam, delyvered; of which resons ye somme expresse in your writynges. And, in asmoche as thiese wayes maner and ordre for the said mediacion be elected and set furth by the French Kyng, not intendyng, as it apperith in the said Delabaties instructions, to alterate the same, ye shall make no maner overture of the contentes in my said last letters, but in good maner to say, that, albeit the auctorite and power, to the Kyng and me committed, be not conceyved in such ample maner, as in semblable case by olde presidentes it hath byn heretofor accustomably used, yet the Kyng and I, beyng contented therwith, for the good of peaxe, shall refuse no payne labour ne travaile specially to reduce commune friendes confederates and alies to concorde peaxe and unitie. And ye may furthermore say, that, though the Kyng had byn as amply instructed and auctorised as the said mynute purpourtith, which was onely divised to bryng thEmperour to semblable bandes, yet both His Grace and I were, and be, resolutely determyned in such moderacion to use the same, that no thing shulde have byn done or determyned in pacifieng the said contraversies, but by knowlege consente and assente of Hym or his Ambassadours. And in that case no thyng prejudiciall unto Hym by any penalties cowde have ensued. Neverthelesse the Kyng is aswell contented herewith, as though the other mynute had byn ingroced in forme autentique, for such reasons and consideracions as hath byn reherced and declared by the said De Labaty.

And, though it be surmysed that this desire of mediacion and abstinence of warre procedith of thEmperour, ye may assure the said Frenche Kyng that it is not so, but that the Kyng hath had, and yet hath, more difficultie to induce thEmperour to be agreable therunto, than hath byn made on the French Kynges partie; for asmoche as the reame of Navarre beyng surprised, and the invasion made in Castile, is so moche to the derogacion of his honour, as He affermyth that He conveniently cannot, withoute reproche, condescende to any mediacion truxe or abstinence of warre; pressyng the Kyng moost violently for gevyng Hym assistence, aswell to resiste the said invasion, as to recover the said reame of Navarre. Neverthelesse, seyng the said Frenche Kynges good conformitie in shewyng Hymself agreable to the said mediacion and abstinence of warre, in such wise that the Kyng standith therwith contented, I doubte not but, by the

[1] Caligula, D. VIII. leaf 52, appears to be the letter of instructions here alluded to. De la Bâtie's letter of credence from Francis I. to Henry VIII. is holograph, and is in the same volume, leaf 51.

meanes therof and other good persuasions, to put over the gyvyng of the said assistence; and have in such wise persuaded the said Emperour that the principall and chief personages of his Counsaile shalbe sent unto Calais at my theder arryvale, with sufficient auctorite aswell to treate debate and commone upon the said differences, as to establisshe and proroge the abstinence of warre, as the case shall require, so that presently I have induced thEmperour to be contented to sende his Ambassadours to Calais.

And, as touchyng the abstinence of warre, the Kyng hath dispeched Sir Richard Wyngfilde in post, with Haneton the Audiencar[1], to induce persuade and move the said Emperour to be agreable to one of the thre wayes divised by the French Kyng, wherof the Kyng trustith to have right good awnswere. And in the meane tyme ye shall, on the Kynges behalf, exhorte and desire the French Kyng, like as His Grace hath nowe moved thEmperour by Sir Richard Wyngfilde, to forbere all invasions; and in the meane tyme I shall with all diligence addresse me to Calais. And, for asmoch as the tyme prefixed by the Frenche Kynge for my commyng to Calais, which is the 25th day of this moneth, is very shorte, ye shall on my behalfe moost instantly pray Hym to be contented that my arryvall at Calais may be differred till the last day of this instant moneth, wherin ther is no manner difference but onely fyve or sixe days; and therupon newly to spede his letters patentes in such fourme as the other were, changyng onely the 25th day to the last day of this moneth.[2] Wherin I truste the French Kyng woll make no difficultie, consideryng that the same respite is onely desired for the commodite of my transportyng, withoute any colour covyne or fraude; wherby the said French Kyng can susteyne no damage or incommodite. And in the meane season the Kyng and I shall labour, all that ever we can, to induce thEmperour to be agreable to the abstinence of warre, in one of the maners by the French Kyng devised; trustyng in God, by the

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[1] See Vol. I. p. 22. It appears that it had been intended to despatch Wyngfeld much sooner, for among Wolsey's correspondence in the Chapter House is a letter of the 1st of July from the Bishop of Helvas, requesting an audience for Haneton, and concluding, "nec convenit ante dictam audi- "enciam expedire Dominum Wingfeld." Vol. VI. leaf 43. A minute of Wyngfeld's instructions, corrected by Rowthale (not by Wolsey), and referring to the memorial mentioned in the note to p. 55, is in Galba, B. VII. leaf 29. The time of his departure does not appear; but by his despatch from Antwerp of the 13th of July (Ibid. 66), it appears that he and Haneton arrived there on the 11th. His letter from Ghent (which is stated in the Cottonian catalogue, Ibid. 84, to bear date on the 2d of July) is really dated on the 22d.

[2] See Wolsey's letter from Dover of the 1st of August, Vol. I. p. 25, of which the original has, since the publication of that volume, been discovered in the State Paper Office among papers of a long posterior date, and together with others published by Burnet (who very probably misplaced them), particularly Wolsey's of the 28th of August 1521, and the 4th of August 1526. Burnet, Reformation, Vol. III. Collection, pp. 9. 7.

good

good helpe of my Lady, whome I note to be nurisher of peaxe, after my commyng to Calais, such good and honorable wais shalbe takyn for the removyng of all hostilite, as shall tende to thestablisshyng of peaxe and tranquillite throute all Christendome. And thus hartely fare ye well, &ca.[1]

XXXVI. Fitzwilliam, &c. *to* King Henry VIII.

Please it Your Highness to understande, that at the writing herof Monsr. Mountpeyssard, this berer, was dispached towardes Your Highnes, for what cause we knowe not, otherwise then we advertised Your Grace and my Lord Cardynall in our last letters[2], notwithstanding that we devised with hym at his being with us to have knowen sumthing of his charge, to have advertised Your Highnes. And as to ascertaigne Your Grace of the newes of Navar, it is of a trouth that the Frenshemen there bee overthrowen, and the moost part therof taken or slayne, as we wrote unto Your Highnes and my Lord Cardynalles Grace in our said last letters. Neverthelesse the sayeng is here now, that Monsr. de Sparow[3] is not slayne, but soore hurt and taken prisonner, Monsr. Tornon and the Senesshall of Armynakes Lieutenaunt also taken, and Sainte Colombe escaped. Howbeit, we cannot thinke that there is soo fewe taken and slaine as they saye bee, for here of evell newes they make ever the best. Also the sayeng is here, that Monsr. de Lotrek shall goo into Itally, and that there shall comme thider unto hym the nombre of 6000 Swychys, and that into these parties of Bourgonne shall come 6000 moo Swychys, and also that into Gascoigne shalbe sent a grete army; but this to bee of a trouth wee cannot advertise Your Highnesse, for we here it but by common brute. And as to advertise Your Grace of the Ambassadours of the Swychys, the sayeng is here dailly that they come; howbeit as yet they bee not comme, ner when they come we knowe not, ner what is there stoppe, but they saye they bee comme to Lyons.

And as of the Pope, all the gentilmen of the Court here, and commonly

[1] Indorsed, "The copie of the Lorde Cardinals lrẽs to Mr. Fitzwilliams and Mr. Jernyngam." By Caligula, D. VIII. leaf 69, which is the answer to this letter, it's date appears to have been the 7th of July, which agrees with their despatch to the King of the 13th of July in the Chapter House.

[2] These must have been letters, which are neither in the State Paper Office, nor in the Museum.

[3] Andrew de Foix, d'Esparres.

all

all others speke as evell of Hym now, as ever they did of Pope July. As the blessed Trinitie knoweth, who ever have Your Highnes in his blessed tuycion. At Digion, the 10th day of July, by your most humble and obeyssaunt subgiettes and servauntes,

(*Signed*) Wyllm̃ : Fytz Wyllm̃.
(*Signed*) Rychard Jarnegan.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Kinges Highnes.

XXXVII. Spynnelly *to* Wolsey.

Pleasith Your Grace to understonde, that the 7th day of this moneth I wrote my last letters unto the same.[1] Sinse I have spoken with the Lorde of Isillesten, who shewed me that where Fraunces Cheken shulde have brought 20000 men and 4000 horses, that he is commaunded to bring but 15000 and 2000, because he shall have 1000 horsemen of these Lowe Almaynes, and the Counte of Mandersett shall bring 500, and the Lorde Nasso his broder as many, the whiche be better horsemen then the High Almaynes. Also he saith that they have purvayed for 4000 hannegonnes of the subgettes of the Duke of Cleves and Juliers, who better then the launceknightes, accompting to have in all 30000 fotemen, that by reason of a greate nombre of gentilmen that shall come with them wilbe litell lesse of 40000 paiys and 10000 horsemen.

As to the ordenaunce, they have caused 40 greate peces of those of thEmperours Maximilian, that were at Lyndo and Mferretto to be brought hether, and reken to have a greate bande well purvayed of all appertenaunces. As to the gonne powdre, they have bought somoche salt peter as will make 4000 barelles, and if the charge may be continued as they say they shall doo, it is thought they shall putte the Frenche Kyng into greate daungeour.

The meanes that they have for money is principally suche as the Lorde Cevres[2] haithe lefte, the whiche, as by twoo of his executours I am enformed, amounte to the somme of 800000 ducates, and 50000 ducates in plate of silver and goolde. Over that comprised som places solde in the realme of Naples by the factours of the Balsers that be appoynted for the reception, I understande they shall have 500000 ducates. Moreover the money graunted by the

[1] This despatch has not been found.

[2] Wyngfeld, in a letter from Worms dated on Corpus Christi Even, states Chievres to have died that night, "by whom alone the Emperor had hitherto been stayed from entering the wars with "France." Caligula, D. VIII. leaf 44. Corpus Christi eve in 1521 fell on the 29th of May.

abbottes

abbottes and prelates, the whiche I will not name, unto I have the bill, for they speke of suche a greate some that I cannot beleve.

Item they shall have the aide of the Astates, that can be no lesse then their offres made at the first assemble; albeyt I understonde by Monsieur de la Roche thEmperour at his going now to Gaunt[1] thinke to get moche more of those of Flaundres, and consequently that the porcion of the remenaunt shalbe after that rate.

Also the seid Monsieur de la Roche shewed me that, in case the seid Astates shulde not condiscende to the assistence, that he thinke thEmperour is mynded with their good consent to take for oone yere all the maltotes and sises of their townes, amounting, deducted the rentes that many pore men have theruppon, 2000000 florens, of 20 styvers the floren.

And as to their other revenues the seid Mounsieur de la Roche saith, with the ordinary aide they be worthe 800000 florens, of 20 styvers the floren, by the yere clere. And this is the foundacion come to my knowlege, they have to maynteyne their warres, not being comprised some prest of the Chaunceler and other perticulers, and the rent that at a nede they say to sell, uppon the dominion wherof they shall lacke no biers, for the greate riches that is in the contrey.

The Lorde Nasso is in very greate estimacion with every man, who haith dissired me to make his most humble recommendacion to the Kinges Highnes, saiyng his dedes shalbe wytnes of the good mynde that he haith to doo His Grace service; and that for his parte he never dissired ne counsailled the warre, but seing the Frenche Kyng, against the treatie and othe, hathe sought the same, for the honour of thEmperour his soverayne Lorde and his just querell, he is totally mynded to serve Hym, with his body goodes and fryndes, to the best of his power, trusting God shalbe good protectour of their good right. The whiche Nasso with his felowes goeth to the felde agayne, and shall tary there where he is, unto the other horsemen and fotemen be assembeled togither, that shalbe, as they say, by the latter ende of this moneth.[2]

Furthermore I synyfie unto your Grace that the Lorde of Isillisten haith shewed me in greate counsaill they have secrete intelligence with the Almaynes, that ben in the Frenche Kynges service, as shall appere hereafter.

The Duke of Alba Founteseca, with other noblemen of Spayne, prepareth them selves for the warre sumpteously, and every man after his degree doo the best he can.

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[1] His removal to Ghent was on the 15th or 16th of July. Galba, B. VII. leaf 62.

[2] Nassau was appointed to succeed Chievres as High Chamberlain to the Emperor. Ibid.

From

From the Swicers, as the Lorde Berges tolde me twoo days passed, they had newes that the Frenche Kyng shall have none of them in his service.

The Lorde Sevenbarg is gone by the postes to the Cardinall Sidonensis; and as towching their charge, I can hire no further then I have writen.

ThEmperour sendith at this tyme into Spayne, to passe by Englond, an honorable Knyght called Deogo Urtado Demendosa, for to declare perticulerly to the Counsaill of Castilla the demeanour of the Frenche Kyng, how He haith ben compelled to the warre, his preparacion made, and by what way He entende to procede in the same, dissiryng and commaunding to doo on their side, nothing sparing, all that they can against their enemies, by suche maner that the honour and glory, acquyred in tyme passed by the Corone of Castilla, may not oonely be conserved, but encreased, as thEmperour haith his speciall trust in their fidelitie, suffisaunce, and vertue. And, emongest other thinges, they ben expressely charged to sende a nombre of horsemen and joyne with those of Arragon and Catolanea to envade the Frenche Kyng in Lynga Doca, that is called an open contrey with no strong townes. And as to the busines of Naverre, ther is no newes sinse; nevertheles it is rekened the power of the Constable shalbe able for the twoo enterprises: and this shewed me Founteseca.

Yesternyght the Chaunceler tolde me that the merchauntes of Jenes, whiche foloweth the Courte, ben advertised that Messer Jeronemo Addorno was with the galies landed in the coast of Jenes at a towne called Chavery, and taken the same, and that from thense he, with all his fryndes and the 2000 Spanyerdes come from Naples, went by lande to the citie, not doubting, with the assistence of their percialitie that he haith in the same, to expelle the Frigoses, whiche had 700 fotemen and no hope to be assisted from the Duchie of Millayne, by reason of the rumours and commocions that were begonne ther, and likewise of the small nombre of men of werre the Frenche Kyng haith ther. Shortely they loke here to hire some greate insurreccion in the seid Duchie, by the intelligences the Chaunceler saith the Pope and thEmperour have in the same, and provision made for suche effecte.[1]

Item, he affermeth the Pope is declared for thEmperour against Fraunce, and that His Holines men of armes shall come with Prospero Colona and 500 speres of those of Naples against Millayne.[1] And though the Popes Oratour do denyghe yt, yet Don Lois Carrose, that is a greate man with hym, saide to me yesterday that the Pope is aggreed in every thing with thEmperour, wherin I reporte me to the troueth.

ThEmperour this mornyng sent for me, being with Hym the Popes Oratour,

[1] See further, Galba, B. VII. leaf 62.

the

the Chaunceler, and the Boisshopp of Palence, and shewed me to be advertised from Rome fro his Ambassadour that the Lorde Lescue, with 500 men of armes, and the Counte Lodowike of Borgery, was come the 22 day of the last moneth to Parma, and the 23, in the mornyng very erly, before Rigeo a citie belonging to the Pope, sending a gentleman to the Governour of the same, and dissiring to speke with hym; whiche came owte of the yates with 3 servauntes, giving warnyng unto those of the towne to stande uppon their warde: and being in commonicacions with the seid Lorde Lescue, who demaunded to have certeyne rebelles that were within the citie, a greate part of his company went on the other side of the citie, where was a yate open with good wache; and during the seid commonicacions saulted the seid yate, insomoche, if it had not ben for the good and sodayne resistence, the Frenchemen had taken the citie, and succesive Modona and Bononya. Howbeyt they were driven backe, and diverse of their men hurt with ordenaunce, emongest the whiche is named the Conte Alexandre of Tryulcy, that was shotte with an arkebutte: saiyng thEmperour moreover, the Popes Luetenaunt had offered to the seid Lord Lescue to banysh the seid rebelles, and not content with that, he made suche enterprise; and that, consideryng the Frenche Kyng haith envaded the Pope, the Kynges Highnes, and his confiderate, He coulde doo no lesse but to assist Hym as a good Cristen Prince ought to doo, supposing the Kynges Highnes shall do no other; and dissiring me to advertise His Grace of all the premisses, as He will doo Hym selfe. Whereunto I aunswered to doo yt, and that His Majestie might be suer that His Highnes will not lacke to the Holy Churche in all resonable occasions and causes, no more then the same haith done heretofore, as evidently is appereth to all Cristendome.

I understonde the Pope haith sent to the Swicers and likewise into Englond, and that He is determyned, with all the power of the Churche, Sena, and Florence, to envade the Frenchemen into the Duchie of Millayne.

As to the entreprise against Jenes, it was discovered, and therfore the contradiccion shalbe greater then it was thought. Nevertheles those that ben here say they shall bring it to their dissire.

ThEmperour departith this after none towarde Macklynes, Andwarpe, and Gaunt, who greatly dissire newes from thens. And thus Jesus preserve your Grace in good helth.[1]

(*Signed*) Youur moost humble and bow̃ding
s̃vant, THOMMAS SPYNNELLY.

(*Superscribed*)
To my Lord Cardinalles Grace.

[1] The date of this letter must have been between the 7th and 13th of July 1521.

XXXVIII. Fitzwilliam[1] *to* King Henry VIII.

Please it Your Highnes to understand, that on Monday the 29th day of July, Mountpeyssard arryved here, and the next day folowing he sent unto me a letter which he had brought from my Lord Cardynalles Grace. And the same day the Frenshe King was oute on hunting. And on the Wensday I went to Hym, and declared unto Hym such thinges as my said Lord Cardynalles Grace willed me by his sayed letter to doo; and He shewed me He understode by Mountpeyssard that the Emperour wold take noo truex, wherof He sayed He was verrey glad; for, seing He had refuced it, and yf the said Emperour wold now consent to it, He wold not; sayeng, that under colour of this peax the said Emperour doth Hym all the displeasur He can, for his folkes now had almost taken the forsaid Mountpeyssard upon the see; and in caas he had not had good helpe of Englisshemen, insomoche that they were fayne to arme a ship for hym and a litle boote to goo by her, they had surely taken hym; and yet for all that they chased hym soo nygh, that they were fayne to set hym on lande at Whitsand, as the said Mountpeyssard sayeth. And He sayed also that they have taken diverse ships of his; but He sayeth He wilbe mete with Hym shortely, for within these 20 dayes He wilhave 40 or 50 sayle on see borde, trymmed for the warre. And then I shewed unto Hym that Your Highnes had written to thEmperour, that his folkes shuld staye and absteyne from the warre, and desired Hym that, seing this meting at Calays was soo nygh, that He wold cause his folkes in likewise to forbere, till suche tyme as He sawe what wold come therof. And to that He aunswered and sayed, that whatsoever shuld come of the said meting, He wold not now lett to take his advauntage. And by soo sayeng I doo suppose He ment the army He hath in Itally, for as I here saye He is there farre to strong for the Popys army and thEmperours, and rekenneth and hath rekenned, notwithstanding his promyse, that, and his folkes maye take the other at avauntage, that they shall surely gyve batayll.

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[1] By a joint letter from Fitzwilliam and Jernigam of the 13th of July, they announce that the latter, having brought his charge to good effect, intended to take leave of the French King on the Tuesday or Wednesday following. There is nothing material in the letter, except a rumour that the Admiral was going into Guienne; a journey, which Fitzwilliam on the 28th of July reported to Wolsey to be fixed. Caligula, D. VIII. leaf 71., which volume, leaf 69, contains a letter of the 13th from Fitzwilliam and Jernigam to Wolsey to the same effect as that to the King, but of much greater length.

Also

Also He shewed me that the Spanyardes have taken and raysed Saint John Peterport; but He shewed me nothing of noo men He hath there lost, notwithstanding that afore tyme He hath shewed me that there were 3000 Frenshemen therin. And, as I have herde by reaport, the Spanyardes gate it by assault, and slewe all that were within it. But I will not assure Your Grace that this is true, for I herde it of no credable personne.

Over this, the Frenshe King shewed me, that the mutenary in Spayne was never greater then it is at this howre, and He sayed He had receyved a letter within these two dayes now passed that the Constable of Spayne had written to a Lord in Spayne that he was sory that he must bee forced to leve the reame of Naver, no nother like but to bee lost, which he had wonne with grete honour; and all thorough the ungracious rebelles forsaid: wherby He sayeth He knoweth surely he reatourneth bakk. And without fayle, in caas the peax bee not made by my Lord Cardynalles Grace now at Calays, the Admyrall shall entre into Naver within these thre wekes at the farthest, who hath with hym the wysest and moost hardyest capytaynes within the reame of Fraunce, and shalhave, as they saye, 25000 fotemen and 1400 sperys.

Furthermore, the King shewed me He hath commaunded Monsr de Burbon to geder 6000 fotemen moo and 2000 horsemen, and that he shalbe now chief in Burgonne, and not Monsr Latramoyle; and also He sayeth He loketh every day for suche Swychys, as I wrote to Your Highnes and my Lord Cardynalles Grace of in my former letters. And over this He sayeth He is enfourmed surely that the Emperour will laye sege to Tourney, and He sayeth, yf He soo doo, He will not rayse the same sege, for they have broken all the passages, but He will laye sege to Sanct Omere or Betwyn.

And farther He shewed me that thEmperour hath been at Gaunte, and ther preched to the people Hym self, shewyng theym how He was borne ther, and trusted that now at his nede they wold helpe Hym, for surely He wold leve the Frenshe King in his shirte, or elles He shuld soo leve Hym. And therupon they have graunted unto Hym 4000 fotemen to bee fownd at their charge, and other townes graunte Hym in likewise, to their powers. And by these thinges the Frenshe King sayeth He knoweth well his mynde, and He trusteth well to qwite Hym.

Also please it Your Highnes that the same day I spake with the King, my Lady was sumwhat accrased; and I thought it convenient I shuld speke with her, to feele partely wheder she was mynded to peax still, as she was wont to bee, or not. And this day I came to her presence, and she shewed me Mountepeyssard had shewed her, as the King had shewed me afore, and sayed I shuld surely see shortely, and afore this moneth were all ended, what

the puissaunce of Fraunce was, and she trusted, though thEmperour avaunted Hym of this journey of Naver, as though He had wonne all the reame of Fraunce, yet she doubted not but that, afore this moneth and the next bee at an end, He shalhave noo cause soo to avaunte Hym. And then I sayed I was sory to see her speke soo like a man of warre as she did, for she was ever my comfort for peax, and besought her she wold bee a meane for the same, as she had been afore tyme; and I doubted not, but with her good helpe, there shuld at Calays a truex bee taken shortely by their both consentes, and trusted a fynall peax. To the which she aunswered and sayed, that, as for the truex, she was sure, seing the Emperour had refuced it, her sonne wold never consent therto, or to any peax either, she was in grete doubt. Howbeit I thinke she wold bee gladder of peax, then she maketh fayre of. And then she desired me to make her recommendations unto my Lord Cardynalles Grace, and to advertise hym, the King her sonne was verrey well content with the message Mountpeyssard brought, and of the good wordes Your Highnes had to hym: and the said Mountepeyssard made good reaport of Your Highnes, and of my Lord Cardynalles Grace; but, as I have lerned, he sayed all England after cared not and all the Frenshemen were in the same caas they were in Naver.

Also this day oone shewed me that there bee many men slayne in Sanct John Peterport, and, a litle afore the Spanyardes came thider, a dosen gentilmen were sent into the holde, to gyve theym courage that were within to kepe it, and as it is shewed me, they bee all slayne; but, and it bee true, it is kept verrey secrete. And of a trouth the Spanyardes have been afore a towne in Gyen called Salvatere, and sum rekenne they have wonne it, for it is not stronge; but I cannot ascertaigne Your Grace therof for a trouth; but it is a shrewed likelyhod there is suche rebellion in Spayne, that the Constable shuld goo bakke, that these Spanyardes shuld entre into Gyen.

Also please it Your Highnes I devised with the Kinges syster, and she shewed me many thinges of the Popes actes, which, and it bee as she sayeth, his dedes bee as litle to his honour as maye bee; and she hides it not in the telling therof. And she sayed to me in her said devising, twise or thrise, that it was a straunge thing, for the house of Fraunce ever used a playne weye without dissymulation, and yet all the Princes christened were glad to here of their losse. And I perceyved well she harped upon that word, and I sayed to her, "Madam, the King my maister is not glad of your broders losse, ner "yet of his dishonour;" and then she said laughing, that yf it soo were, there is oone, and noo moo. And, to ascertaigne Your Highnes plainly, I perceyve well they trust Your Grace never a whit; but for feare kepe You up with fayre

fayre wordes, and provide for the worst, and soo I perceyve every day more and more. And my pore opinion is, that Your Highnes not oonly have good espiall of theym, but also Calays to bee well vitailled, and against my Lord Cardynalles going over to have a barke or two ryged for the warre; for I thinke surely they care not what they doo, soo they might wynne Your Highnes on their partie: but I doubt, in cas any breche shuld happen, whilest my Lord Cardynalles Grace is at Calays, they, being in arredynesse, might doo sum entreprise sodenly; for I here saye for a trouth that the Duke of Vandon is commaunded to rayse 12000 fotemen. And though I write rowndely, yet I trust there shalbe no doubt. Howbeit it is no hurt to have good espiall. And thus the blessed Trinitie ever have Your Highnes in his blessed tuycion. At the castell of Vyleneff, the 2de day of August.[1] By your humble subgiet and moost bownd servaunt,

(*Signed*) Wyllm̃ Fytz Wyllm̃.

XXXIX. Wolsey *to* King Henry VIII.[2]

Syre. Thes wryttyn with myn owne hand shalbe onely to advertyse Your Grace, what I do perceyve and see in thEmperors owne parson, wych I assure Your Grace, for hys age, ys very wyse, and wel undyrstandyng hys afferys, rygth colde and temperat in speche, with assuryd maner, cowchyng hys wordes rygth wel, and to good purpose, when He dothe speke. And ondowgttydly, by all apparance, He shall prove a very wyse man, gretly inclynyd to trowgth, and observance of hys promyse, determynyd nat onely fastly, holly, and enterly, for evyr from hens forthe, to be joynyd with Your Grace, levyng all other practyse and intellygens apart; but also in all hys afferys to take and folowe your cownsell and advyse, and no thyng to do without the same. And, lyeke as Your Grace hath your synguler affyance in me, puttyng the burdeyn of your afferys on my shuldres, thowgth I knowleg my sylf fere onmete for the same, so He ys determynyd to do for hys parte. And hereonto He hath nat onely

[1] Fitzwilliam wrote to Wolsey on the same day. Caligula, D. VIII. leaf 84. Many letters on the subject of the negotiations in the subsequent part of this year will be found in the Museum, the German in Galba, B. VII. passim, B. VI. 179, 196, 219., Vitellius, B. IV. 177., C. XI. 191. See also Vol. I. pp. 25–93. The treaty concluded at Calais on the 24th of November is given in substance by Lord Herbert, p. 107.

[2] Holograph. See note to p. 76. It is printed, with a few errors, by Burnet, Vol. III. p. 9.

bowndyn

bowndyn Hym sylf to me aparte, twys or thrys, by hys feyth and trowthe gevyn in my hande; but also He hath to every one of your Prevy Cownsell in most constant wyse declaryd the same, in suche maner and facion as we all may perceyve that the same procedyth of hys harte, without coloure, dissymulation, or ficcion. Wherfor, Syre, Ye have cause to geve thanckes to Almygthy Gode, wych hath gevyn Yow grace so to ordyr and conven your afferys, that Ye be nat onely the ruler of thys your Realme, wych ys in an angle of the worlde; but also by your wysdome and cownsel, Spayne, Itally, Almayne, and thes Lowe Cowntres, wych ys the gretest parte of Crystendame, shalbe rulyd and governyd. And as for Frawnce, thys knot nowe beyng assurydly knyt, shall nat fayle to do as Your Grace shall comawnde. What honoure thys ys to Your Hyghnes, I dowgth nat but that Your Grace of your hye wysdom can rygth wel consydere, gevyng most herty thanckes to Almyghty God for the same accordyngly: besechyng Your Grace moste humbly so to do, wherby thys thyng thus honorably commensyd, shall nat fayle, to your gret exultation, to come to the desyryd ende, to the atteynyng wherof I shal employ my poore parson, wyt, exsperyens, substance, and blode. From Gravelyng, the 28 day of August, with the rude hand of Your

Moste humble Chapleyn,

T. Carlis Eboz.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Kynges Grace ys
owne handys onely.

XL. The Emperor Charles V. *to* Queen Catharine.

Serenissima Reyna nuestra, muy cara y muy amada tia y hermana. Nos escrevimos agora al Reverendo in Christo padre Obispo de Vadajoz y de Helva, nuestro Embaxador y del nuestro consejo, que de nuestra parte haga saber a Vuestra Serenidad la reducion de la ciudad y castillo de Tornay en nuestras manos y senorio, y la entrada del exercito de nuestro muy Santo Padre y nuestro en Milan. Por el plazer y contentamiento, que sabemos que dello y de todos nuestros buenos successos haveys de recebir, pues siendo nuestros son proprios de Vuestra Serenidad, a la qual rogamos muy affectuosamente le plega darle entera fe y creencia y hazer: Nos saber de la salud y buenas nuevas del Serenissimo Rey de Inglaterra, su marido, nuestro muy caro y muy amado tio y hermano, pues sabe el plazer y contentamiento que dello havemos de recebir. Serenissima Reyna nuestra, muy cara y muy amada tia y hermana, Nuestro Señor

Señor todos tiempos os haya en su especial guarda y recomienda. Datos en la Villa de Aldmarde, a dos dias del mes de Noviembre, ano de mil quinientos veynte y uno.

(*Signado*) Vŕo buen Sobrino,
Yo el Rey.

(*Contrasignado*) Jo. Alemanus Sect^{o}.

(*Sobrescritto*)
A la Serenissima Reyna de Ingalaterra y de Francia, nuestra muy cara y muy amada tia y hermana.

XLI. Sir Thomas Cheyne[1] *to* King Henry VIII.

Please hit Your Highnes to understande, that where as in my last letters is mencioned of the Frenche Kinges commaundement to me that I sholde use my self at all houres in his Prevye Chamber, as I doo in yours; yet, that not withstanding, I wolde not be so presumptuous upon his furst commaundement so to doo: wherfore this mornyng He sent Morrett to my lodging to bring me to Hym. And further the sayde Morrett tolde me that the King his maister thought that I was not content, because I camme not boldely into his chamber, as his pleasur was I sholde doo. And so we wente to the Courte, and at my commyng the King was but lately rysen, and in his night gowne was looking oute at a wyndowe, and the Treasourer Robertet talking with Hym, and no moo in the chamber where He was but the Great Maister, the Admyrall, and Graunt Esquier, the Baillif of Parise, and 2 moo whiche I knowe not: and soo at myne entring into the chamber there entred with me Morrett, Larochepott, Monpessant, Moye, and suche other, about the nomber of 20 or 24. Please it Your Grace, that when I came ones into his sayde chamber, and that He was redye to the wasshing of his handes, the towell was brought to the Great Maister, and so he toke hit to me, and made me gyve hit to the King, sayeng that Your Grace used hym so at his being in England. This doon, the King went to here masse in the towne, Hym self ryding upon a faire jenett, and made me ryde talking all the waye with Hym. Theffect of our communycacyon was

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[1] A minute of Sir Thomas Cheyne's instructions as Ambassador to the Court of France is in the Museum, Caligula, D. VIII. leaf 201. He reported his arrival at Rouen on the 26th of January 1522, whereupon Fitzwilliam left the French Court. Ibid. 210. 212. Several of his despatches to the end of March are in the same Volume, 201–225. The last of these, which is catalogued in May, belongs to March. Other of his despatches are in the Chapter House, Bundle $\frac{A6}{6}$, and among Wolsey's Correspondence, Vol. III.

of

of Your Highnes concernyng suche thinges as is specifyed in Maister Taillours last letters and myne, sent unto my Lorde Cardynall. Over this hit maye please Your Highnes that Morrett desired me to write unto Your Grace, how that the King his maister had promysed hym that he sholde never ryde more in poste, yett neverthelesse he is right well contented, and sayethe that he had rather ryde into England (and hit were as farre agayne), then to ryde a quarter so farre to eny other Prince lyving. How be hit, I thinke hit woll be this sevennyght or more, before he be dispeched. As knoweth the blessed Trynytie, who preserve Your Highnes in good helthe and long life. At Burdeaulx, the 14th daye of Aprile, by your most humble subgyett and servaunt,

(*Signed*) THOMAS CHEYNE.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Kinges Highnes.

XLII. PACE *and* CLERK *to* WOLSEY.

PLEASE itt Your Grace. Synst the wrytinge of owre laste letters unto the same, we have hadde knowliege by diverse letters sent by honorable persons owte of the Duchie of Myllan, that the 11 daye of this instante moneth the Frenche armye assawtydde the cite of Pavia, trustinge firmely to take the same by force, becawse the Duke of Myllan was departydde thens with his armye of 9000 footemen and 500 men of armys towardys the cite of Myllan, to joyne with the Lorde Prosper Columpna, generall capitayn of the Emperors armye. But the Markys of Mantua remayninge in the said citie defendide the same so valiantly, that the Frenche men were put backe with the losse of 200 footemen and 30ty lyght horsys, taken prisonners by them that issuede owte of the sayde citie, by whom was slayne also the Lorde Lotreckys nevewe, for whome he takith thowght. And thus they left the siege at that tyme. And within fewe dais after they retornyd again to the siege of the same, and shotte all their artillarye veray fierslye; but the said Marquyse with his companye, being within with the ayde of the citie, didde in marveillous brieffe tyme repare as moche as they didde bete downe; and in the meane whiles the said Lord Prosper came owte of Mylan with his armye to the rescue of the said citee, and fownde an 136 men of armyes in the chapitre howse joyning unto the same citie, and slewe them, and toke them prisonners every oon. They were of the retinue of the Greate Maister, Monsr de Lescue, and the Signor Theodoro Triulcio, and 3 of there banners were taken and broght in to the said

said citie. And thus the said Frenche armye departyd to a place callyd Septimo, 8 myles distant from the said Pavia, and there as yett remaynithe; and at ther departyng they lost also 4 greate peacis of artyllarye, which they cowde not convey away by reason of the greate and excessive rayne that hathe ben in those parties; by the reason wherof ther bridge also, which they hadde made uppon the ryver of Ticino for the conveians of ther vitailles, is broken, wherbye they be brawght in to greate dangier, in so moche that oone of the capitains of there Swecys, taken prisonner, hath shewyde that the Frenche capitains be in greate dissention amongest theim selfys, and withowt money, and that the armye of the Swecys wolde departe the 26 daye of this instant moneth, in case ther hole wagys wer not payd unto theim by the same daye accordinge to the Great Maisters promysse made in that behalfe.

The 24 day of this present monyth my Lorde the Cardinall de Medicis wrote hether to the College, howe that the Counte Hannyball Arrangon arryved at Bononye with diverse of the Bentivoles, ande an armye of 5000 footemen, 200 men of armys, 500 lyght horsys, and assaultyde the citie, intendinge to take the same from the Pope, and to put in the said Bentivols there. Howbeitt the said Cardinall de Medicis, as Legat of the said citie, made soche provision against the said armye, that the armye beinge within, withe the aide of the peple, issued owt and slewe diverse of ther ennemys, and hurte the said Counte, and put the hole armye to flyght, so that the said citie by the wisdome and diligence of the said Cardinall is savid for the Churche. The colliege of the Cardinalles, notwithstondinge that they have sent a corrar unto the Popis Holynes to accelerate his commynge, desiringe him not to tary the arrivall of soche victuallys as His Holines latly sent fore, yett they nowe, havinge none answer frome Him, and consideringe the greate necessite of his presence here, have determynede to sende unto Him the said victuall by Him demaundydde, as we have certified your Grace in owre former letters.

Post scripta. By soche letters, as the said Cardinall off Medicis hathe writen hether, baringe date of the 28 of this present moneth, we undirstond that the Frenche armye is dissolvidde, and the Sweces departed oone waye homewardes, the Venetyans an other, and the Frenche men in to Fraunce, with shame and losses as well off men as reputacion. This the Almyghty God preserve your Grace. At Rome, the last day off Apryll.

By your Grace is most humbyll and
faithfull servantes,
(*Signed*) RI. PACE.
(*Signed*) JO. CLERK priste.

 After

After the perfecting of theise owre letters, a corrar sent by the Duke of Myllan to the Cardinall of Medicis arryved heer, with the sayd Dukys letters, and diverse other writen to thEmperour is Ambassador resident heer, baringe date the 27 of Aprill. And the said letters compryssede how that the said 27 daye the Frenche armye and the Sweces wher browght in to that extremite for lacke of victuall, that they moste other fight or dye for hongher, and so they sett upon the Lorde Prosper Columpna, being in his strenthe and forthresse, advauncyng 3000 Swices upon the lance knyghtes and Spainnyardes, being with the said Lorde Prosper; intending also to sett upon his horsemen 300 men off armys: but it so chanched that the said Duke of Myllan, having knowlege in time of this enterprise, issued owt of the citie not only with his lanceknyghtes, but also with a greate nomber of other inhabitantes, noble and gentylmen of the same, and shortly met with the said 300 men of armys, and set upon theim so valyauntly, that immediatly they slewe 100 of theym, and sore wonded the residue, and the Lorde Lutreke was set besydes his horse, and yet it is in dowte whether he be in lyfe or dede; and that the Bastard of Savoye is sore hurte, and in the meane tyme the said 3000 Sweces by thEmperours lance-knyghtes and Spaynniardes were slayne almost every oone. Of thEmperours armye no man of reputacion is slayne, save only the Counte Golisano, Neapolitan, a valiant capitayn, and of the residew not many. This done, the Frenche men and the Sweces withdrew theym self into the towne of Monce, 10 myllys distant from Myllan, and the said Lorde Prosper folowed theym, trustinge the finall ende of this warre.

(*Superscribed*)
To my Lord Legates Grace.

XLIII. Cheyne *to* Wolsey.[1]

Please yt Your Grace to understond, that yt is told me how *the French Kyng hath lost Novare again, by raison wherof al the pasages be stopped, that He can have no word from hys army. I wol not say this is trew, for I have not herd it by no man of very great credence.*

Also it is shewed me that Monsire De la Trimoyle is gon into Picardy to be as Governour ther, and Monsire de Vandome is put oute of his rome for

[1] Those parts of this and Cheyne's subsequent letters, which are printed in Italics, are in the original in cypher, and have been decyphered from thence.

giwyng

givyng the Maire of Amyas a blow, and bycause he wold not delyver hym the keyes of the towne. Notwithstondyng he was fayn to fle, or elis it had cost hym his life, for they of the said towne rose to a greate nombre; and whan they cowld not fynd hym, they set fire on his lodgyng. This was done, as I herd say, almost a moneth agon; wherfor I think your Grace hath word, or now; nevertheles I herd not of it til yesterday, for no man wol tel me no soche thing, til it be in every mans mowthe.

Farther it may please your Grace, that, where as I wrote in my last leter, dated the second day of this moneth, how I thowght the French Kyng wold delyver part or al of the merchantes wynes and shippes beyng under arrest at Burdeaux[1]*; it may please your Grace, He protesteth playnly, that He wol delyver nother shippes nor goodes, nor yet be won, but onely by fayre meanes, to be hewen in peases; and as yet I cannot get a saveconduyt for Gyttons person to returne into England. As for other newes, I know none occurrant, but that the Admyrall wolbe here this nyght; but, wher he hath ben, as yet I can not asserteyn your Grace of no surety. Always moste humbly besechyng your Grace to have me in your graciows remembraunce, assuryng your Grace al the mony I have wolnot bere my charges fortenyght longer; and I am here farre fro my frendes, where I can make no shift.* As knoweth Almightty Jhesus, who ever preserve your Grace in good helthe and long lyfe. At Lyons, the 6th daye of Mayy. By your to the best of his lytyll power,

(*Signed*) THOMAS CHEYNE.

(*Superscribed*)
To my Lord Cardinalles goode Grace.

XLIV. CHEYNE *to* WOLSEY.

PLEASE yt Yower Grace to understond, that this present daye, immediatlye aftir my tother letter was delyverd to the Countroller of the Postes, one brought me word how the Kyng had newes owte of Italye. Wherfor I went streight to the Court, and whan I came there I cowld not speke with the Kyng. Nevertheles the Seigniour Galyas Vice Counte, and Monsr. Dowbenye, and dyvers other mo, told me the Frenchmen assawted the Spanyardes withyn their campe, where was slayne the Counte Colisenne of Syssil one of their

[1] See Vol. I. p. 95. In Cheyne's letter to the King of the 2d of May (which is in the Chapter House, $\frac{A6}{6}$), he does not mention these wines.

chief capitaynes, and to the nombre of 2 or thre thowsand Spanyardes, and lansknighttes; at the whiche assawte Monsr. Dowbenyes cumpanye wan above 80 cowrsers and 50 mulettes charged; and that there shuld not be slayne of the Frenchmennes cumpanye above 300 at the moste, wherof was kylled owte of hand 8 or 10 gentylmen, off the whiche 4 be named Mountforth, Gravylle, Mountyjan, and Myolane; whiche Myolane was husband to the fayre mayde Grewffc. Thes be the chief, and the eldest of them not 20 yere olde. Assuryng your Grace that here ys moche mone made for them. And as for the resydew I know not their names as yet. Monsr. de Lyscu and La Rochpott hurte. And morover they gyve a great prayse to their men of armes, and put greate blame in the Swyses, sayeng that, and they had don their part, as they did, there had not one escaped. Nevertheles the Swyses lost 3 of their chief capitayns; *which cowld not be, if they had not done their part aswel as the Frenchmen: but who so ever do best, they wol say always it is theymselfes. Please it your Grace they make as thowgh they were mervelows glad with thes tydynges. Notwithstondyng I thinke verily the trowthe is contrary, and that they have lost more than they have won. Farther, and it were as they say, the Spanyardes cowld never a gotten into the towne of Myllayn, where as they be now, and al their ordynawnce with them, as the Seyngniowr Galias Vice Count told me.* Other newes I know none: but that I beseche Almighty Jhesus ever to preserve your Grace in good helth and long lyfe. At Lyons, the 6 day of Mayy. By your to the beste of his lityll power,

(*Signed*) THOMAS CHEYNE.

(*Superscribed*)
To my Lord Cardinalles good Grace.

XLV. CHEYNE *to* WOLSEY.

PLEASE it Your Grace to understand, that Gittyns taried the Admyralles coumyng, bycaws he had a letter to hym from Poilleot, by raison wherof the said Admyral hath writen to Burdeaux that he shal have thre hundreth tonnes of wyne to be laden in thre shippes of Bristow, which is all the said Gittons demanded; nevertheles I cowlde have none answer of the French Kyng, than as appereth in one of my letters dated the sixth day of this moneth.

Further it may please yowr Grace to understond that, where as I wrote in my last letter dated the said sixt day, that fowr gentilmen of France showld be

be slayne; it may please Your Grace that this day the French Kyng told me, how He had word syns, that thre of theym be a lyve, and be takin prisoners, and the fowrthe was not there, whoes name is Mowntyjan; and also He told me that a gentilman of his Chambre, one Lowney, shold be taken, and fowre or fyve other gentilmen mo.

And morover He told me that my Ladys gentilman was dispeched to your Grace warde, whoes name is Shavynnye. He is her first Stiward, and a very sad man. I know hym very wel, for he kept me cumpany, whan I was at Blas with the French Kynges moder.

Plese it your Grace I cannot know the contrarye that the Admyrall hath ben any where, but onely with the Duke of Savoy, and there has made a new lege bitwene the French Kyng and hym; but aftir what maner, I cannot acerteyn your Grace as yet. And also the bruit goes here that the Admyrall shall over the mountains, and ten thowsand aventuriers with hym, and six thowsand Swises mo, and two thowsand corsses, five hundreth men of armes, the two hundreth gentilmen, and thre hundreth of the gard. And theis men ones cum, he shal set foreward, which wolbe here within a fiften dayes. I wolnot assure your Grace herof; for here be so many sayenges, and so few trew, that I bileve almost no thyng is told me. As for other newes, I know none occurrant, but that they loke every day for the Ladyes. As knoweth Almightty Jhesus, who ever preserve your Grace in goode helthe and long lyfe. At Lyons, the 9th daye off Mayy; by your to the beste of hys lityll power,

(*Signed*) THOMAS CHEYNE.

(*Superscribed*)
To my Lord Cardynalles good Grace.

XLVI. CHEYNE *to* WOLSEY.[1]

PLEASE yt Your Grace to understond, that, where as I wrote in my last letter dated the 10th daye of this moneth *that the French Kyng told me the gentilmen showld be taken prisoners and not slayn; please it your Grace now He hathe sure word, as the Seingnowr Galias Vicecounte told me, that they ar ded, and Lowney and yong Giche also, and twelve or forten of the chief capitayns of the*

[1] From the Chapter House, Letters to the King and Council, Vol. I. No. 10., in the same cypher as Cheyne's contemporary letters in the State Paper Office.

Swiches

Swiches in like wise; notwithstondyng He saieth that there is not slayn oute of hand, of the Frenche mens cumpany, in al above thre hundreth. Nevertheles it hath ben shewed me by other, that ther is slayn of the French men and Swiches fyve or six thowsand, and that the Swiches be gone into their cowntre, and that Monsire le Grant Maister, Monsire de la Palise, and La Rochpot showld be gone with them; and Monsire de Lowtreke, and al the men of armes, showld be gone to Cremone, and Monsire de Lisquew and Captayne Bayard to Gene. Farther it may please your Grace that the Spanyardes have goton Lodes, and defeated two hundreth men of armes, as it is told me by Peers Spyna, wherof the French men make no bost. And also the French Kyng hath lost a captayne in Picardy, that grevith Hym more than al theis, whoes name was Thelignye, estemed for the best capitayn of al Fraunce and a man of most experience. Over this, it may please your Grace that, as it is told me, the Duke of Savoy hath ten thowsand crownes pension of the French Kyng, and one hundreth men of armes, and the Ordre of France, and he makes the French Kyng fowre thowsand fotemen and his men of armes to serve hym in Italy at the French Kyng his cost. I wolnot say this is trew, for I herd it not of the French Kyng, nor of none of his Cownsail.

Please it your Grace the most part of the adventuriers be com, and shal muster on Saturday next, and so set forward, as the sayeng is; and sum say that there is ten thowsand mo sent for, which I thinke wolnot be here bifore Myhelmes, for it is more than two monethes agone syns thies wer first sent for, and yet they be not al cum. And, as for power folkes curses, they lak none wher so ever they go. And also whan they be al togither, withowte aid of the Swices, I think they wol do no great harme. Please it your Grace I wold have sent a servant of myn owne with this letter, savyng I thowght your Grace had sume word of the trowth of every thing in Italy, long bifore my said servante cold have cum to your Grace. As for other newes, I know none, but that the French Kyng loketh surely to have the Ladies here a Monday next at the farthest, who had ben here longe or this, savyng my Lady hath ben sike of the gowte. Most humbly besechyng your Grace to helpe me with sum money; assuryng your Grace I wold be lothe to write so often as I do, if it wer not only for very great nede. As knoweth Almightty Jhesus, who ever preserve your Grace in good helthe and long lyfe. At Lyons, the 14 day of Mayy. By your, to the best of his lytyll power,

(*Signed*) THOMAS CHEYNE.

(*Superscribed*)
To my Lord Cardinalles good Grace.

XLVII. CHEYNE *to* WOLSEY.[1]

PLEASE yt your Grace to understond, that on Thursday laste here aryved Clarenseux, who delyverd me the Kynges letter credencialles directed unto the Frenche Kyng, and instructions signed with His Highnes hande; by the laste article of the whiche I perceyve yt ys His Graces pleasure, that the sayd Clarenseux and I shuld conforme our selfes to soche instructions and advertisementes, as shalbe declared wryton or sent unto us by Sir Richard Wyngfeld, who hathe sent me articles of treux by the sayd Clarenseux, and in lyke wyse instructions signed with his hand, to be by me declared unto the French Kyng. Whiche I have done accordyngly; the whiche He wold not accept for eny thyng that I cowld say or do. Wherfor I have taken my leve, accordyng to the Kinges commandment; and cawsed Clarenseux to make the Kynges Highnes declaration; which he hath done right well and substanciallye this present d[*ay*], and as for audience he lakked none.

Further yt may please your Grace that, or I cowld have my leve of the sayd French Kyng, He made me to promesse Hym, that his Ambassadour showld be safely brought to Calays, and that he shuld be delyverd at Sannyngfeld by them of the sayd towne, and I in lyke wyse by them of Bolen; bothe at one tyme indifferentlye, and under saufconduyt of both the Capitaynes: and otherwise I cowld have no leve to depart.

Morover I am sure that I shall not passe this royalme, tyll suche tyme as they be sure that he ys at Calays. Wherfor I moste humbly beseche your Grace that this man may be surely conveyed thither, and without eny displeasure; for, and the contrary shuld be knowen here, I thinke verily yt shuld coste me my lyfe.

Over this yt may please your Grace that, an[*d it had*] not ben onely for thes purpos, my servant th[*is bearer*] cowld have had no saufconduyt to passe thorow [*this*] royalme, and than I cowld not a certifyed the [*Kinges*] Highnes nor your Grace what I have done with s[*urety*].

Please yt your Grace, I have wryton a lyke letter unto the Kynges Highnes.[2]

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[1] Caligula, D. VIII. leaf 224. The same volume, leaf 204, contains a minute of the instructions referred to, according to which Cheyne was to receive from Sir Richard Wyngfeld the articles of truce agreed on with the Emperor, and to offer them to the King of France; and in case of his refusal, Clarencieux was to make Henry's declaration of war, and Cheyne to take his leave of Francis.

[2] This letter has not been found.

As

As for ǫther newes, I know none occurrant, but s[*uch*] as I shall shew your Grace meself at my cummyng home, whiche cannot be so sone as I wold yt shuld. As knoweth Almyghtty Jhesus, who ever preserve [*your*] Grace in goode helthe and long lyfe. At Lyons, the 28^{ti} daye of Mayy, by your to the best of his lytyll power.[1]

XLVIII. Spynnelly *to* Wolsey.[2]

Pleasythe it your Grace to understonde, that twyse from Sowthehampton I wrote unto the same by the Kinges poste, and thys mornynge thEmperour thynckinge to have landyd at La Redo, Hys Magestie had knowledge, by certen botes of the towne, that there was the 20^{ti} shippes with the fowre thowsand men, all redye to departe; whyche longe sythe shuld have commyn into England. Wherfore the sayde Magestie with hys navye and scarse wynde was compellyd to go unto Sainct Ander, where as yet the mǫste parte of the flete be not arryvyd, the ship that I am in beyinge one amonges the same. But, forbicause I was advertyst thEmperour dyd at thys present dispatche a currour to go with the sayde 20^{ti} shippes, and that they shuld departe towardes Englande thys nyght, me thowghte not convenient to forbere to wryte unto your Grace, and sende in a byll here enclosyd[3] the progresse of our navigation. And as sone as I am landyd, by the fyrst I shall ascerten your Grace particulerlye of all other occurrantes.

What quarter thEmperour intendythe to drawe to, I suppose shalbe immediatlye determenyd, affter Hys Magestie hath spokyn with hys Councell of Spaigne. Howbeit in my pore advis I thyncke no better cowde be done, then to approche the frontier of France with som soubdayne exploicte agaynste the common ennemye, losinge no tyme about Fonterabia, for the difficultie of

[1] The signature and a slight portion of the margins have been burnt.

[2] Wolsey's Correspondence, Vol. XI. Part 1. No. 113. The P.S. is No. 184, and it is doubtful, whether it was subjoined to the present, or to some intermediate despatch which has been lost. It is probably the last extant writing of Spynnelly, who died at Valladolid on the 31st of August following. Vespasian, C. II. leaf 5.

[3] This shews that the Emperor embarked at Southampton on the 6th of July, lay that night in the river, and (the wind being adverse) the next night at St. Helens, and the night of the 8th "in the "Nedylles," and was on the 10th off Dartmouth and Plymouth; after which the wind "renforcyd" in the N.E., and the fleet was on the 11th in sight of Huxente (Ushant), and on the 15th "apperyd "the fyrste syght of the mountaignes of Spaigne, named the Vryalles, in the coste of Asturyes."

thentreprice;

thentreprice; to the intente that the Frensche Kynges power, whiche, havynge habandonyd Italye, it is to be thowghte shalbe employed agaynste thEmperours Lowe Cuntreyes, maye be divertyd on thys syde, to theyr more incommodite, charge, and dommage. Wherein I shall not fayle to use all reasonable persuasions and remonstrances; semynge also unto me, that thEmperours goynge to Pampilone, chief citie of the realme of Navarre annexid to the crowne of Castille, shuld serve verry wele for thys purpos, where semblablye myght be convokyd and kepte thEstates of Spaigne; and at one tyme provyde bothe for the warres and the direction and reformation of thaffaires of the cuntreye.

Furthermore your Grace shall knowe that, sythe we leffte the coste of England, we have rencontryd no manner vessel, ennemye nor other. And thus I beseche the Hollygoste allwayes to preserve your Grace with longe and moste prosperous dingnitie. Wryttyn apon the see, within thre leghes of Saint Ander, the 16th daye of July, at fyve of the clocke at afternone.

Your moste humble and bownden servaunt,

(*Superscribed*) (*Signed*) THOMMAS SPYNNELLY.

To my Lorde Legates good Grace.

BEYNGE the post not as yet departyd with my former wrytynges, thys shalbe onlye to advertis your Grace that this mornynge I have spokyn with the Grete Maistre[1], who shewyd me how La Delentado de Katzola, whiche heretofore was electyd for capten of the men of warre of the 20ti shippes, is commyn hydder to thEmperours Mageste, sayinge that, in cas hys charge shuld be chaungyd and gyffyn to an other, it shuld be gretelye to hys dishonnour and rebuke. Wherefore, he beynge a man of auctoritie, the sayde Grete Maistre thynckythe thEmperour wyll loke apon the matter, and thys daye shalbe takyn the resolution.

Apon Wennesdaye thEmperour shall remeef from hens towardes the cuntrey of Castille, and it is supposyd that he shall rather go to Valdolyff then to any other place, bicause it is thowght those of Burghes wyll stande to theyr previledge opteignyd in the tyme of the insurrection.

The Treasorer Berghes is also arryvyd; and other newes I have none. As knowyth Our Lorde, whome I beseche allwayes to preserve your Grace. Wryttyn at Saint Ander, the 20ti daye of July.

Your humble and most bounden servaunt,

(*Superscribed*) (*Signed*) THOMMAS SPYNNELLY.

To my Lorde Legates good Grace.

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[1] Adrian, Lord of Beaurain, Great Master of Flanders.

XLIX. Instructions, yeven by the Kinges Highnes to his trusty and right welbiloved Counsailours, Sir Thomas Bolain, Treasourer of his Householde, and Doctour Sampson, Dean of his Chapell, conteignyng suche matiers and overtures as on the Kinges bihalf they shall declare and make to the Emperour.[1]

(*Signed*) Henry R.

Furste, after right affectuous and cordiall recommendations in due fourme made, and deliveraunce of the Kinges letters to the said Emperour, writen with his owne hande, the Kinges saide Ambassadours shall geve unto Hym right esspeciall and moste hartie thankes, on the Kinges bihalf, for that it hath

[1] This is printed from the original instructions, with the King's Sign manual both at the head and at the end, and indorsed, "Instructions arryved at Valedoly, be Blewmantell, the xvi day off "Decembre." There is a rough draft by Bishop Rowthale in Vespasian, C. II. leaf 40, and a fair draft corrected by him, more or less perfect, ibid. 43. In the Harleian, No. 297, fol. 51, and Lambeth Library, Vol. 245, fol. 175 b. are copies.

Vespasian, C. II. leaf 23, is a minute of the first instructions to Spynnelly singly, altered so as to apply to Boleyn, Sampson, and Spynnelly jointly. Ibid. 14, is a minute corrected by Rowthale of other instructions to Boleyn and Sampson only, but in the last paragraph directing them to make Spynnelly privy thereto. In the Chapter House is a minute, copiously corrected by Rowthale, of very full instructions from Henry VIII. to Spynnelly, to be declared to the Emperor, "if the "Kinges other Ambassadors Sir Thomas Boleyn and Doctor Sampson be not arryvid there byfor "the receyt of the same; howbeit in cas they shalbe cummyn there, then it is the Kynges pleasure "that the contentes of thes instructions shalbe joyntly declared to thEmperour by thaym all:" and the reason assigned for despatching those instructions to Spynnelly singly was, that, albeit the King had sent Boleyn and Sampson "in speciall ambassiate unto thEmperour for sundry matiers "of greate and wayghty importaunce," yet as their arrival there might not be so speedy as these letters, it was thought "that ingratitude mought be arrected unto His Highnes," if upon the kind overtures made to Him by the Emperor's ambassadors, He had not given condign thanks, and made answer thereunto with celerity. These instructions, as far as they go, are not essentially different from those in the text. They commence with congratulations to the Emperor for the good success He had met with on his arrival in Spain, and then specify the offers made by the French King (hereafter noticed), and after giving thanks to the Emperor for his wise and prudent answers therein, proceed to point out the line of policy it would be necessary to use with respect to France. In conclusion is mentioned the good understanding existing between the officers and troops of the respective armies, and Spynnelly is directed to suggest that the service would be much forwarded, if the pay to the Emperor's forces, and particularly to the fleet under Lescano, were more regularly made, and that the whole should be better furnished with provisions, munitions, and other necessaries.

There is no date to any of these papers, but it is plain that they must have been prepared before the news of Spynnelly's death (which happened on the 31st of August) had reached England, and before the departure of Boleyn and Sampson, who were detained at Plymouth from the 28th of September to the 7th of October, when they sailed, and reached La Redo on the 11th. See Vol. I. pp. 25. 28. 110.

The instructions in the text are of subsequent date, and were probably framed from the others, on receipt of the news of Spynnelly's death.

pleased

pleased Hym now of late to advertise His Grace, in mooste fraternall loving and faithfull maner by his Ambassadours, of suche labours and practises as the Frenshe King hath used made and sett furthe, aswell by his owne writinges with credence, as by other letters from his Moder, Suster, and Chauncelour, to the Poopes Holinesse in his voiage and journey towardes Rome, for peax or abstinence of warre, with thinstaunce made to thEmperour by the Popes brieffes to condescende therunto, as also by the Popes Ambassadour resident in the courte of Fraunce, by his writinges and instructions addressed to the Emperour, with the mooste prudent and substanciall aunswers therunto by Hym made; declaring over that, playnely, and sincerely, not oonely all suche newes as He hathe hard by credible espiell out of Fraunce, with the labours and practises that be made by the Frenshe King and his Moder to reconsile the Duke of Burbone, the vertuous and catholique mynde that He is of to ayde succours and assistence to releves the Roodes from the obsidion and infestation of the Turkes, by carackes galeis and vitailes, by Hym prepaired and putt in arredines at Jeane, and in his reames of Naples and Cicile, with the diligence that He hath used by his writinges to all Christen Princes and potestates, exorting thaym to imploye thair personnes power and substaunces for releiving therof; but also shewing, how honourably, cherefully, and obeisauntly, He hath bene received in all places, sens his arrivall in those his regions and countries, with the submissions of his rebellious subgiettes to his mercy remission and forgevenes; declaring ferthermore the goode arredines that He trusteth to be in for his actuall entrye into the greate voiage ayeinst Fraunce by the tyme therunto prefixed; and of suche newes as He hathe harde by his Ambassadours out of Pourtingale, whiche is, that the King of that realme intendith to sende unto Him a greate personnage, being in mooste favour and auctoritie aboutes Hym, to make overture of sundry aliaunces and mariages, and specially betwixte his Suster and thEmperour; wherunto the said Emperour is determined to make aunswer, that his handes be closed in that matier by the conventions and treaties passed sealed and sworne betwixt the Kinges Highnes and Hym; from the purpourte and contentes wherof He woll in noo wyse digresse varye ne alterate; and finally declaring the decesse of the Kinges Ambassadour Sir Thomas Spinelly, with the honour that He caused to be doon unto hym in his funeralles; desiring to knowe the Kinges mynde in all and singuler the premisses, and marveling that He hath herd noo worde from His Grace sens his departing from Englande[1]; like as by the copie of

[1] See letter from the Emperor to Henry VIII. dated at St. Andero, 26th July. Vespasian, C. II. leaf 4.

thEmperours said letters addressed to his Ambassadours here resident, now sent with these presentes[1], the Kinges said Ambassadours shall perceive more at lenght.

And as to the furst pointe, touching the labour made unto the Pope by the Frenshe King[2], and the pursuyte made by His Holines to thEmperour by his sundry breiffes, with his aunswer therunto made and geven, whiche the Kinges said Ambassadour shall also receive with these presentes, they shall, as above, geve unto thEmperour moost especiall thankes; declaring and shewing that in this his mooste loving constaunt and honourable demeanure His Grace acceptith and takith right singuler pleasure consolacion and comforte. For better aunswere the Kinges Highnes coude not desire thEmperour to make, than He did; resting in this effecte, that inasmoche as the Kinges Highnes and

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[1] See copy, dated Valladolid, 8th September 1522. Vespasian, C. II. leaf 7.

[2] The offers made by the French King at this time are more particularly mentioned in the instructions to Spynnelly, &c. above alluded to. They were communicated in the first instance to Henry in secret manner by the Emperor's Ambassadors in England, and they are described as "suche overtures and offers of peax and treux as have bene made by the Frenshe King to thArch-"bisshop of Barry, the Poopes Ambassadour resident in Fraunce, to be notifyed unto thEmperour, "that is to say, for having a peax, to deliver Fountraby, to acquite the pension of Naples, with the "matiers of Naverre and Gildres, and clerely to discharge the treatie of Noyon, so that "thEmperour leve unto Hym the state of Millain upon summe reasonable condicion, and that the "said Emperour shall holde that He hath; and as for the treux, the same to contynue for three "yeres par tout, all thinges remaynyng in the state as they now be, and that the castle of Millain "may be vitailed during the said treux, in such wise that at thende therof there be noo moo "vitailes in it than shalbe at the conclusion of the said trieux, and that depending the same, the "money of Millain passe not out of the countrey, ne be putte in the handes of a more mightie "person than the Duke of Barry." See Vol. I. p. 101. To these offers the Emperor gave a refusal, on the ground that they were made to him only, without any reference to the King of England, with whom He was in league; and Henry gives his opinion on the French King's offers in the following terms: "And albeit his said offers, now last made, appere ryght pleasaunt "and profitable at the furst sight, yet the consequent being profoundely foreseen impourteth more "daungier than commoditie. For, as touching the delivery and restitucion of Founteraby, it "is thought that the Frenshe King makith that offre, forasmoche as He cannot kepe it ayeinst "the power of Spayne, being in soo goode unitie concorde and restfulnesse, with due obeisaunce "to their Prince, as they be. And as unto the renunciation of the treatie of Noyon, thacquiting "of the pension of Naples, to attayne the Duchie of Millain, leving to thEmperour all such "other dominions as He now holdeth, it is thought that the said Frensh King offreth these "thinges to thEmperour, that He hath noon auctoritie to geve; for the treatie of Noyon, by "commensyng of actuall warre ayenst the said Emperour, is not oonly voyde, but also the pay-"ment of the pension of Naples, depending upon the same, is clerely discharged. And thus it "manifestly apperith that those offers made by the Frenshe King of thinges, which He hath not, "or that He cannot long kepe, be not equivalent to the rendering and geving up the state of "Millain, wherupon not oonely dependith the subjeccion of all Italye to the Frenshe Kinges "dominion, but also the greate daunger and perill of the losse of the reame of Naples, to the "dominion wherof He and his auncetours hath long aspired."

thEmperour

thEmperour be mutuelly bounde noo thing to treate or conclude with the Frenshe King without thexpress consent and assent of both Princes jointely togedres; therfore, if the said Frenshe King be desirous of peax, as He affirmeth to the Poope He is, upon his reasonable juste and egall offers to be made jointely, aswell to the King as to the said Emperour, for peax, They both, pondering the same, shall geve unto Hym suche reasonable aunswer for the good of peax, as may stande with thair booth honours and indempnities; wherin thEmperour hath not oonely aunswered to the Kinges expectacion in every poynte, but also prevented the Kinges requisition and desire conteyned in the instruccions sent unto the Kinges said Ambassadours and Sir Thomas Spinelly jointely togedres, sens thair departing from the Kinges presence, the copie wherof is also sent unto the Kinges said Ambassadours, in advoiding all uncertainties, if thoder be not by theym received; wherin be conteigned many thankefull wordes to be spoken to thEmperour for semblable kindenes, whiche they may use as they shall thinke good. And, to declare the resolucion of the Kinges mynde towardes the said Emperour, aswell in the premisses, as in all other matiers, with the determinate correspondence that He is of noo thing to treate practise or conclude withoute his knoulege expresse consent and assent, the Kinges said Ambassadours shall shewe and deliver aswell the copies of the Popes brieffes, as of suche aunswers as the Kinges Highnes hath made to the same brieffes addressed to His Grace for like purpose, whiche in effecte be confourmable to thaunswers made to His Holynes by the said Emperour. And it is not to be doubted but the Frensh King, having perfite notice and knowlege of this fraternall intelligence, fast and constaunt dealing betwixt the King and the Emperour, not mynding any thing to doo or treate with Hym without mutuell consent, and that Thay be determined to contynue the warres ayeinst Hym booth by lande and see with thair mayne powers, woll not oonely seke all the waies and meanes for peax, but also make juste and reasonable condicions for the same, in advoiding the daungiers that may insue unto Hym by perseveraunce in his high mynde and obstinate purpose. And at this pointe the Kinges said Ambassadours in moost loving maner desire thEmperour to contynue in this his laudable and frendely determinacion, making full assuraunce unto Hym on the Kinges bihalf, that He shall fynde semblable correspondence in His Grace without any variaunce alteration or chaunge. The Kinges said Ambassadours shall also thanke the said Emperour for his familiar advertisement of suche newes as He hath hard out of Fraunce; and glad His Grace is to here and understande of the basse exile and pooer estate of the Frenshe King, being destitute of men and extenuate of substaunce, soo that there was never better tyme to sett upon Hym than now, as the Emperours espie reapourteth. And

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in caas He have molten the garnysshyng of Saint Martyns corps, and founded the twelve Apostles, with other jewelles and sacred ornamentes of the churches, it is to be supposed that He is not oonely veray nere driven, but also by such sacrilege in disgarnisshing hooly places He shall provoke the indignacion of God ayeinst Hym; and that this his necessite shall cause Him more frankely to speke and pursue for peax, than He hiderto hath doon.

And as touching the reconsiliation of the Duke of Burbone, the Kinges said Ambassadours shall touche that matier more amplely according to an article herafter ensewing in these instruccions.

Over this, the Kinges said Ambassadours shall on the Kinges bihalf geve singuler lawdes and praise to the Emperour for this his vertuous and noble determination, as a most Christen and Catholique Prince, amonges his other greate and mervelous charges, thus to remember the succours of the Roodes ayeinst the malignities of the Turkes, wherby He shall not oonely merite and deserve grete thankes of God, by meane whereof He shall the better prousper in all his affeires exploites and enterprises, but also therby acquire greate renowme, and attayn moche lowage amonges all goode Cristen people. And they may also say, that, if these greate matiers of the warres by thaym boothe commensed ayeinst Fraunce were brought to the desired ende, and that his reame and puyssaunce were so neere joyned to those parties, that He mought now geve semblable succours, His Grace wolde not faile to send the same thider, but furthwith in his awne Personne, and with all his power and substaunce, joyne with the said Emperour in that voiage, before all other Princes living, trusting within brief tyme to see goode grounde and occasion soo to doo; wherof His Grace is moost desirous.

Thay shall also make congratulacions to thEmperour in mooste rejoysing maner, aswell for the mooste obeisaunt demeanour and honourable recule made unto Hym by his nobles and others of his regions and countreis there, but also of the submission made unto Hym by his rebellious subgiettes, which is a manifest signe and token that all and singuler his said subgiettes boothe love and dreede Hym; wheruppon dependith the suertie of all Princes: not doubting but by this goode and fortunate commensement every thing shall prousperously succede to his honour and suertie.

And the Kinges saide Ambassadours shall saye, that to heere of suche goode arredines, as thEmperour trustith to be in, for thadvauncement and setting furthe the voiage ayeinst Fraunce, booth with men substaunce and all other thinges necessary for the warres, ayeinst the tyme therunto prefixed, was to His Highnes singuler comfourte; geving unto the said Emperour speciall thankes, that it pleased Hym thus plainly and familierly to advertise His Grace, noting

noting speciall kindenes therin; considering, that by the notice and knowlege of the same the King shalbe incouraged the more diligently and assuredly to provide and forsee that every thing may be in like arredynes for his partie ayeinst the said tyme, wherin His Grace shall not faulte to indevour Hymself after his best power.

The said Ambassadours must also, on the Kinges bihalf, specially thanke thEmperour for suche advertisementes as He willed his Ambassadours to shewe and declare to His Grace, touching aswell the commyng of an Ambassadour oute of Pourtingale, with the charge that he hath to declare unto Hym touching his mariage and other aliaunce, as also thaunswer that He intendith to make to the said Ambassadours, whan overture shalbe by thaym made for his said mariage; whiche is soo vertuous honourable and reasonable, that a better or more convenable can not be thought or divised to be made; and by the same the said Emperour daily declareth more and more the moost laudable determinacion, that He hath alwaies bene and is of, towardes thobservaunce of his convencions and promises, whiche is oon of the highest vertues apperteigning to a noble Prince: making assuraunce unto thEmperour on the Kinges bihalf, with as goode wordes as they can devise, that the Kinges Highnes, for his partie, shalbe as constaunt and perseveraunt in his faithe and all maner of promises made unto Hym without any maner chaunge alteracion or variaunce.

Over this, the Kinges said Ambassadours shall not omitte to thanke thEmperour for the greate honour by Him shewed and made at the funeralles of his servaunt and Ambassadour Sir Thomas Spinelly, wherin His Grace notith singuler kindnesse; perceiving well, by soo greate humanitie shewed to his servaunt, the perfite love and sincere amitie that He berith to Hym self, which His Grace shall not put in oblivion.

By the discourse of these instructions hiderto, the Kinges said Ambassadours may perceive suche aunswer, as on the Kinges bihalf they shall make to thEmperour, upon the overtures made by his Ambassadours to the Kinges Highnes. Now followingly insueth suche newes and other charges as they shall declare unto Hym from the King. And first, they shall declare and shewe, that His Grace is infourmed sundry wises, and specially by such advertisementes as were lately geven to the Kinges Admyrall by Monsr de Beaurayn, that the Duke of Burbone, not being contented with the inordinate and sensuall governaunce that is used by the Frenche King, is moche inclined and in maner determined to refourme and redresse the insolent demeanures of the said King, and such other undiscrete and light counsailours as have induced Hym to this greate folie and daungier, that He now standith in, aswell

by

by losse of such landes dominions and seniories as He possessed outwardly, as also the impoverisshing and in maner distruccion of his reame, wherby the same is putt in pointe of perdicion; mynding therfore not oonely to have aliaunce with the Emperour by mariage of oon of his Susters, but also, if the same may be assuredly promised to take effecte, to joyne with the King and thEmperour with his strenght and power at such tyme as They shall make actuall warre in Fraunce. And, albeit this overture hath bene often tymes made to Monsr Beurayn heretofore, yet the same was now of late renewed, under colour of a subtile and craftie practise, by a capitain being now in Tirwen, named Monsr de Cares, cousin germain to the said Duke; who sent furth amonges other a servaunt of his, willing hym to putt hymself soo ferre in prese, that he mought be taken amonges the companye of Monsr Beurayn, geving warnyng bifore to the said Monsr de Beurain; which servaunt, soo being taken, disclosed the hoole matier in fourme above specified, wherunto he made the Kinges Admirall privey. And, inasmoche as the matier is of grete waight and importaunce, wherof many grete effectes may insue, if it be truly ment and intended without fraude or simulacion, and politiquely sett furthe, therfore the Kinges Highness thought right expedient to advertise thEmperour therof; albeit He supposeth that certificate is made therof unto Him bifore; to thintent that the said Emperour, according to the impourtaunce therof, may ordre the same after his greate wisdome, as He shall thinke good.

And, albeit at the first overture of this matier made on the bihalf of the Duke of Burbone, he wolde in noo wise that any mencion shulde be made of the Kinges Highnes; yet the said Duke, now perceiving the straite and nere conjunccion betwixt the King and thEmperour, and that thoone woll noo thing doo without thoder, considering also that the King hath title to the crowne of Fraunce, the same Duke was contented it shuld be notified unto the Kinges Highnes; promysing to joyne with the King and the said Emperour, with 500 men of armes and 8 or 10000 footemen, at suche tyme as Thay shall entre Fraunce: promising furthermore that, in caas he may attain the said aliaunce and mariage with thEmperours suster, or have confourmable aunswer of the same, to sende into Savoye his Chauncelour to summe certain place with sufficient and ample auctoritie there to commune treate and conclude with such personnages as shalbe thider sent by the Kinges Highnes and the said Emperour upon the premisses; and bynde Hym by his Greate Seale to the perfourmaunce therof, soo that he may have aunswer of the premisses bifore Candlemas next comyng. For whiche purpose the Kinges Grace thinketh right expedient, that thEmperour shuld send thider Monsr de Beuren, in habite dissimiled, with auctoritie power and instructions sufficient, like as the

the Kinges Highnes shall auctorise summe covenable personne semblably to doo for his parte. And the Kinges said Ambassadours shall solicite the spedie setting furthe of this matier, shewing and declaring the grete impourtaunce therof, whiche with the invasion made by boothe the Princes in thair personnes, implieth the totall ruyne of the reame of Fraunce. For it is not to be doubted that the said Duke of Burbone, taking parte with thEmperour and the King, being soo greately estemed in Fraunce, shall drawe unto his opinion the mooste parte of the nobles not being contented with the Kinges waies that now is; wherof the said Duke, of liklihode, hath probable conjecture, orels he wolde not enter soo depely in this matier as he now hath doon, forasmoche as upon the same dependith his liff honour possessions and substaunce. And, if there be any other thing tending to thadvauncement and furtheraunce of the said matier, wherin thEmperour shall thinke the Kinges Grace may doo any goode, He shall refuse noo pain labour or travaile to doo it, the same to be disclosed to thEmperour in secrete maner betwixt Hym and you oonely, and move thEmperour soo to kepe the premisses accordingly.

There was also now of late a matier of right waightie impourtaunce disclosed by the Lady Margarete to Sir Robert Wingfelde, in greate secrecye, to be notified unto the Kinges Highnes, whiche in effecte was this, that the King of Pourtingale had not oonely determined to sende a grete man, being in mooste auctoritie aboute Hym, to thEmperour, but also the Quene of Portingale with the Kinges Suster, who is named a mervelous faire lady, to accompany Her to his presence. And, forasmoche as it is doubtefull, what hath bene treated in Pourtingale by Mouns[r] de la Shawe, and that the sight of soo faire a ladye, being of mature age, with the doote of 800000 ducates, and the inclinacion of the nobles of Spain, mought be a greate temptacion to thEmperour, He being also in his florysshing youthe; therfore she thinketh right expedient that the King shuld take a right vigilaunt ie therunto, in advoiding the alteracion of purpose by blyndenes of love, whiche often tymes not oonely brekith the lawes of man, but also the lawes of God. And, albeit thEmperour, amonges other overtures made unto the Kinges Highnes by his Ambassadours, expressly affirmeth that He woll kepe his promyse, and not oonely declare that his handes be closed in that matier, but that also He woll geve noo hering to such enchauntementes, yet right necessarie it is ye be vigilaunt and inquisitive, aswell to knowe what is compassed divised and spoken therin, as by policie to inserche thEmperours mynde upon the same, and alwaies to putt Hym in remembraunce of the aliaunce with the Kinges Grace; inducyng Hym, by discrete wordes to be uttred without any suspicion, to observe and kepe his convencions and promyse made in that behalf, and by

 politique

politique persuasions to confirme Hym in the same; making certificate unto the Kinges Highnes, in zifers, with diligence, of suche thinges, as ye shall perceive understande and knowe therin from tyme to tyme.

Amonges other matiers to be declared to the Emperour, expedient shall it be that the Kinges said Ambassadours signifie unto Hym, that His Grace is advertised, howe suche practises be made and used by the Frenshe King with the Suches, that He hath gotten graunte of all the Cantons to serve Hym this next somer for recovering of the Duchie of Millain; whiche thing, if it be trewe, and the Venecians eftsoones fall in and joyne with the Frenshe King, the Duchie of Millain shalbe in greate daungier. Wherfore wisdome and policie shall it be, to drawe the Venecians to thEmperours partie, dissevering thaym from the Frenche King. For it is to be thought that the said Frenshe King shall not recover Millain, though He shall have the Suches, without thair assistence. Wherfore the King thinketh that the said Venecians shuld be treated with, and induced with all diligence to agree with thEmperour, and in this present tyme by greate demaundes not to be discouraged; and the King hath so laboured the matier, aswell to thAmbassadours of the Seniorye here as with his Oratour there, that in caas they may attain, upon reasonable condicions, peax with the said Emperour, thay woll not oonely shewe thaymselfes confourmable therunto, but also bynde thaym self not to take parte with the Frenshe King, directely or indirectely, in the meane tyme; like as the Oratour of the Seniorie here resident hathe expresseley affirmed to the Kinges Highnes and the Lorde Cardinal. The matier therefore being of soo grete consequence, it is not to be slakked, but sett furthwarde with all spedie diligence; in thadvauncement wherof the King and the said Lord Cardinall shall doo asmoche as thay can or maye.

The Kinges said Ambassadours shall also shewe, that, albeit the Duke of Albanye and all the nobles of Scotlande, by the mediation of the Quene of Scottes, the Kinges suster, procured and instauntely desired to have treux and abstinence of warre at such tyme as thay perceived the Kinges puysaunt armye in arredines to geve thaym bataile at thair entrye to this lande, promising furthwith to send honourable personnages to the Kinges Highnes to pursue for peax, whiche treux was than graunted at thinstaunce of the said Quene; yet, whan thay had perfite knoulege that the Kinges said armye was retourned and discharged, the said Duke refused either to entertain the said treux or yet to send any Ambassadours, oonles the Kinges Highnes woll be contented to comprise the Frenshe King therin; whiche thing was demaunded in soo presumptuous prowde and haulte maner, that mervaile it was thay were not ashamed soo falsely to digresse from thair promises, writen signed and

and sealed, like as by the copie of the Duke of Albanyes instruccion, whiche is nowe sent to the Kinges said Ambassadours, with the aunswers thereunto made, aswell to the Quene, as to the said Duke, by the Lorde Legate and Cardinall, thay may perceive more at lenght; whiche it is the Kinges pleasure thay shall declare and shewe to the said Emperour, wherby He may perceive the untrouth inconstaunt and variaunt demeanure of the said Scottes, never observing convencion oothe or promise. Howe be it, the Kinges Grace purposith this winter to make suche preparacions and provisions for thaym, that in the begynnyng of February, whan is thair sowing time, thay shall repent this thair untrewe and double dealing.

Over this the King doubteth not but that thEmperour hathe bene advertised by his capitains, long bifore this tyme, of suche exploites excourses dammages and prejudice, that thair boothe armyes have doon to the Frenshe men in Picardye, the like wherof was not doon in Fraunce this 100 yere in soo shorte space: and more shuld have been doon, if the winter, with greate raynes stormye weder and unseasonable lying in the felde, had not soo soon approched; by reason wherof the King was infourced to retourne his armye. Nevertheles His Grace hath lefte there, to lye on thEmperours bourders for the defence the same, 200 men of armes and 1000 footemen, at his owne proper costes and charges, over and besides other 2000 men lefte on the Kinges marches for like purpose.

Ferthermore the Kinges said Ambassadours may at convenyent tyme shewe unto the Emperour, in goode and pleasaunt maner, that albeit Lascano with his navie have bene here long lying in these parties, yet, what for lacke of money wages and vitaile, they coude not tarry on the see, for doing any annoysaunce to the commune enemye; and now of late, whan the Kinges shippes were dispersed in the see by mervelous grete stormes, and disgarnisshed of thair mastes ancres and all other takeling, in right moche daungier, yet the said navie of Spaigne was soo ferre out of arredinesse, that thay with moche difficultie coude skaunt sende few or noon of thair shippes to the see, to joyne with suche of the Kinges shippes as were hable to passe furthe for thempechement of the Frenshe mennys fisshing; soo that thair being here, unpurveyed of thinges necessary, hath bene frustrate and in vain: desiring therfore thEmperour soo to provide hereafter, that thay may have all thinges necessary for thair entertaynement, elles shall they be infourced to lye in the havens, and doo noo goode.

Finally, forasmoche as the zifers, whiche Sir Thomas Spynelly, whose soule God pardone, had, have commen to the handes of sundry personnes sens his decease, soo that daungier mought insue by the disclosing of secreytes,

ooneles a new zifer were provided; therfore the Kinges Highnes, by thadvise of his Counsaile, hath not oonely conceived and made such a zifer, but also sent the same by his servaunt this berer, who is purposely sent oonely for the sure deliveraunce of theym to his said Ambassadours; by whiche zifers thay may have knowlege in the contentes of suche articles as shal be writen in zifers to them at any tyme herafter.

(*Signed*) Henry R.

L. Secrete instructions, conteignyng certain pointes and articles wherin it is the Kinges pleasure that his Ambassadours shall diligently inquere and assertaigne His Highnes, as they shal understande and knowe in the same.[1]

(*Signed*)
Henry R.

Furste forasmoche as there is good and perfite amitie establisshed betwixt the Kinges Highnes and thEmperour, whiche by pleasaunt wordes and kinde deedes may be best and mooste assuredly entertayned; therfore the Kinges said Ambassadours shall not omitte to declare thentier love that the Kinges Highnes berith unto the said Emperour above all other Princes, aswell for the singuler prudence, greate gentlenes, mooste kinde and constaunt demeanure, that His Grace hath perseverauntly founde in Hym, as for many other his princely vertues; digne and worthie moche commendacion, specially in so noble and greate a Prince: wherby the Kinges Highnes is principally moved to love and favour Hym as tenderly as though He were his naturall Sonne, making assurance unto Hym that this the Kinges affeccion towardes Hym more procedith of rooted love, and in maner of naturall instincte, than of any other occasion of preeminence honours treasures or dignities erthly; and specially for that His Grace daily fyndeth moche correspondence of thEmperour in unfeyned love and gratitude towardes Hym, making expresse demonstracion therof by his mooste kinde actes and deedes. Wherfore they may saye the Kinges Highnes is fully determined perpetually to joyne with Hym in his personne and with his substaunce reames dominions and subjettes, aswell in adversitie as prousperitie, and never to faile Hym in any thing that may redounde to his honour and suertie; extending this declaracion of the Kinges affeccionate mynde towardes Hym in as amiable maner, and with as pleasaunt

[1] A bad copy is in the Harleian, No. 297. fo. 135. and a worse, Vespasian, C. II. leaf 240.

wordes,

wordes, as they can imagin or divise, marking substauncially aswell suche aunswer gesture and countenaunce, as He shall make and shewe upon the said overture, as how He acceptith the same, and assertaignyng the King therof by their writinges accordingly.

Item, forasmoche as this greate enterprise concluded betwixt the King and thEmperour is a matier of greate waighte and impourtaunce, whiche cannot be effectually accomplisshed on thEmperours partie, oneles He be furnisshed aswell with money and treasure as with the benevolent and obeisaunt myndes of his nobles and subjettes; therfore the Kinges said Ambassadours shall by all provident and politique meanes furste inquere, in what goode confourmitie and obeisaunce the noble men of Spain be towardes thEmperour, howe they esteme and favour Hym, and wheder they be contented or murmour.

Secoundely, to inserche wheder any brute or preparacions be made, or divised to be made, for thadvauncement of the said enterprises ayeinst Fraunce, with the specialties therof, as nere as they may knowe; and of what towardnes or inclination they shall fynde or understande the subgiettes of Spaigne to be of for the said expedicion or enterprise; and wheder they woll fastely joyne with thEmperour therin or not.

Thirdely, to knowe howe thEmperour is stoored, or may be furnisshed of money, to sett furthe and contynue the said enterprise, with the waies and meanes that be divised and used there for colleccion of treasure, to furnishe soo greate an enterprise.

Item, the Kinges said Ambassadours shall enserche, howe the noble men of Spain agree and accorde with the Burgundions, and suche as be of thEmperours Counsaile; and wheder the said noble men of Spain be called to the Emperours counsailes and made privey to his affeires, or not. And in caas they may perceyve that there is noo goode concorde betwixt theym, but that the Spanyardes murmer and grudge ayeinst the said Burgundions, than the Kinges said Ambassadours, at some convenient tyme and place, and in discrete and politique maner, shall persuade to thEmperour favourably to entertain the said noble men of Spain, by whose favours and benevolence He shall not oonely attaigne al his requestes demaundes and desires in that reame, and bring all the communs in goode obeisaunce, but also to encourage theym to ayde and assiste Hym with their bodies goodes and substaunces in al his enterprises booth by lande and see. And inasmoche as thEmperour is now amonges theym, it is right necessarie requisite that He in suche favourable maner entertaign theym, that they may be contented.

Item, to inquere what meanes and practises be procured and sett furthe by the Poope for any universall peax or abstinence of werre to be had betwixt thEmperour

thEmperour and Frenshe King, and to indevour theymselfes to knowe, what herkenyng or inclinacion thEmperour hath therunto; taking also speciall regarde to knowe, where any secrete messages by Ambassadours or others be made or sent by the Frenshe King in coverte maner to practise the waies of concorde betwixt thEmperour and Hym. For knowlege wherof they must use moche policie, which the King remitteth to their wisdomes.

Item, to make good enserche, what overtures or driftes be made or practised betwixt thEmperour and the King of Pourtingale for any newe aliaunce to be made by mariage or otherwise.

Finally, to move and stirre thEmperour to invade the Frenshe King in the frountiers of Guyon, as it is more at lenght touched in the open instruccions, wherby the same Frenshe King shalbe infourced to divide his armyes, soo that He shalbe the moore easye to be medled with.

LI. Wolsey *to* Boleyn, &c.[1]

Master Boleyn and Master Sampson, I commende me unto you in right herty maner. By the handes of Thomas Tychet I have receyved al suche your letters and writinges, as ye sent by hym, aswel those addressed to the Kinges Highnes, as your other letters to me directed, being of the dates of the 11th and 17th days of November last past[2], wherin ye right substancially have advertised the Kinges Highnes and me, aswel of your commyng and arrivale unto thEmperours presence, with the ordre fourme and honourable maner of your receyvyng open and secrete audience, and loving recule, as also of the good discrete and most kynde answers perticulerly made by thEmperour to all and singuler the matiers and charges by you disclosed and shewed unto His Majeste on the Kinges behalf; declaring furthermore the perfite assured and constant mynde and intent of the said Emperour for the inviolable observance of al maner treaties convencions and promyses passed and concluded betwixt the Kinges Grace and Hym; shewing also suche overtures as

[1] From the original despatch in the handwriting of Tuke, with a note at the foot by Sampson, "Thes arryved here the xiij day off Februarie."

[2] Vespasian, C. II. 25. contains their despatch to Wolsey of the 11th with three others of previous date, and one to the King of the 2d of November; and a letter from Sampson to Wolsey of the 10th is among Wolsey's Correspondence, Vol. X. l. 79.; but the despatch of the 17th of November has not been discovered.

thEmperour

thEmperour made unto you touching annoyance to be don this yere unto the common enemye: and fynally ye make mencion of suche other newes and occurrances as wer then in those parties, aswel concernyng the charge of the Ambassadours of Portugale, as also the general perdon graunted unto the subgettes of Spayn with excepcion of certain personnes, and the feates don and accheved nere about Fountrabye against the enemys, like as your said letters and writinges purporte at right good lenght. All whiche matiers to here and understonde, specially of the good helthe of the said Emperour, the Kinges Grace hathe and dothe take grete comforte and gladnes, like as I do the semblable for my partye; and moche it is to His Graces contentacion to perceyve your discreet prudent and laudable endevours, with your diligent and playn advertisement made of al and singuler occurrantes there; geving unto you for the same his herty thankes, and desiring you so to contynue from tyme to tyme, according to the trust and special confidence that His Highnes hathe in you.

And to the intent ye may be playnely and substancially advertised and instructed of al such grete and weighty matiers as be nowe to be communicated with the said Emperour on the Kinges behalf, ye shal understonde that, to giders with your said letters, arrived also letters of the Emperour directed to his Ambassadours here resident, with other letters of his oun hande writen unto the Kinges Highnes credencialles in the personnes of the said Ambassadors[1]; who, for the more perfite knowlege of al and singuler the contentes of the same, have not oonely shewed the original letters to them so directed, but also delivered unto me a copie therof, whiche for your better informacion I sende you herewith, the effect wherof, as to the grettest and principal matiers, consisteth in three poyntes, that is to say: the poursutes mocions and overtures made by the Frenche King to the Emperour, aswel by the way of Prospero Colunna as otherwise, for peax trieux or appointement; secondly, the charge of the Ambassadours of Portugale for mariage bitwene the same King and the Emperours Sister, and also for mariage of the Emperour to the said Kinges Sister; therdely, the enterprises to be made this yere against the common enemye and the entertaynyng of the Swices, or, for lak of them, of a certain nombre of lanceknyghtes for defence of the Duchie of Mylayn; like as by the said copie ye shal mowe right playnly and amply perceyve: whiche by you wel perused, and the effect of thise letters groundely weied and considered, ye shal at tyme convenient repaire to the Emperours presence, and after the

[1] The credentials have not been found, but the letters of the Emperor are probably those now in Vespasian, C. II. 7.

Kinges

Kinges and my most cordyall and affectuous recommendacions made unto His Majestee, with delyvere aswel of the Kinges letters of his oune hande, as of other my letters to Hym directed, whiche I sende unto you herwith, ye shal say, that it is to the Kinges most inwarde rejoyse comfort and consolacion to here and understonde of the good helthe prosperite and welfare of the said Emperour his best beloved son brother and alye; and no les gladnes it is to His Highnes to knowe of his daily good and fortunate successes, aswel in those his realmes of Spayn, with the prudent vertuous and charitable ordre in graunting generall remyssyon and perdon to al his disobeisant and rebellious subgettes there (certain of the principal and chief auctours of the same rebellion onely excepted), redounding moche to his honour suretie and furtherance of his affaires, as also in the good chaunces and spede of those whiche His Majeste sent for exploracion of newe landes, fynding of the spicery, and discovering of other parties in the ferme grounde; extending aswel those matiers as also suche other as concerne the enterprises and feates don aboutes Fountrabye, comprised in the Emperours said letters, with congratulacion in the best maner that ye can divise, in suche wise as He may by your discrete relacion perceyve the gladnes, whiche the Kinges Grace taketh in any thing that may be to his honour weale and furtherance; like as the King doubteth not but that the said Emperour is and wolbe of semblable mynde towardes His Grace accordingly.

At whiche poynt, after a convenient pawse, ye shal summarily reherse the said three poyntes principally towched and to be regarded in the Emperours said letters. And for answer of the same, the Kinges pleasure is that ye, lawding and gretely commending the said Emperours vertuous determination firmely and constantly to persist in the performance of his convencions and promyses, nothing to treate or common of peax or trieux with the common enemye withoute the Kinges expresse knowlege consent and agrement, shal assure Hym that His Grace is and contynually wolbe of like constant and fast determinacion towardes the said Emperour, wherunto He may assuredly trust, and no les then to his oun self, without any mutabilite variance or alteracion; for, according to the perfite intelligence, roted and established bitwene them, al convencions and agrementes shal on the Kinges partie be inviolably fulfilled observed and perfourmed. His Highnes also singulerly liketh alloweth and praiseth the wise and substancial answers made by his said good son and brother, aswel to Prospero Colunna, as to al other whiche have made any poursute towching peax or trieux; not doubting but that thenemys, perceyvyng therby the fast conjunccion of bothe Princes in suche stedfast conformyte, shal be glad and inforced in brief tyme to make more reasonable offres to the Emperours and the Kinges honour and profyte, then they yet have don; like as the

the said Emperour and his Counsail by their grete wisdomes may wel thynke and considre.

As to the overtures of the 2 mariages made by the said Ambassadours of Portugale, ye shal say, that the Kinges Grace never was, ne can be, of other opynion mystrust or diffidence, but that his said good son brother and alye wol entierly accomplish fulfil and observe al maner promyses and treaties passed and concluded bitwene them concernyng the mariage of his doughter, any labour persuasion or mocion made or to be made to the contrary notwithstanding: wherof the Kinges Highnes maketh Hym self as sure, as of any other erthely thing; like as the said Emperour may also make Hym sure of the Kinges Grace to do the semblable, withoute digressing from any thing whiche His Highnes hathe promysed Hym by treatie convencion or otherwise.

And as towching the last of the said three poyntes, which is at this tyme most to be regarded, for the grete and weighty importance therof, and for ordering of the common affaires, ye shal shewe unto the said Emperour, that the Kings Highnes, groundely pondering and providently forseing howe moche necessary and expedient it is, with al celerite and diligence, to divise and determyne upon suche thinges as nowe be to be don and executed, aswel for annoyance of the common enemye, as the repressing of his malicious intentes and purposes, hathe had diverse and sundry grete consultacions with me and other of his Counsail in and upon the same; at the whiche thEmperours said Ambassadours have alwais ben present and made privey therunto, to thentent that, every thing substancially debated, there myght be taken suche determination, with mutuel consent of bothe parties, as shulde be to the politique ordering of the present common besynes and matiers. And, forasmoche as the Kinges mynde is, that thEmperour shulde be clerely and playnely advertised of every thing as shal aperteyn, his pleasure is that ye shal notifie unto His Majestie the hole discourse therof in maner and fourme folowing.

First, the Kinges Highnes, aswel by sundry espialles, as by other credible and sure knowlege from good places, is of trouthe advertised, that the Frenche King, fynding the affaire of the Duchie of Mylayn somwhat difficile for this tyme, intendeth to convert and employe the gretter parte of his power and puyssance this yere against thise parties, that is to say, the Emperours Lowe Countreys on this side, and the Kinges frontiers toun and marches of Calais; for whiche purpose He hathe of a good season made his demore and abode at Saint Denys, where He nowe is, making his avaunt that He wol be avenged on this side of the displeasures don to Hym by the Emperour and the Kinges Grace. And for avauncement of his purpose in this behalf, albeit that it was promysed

and agrede by the Duke of Albany and the Lordes of Scotland, that an honourable ambassiate shulde have ben sent from thens unto the Kinges Grace to treate and common upon peax, yet nevertheles, sens that tyme, by the instigacion of the said Duke, with the grete solicitacions and promises of money ordenaunce and other aydes made by the Frenche King, the Scottes be nowe totally digressed from their said promyse, and geven holy to his devocion; whom the said Frenche King intendeth to use to his advantage, mynding and thinking therby to conteyn the Kinges Grace from any voyage or grete enterprise to be made in his Person or otherwise against Fraunce this yere. And for accomplisshement herof, the said Duke of Albany is lately retourned unto the Frenche King, aswel to shewe and declare unto Hym the state of the realme of Scotland, and howe the Lordes and people there be disposed, as also to take and provide there suche socours of money, capitains, shippes, ordenaunce, and other necessaries as shal serve to that purpose, with the whiche he myndeth to retourne in brief tyme into Scotland; and also the King of Denmark, as the Kinges Grace perfitely is infourmed, hathe made sure promyse to repaire in Person in to Scotland with suche assistence as He can make. Over this, to the intent that no socours or aide may be sent from hens either in to the Emperours said Lowe Countreys, or also unto the toun of Calais, for resistence of suche enterprises as the Frenche King shal divise for laying of any siege, destruccion of Zeland, or otherwise, He with al diligence dothe prepare a grete armye by see; intending, if He myght have his desire, to be lorde therof: whiche armye is so spedily avaunced, that the same is apointed to be set furthe by the first day of Marche next ensuyng. All whiche premysses well and substancially considerd, and for that also the Kinges Highnes perceyveth, aswel by your letters as by thEmperours said letters sent to his said Ambassadours, that His Majeste shal not, ne can, be sufficiently furnyshed and provided in tyme, bothe for the supportacion of suche charges as shalbe necessarily requisite for the mayntenance of sundry grete armyes this somer to invade France, aswel on this partie of Picardy, as on that side; and besides that for the grete expedicion to be made the yere then folowing according to the purporte of the treatie; ne also to prevent and anticipate the same grete expedicion, and to accheve it this somer: His Grace therfore, mynding to disapoint the malicious intent and purpose of the said Frenche King, and to provide for resistence of his attemptates and enterprises, divised and imagyned bothe against this realme by the way of Scotland, and also against the Emperours said Lowe Countreys, hathe not oonely ordeyned appointed and put in redynes a great and puissant armye of 30000 men to passe by land in to the

the said realme of Scotland under the conduyte and leding of the Erle of Surrey the Kinges Admyral, but also an other armye of three thousand men, wel eskipped, to be sent in to the same realme of Scotlande by see; and over that His Grace is determyned to repaire in his oune Person nere unto the frontiers of this his Realme towardes Scotland, there to lye and reside for a season, aswell for further invasion to be made with his mayne power, if nede shalbe, as for socours and aides to be geven from tyme to tyme to his said former armyes, as the case shal require. And for this purpose not only provision of vitailes and other requisites is daily made, but also capitains named, men put in a redynes, shippes rigged, and al other thinges, to suche a grete expedicion aperteyning, diligently prepared and set forwarde; whiche ye shal assure the said Emperour wol be in maner as chargeable unto the Kings Grace, as though His Highnes shulde passe with his armye royall in to France against the said common enemye.

Over this, to the intent that the passage by see shal not be secluded and stopped from the Emperour and the Kinges Grace, but that aswell the subgettes of bothe Princes, as also the socours, whiche they or either of them shal sende from place to place, may alwais have sure conduyte way and transporting, the Kinges Highnes hathe determyned, over and above the said 3000 men whiche shal passe by see into Scotland, to avaunce to the see an other armye of 7000 men, with shippes capitains and other requisites for that purpose. And whereas there remayn in Zeland certeyn Spaynysh shippes and maryners, of those whiche wer sent hither under the conduyte of Lescano, the Kinges Grace hathe required the Emperours Ambassadours here resident to write unto the Lady Mergaret, desiring her that with al diligence and celerite she wol sende the said shippes and maryners to joyne with the Kinges shippes and armye being at Portesmouthe, reteynyng the souldeours, not being mete for the see, with her there, to lye in garnison for defence of those Lowe Countreys. Wherfore, considering the grete preparations made, as is aforesaid, by the Frenche King, with the extreme dangier which myght ensue, if He shulde be superiour on the see, ye shal instantely require the said Emperour that unto this grete puissance and navye, raised and provided by the Kinges Grace for garding of the sees, He put his aide and assistence according to the tenour of the said treaties, so as in al spede and diligence possible suche a nombre of men may be sent hither oute of Spayn, as with the said maryners shal fulfil the nombre of 3000 men, for his partie; for whose transporting and better strenghting of the said armye, it shalbe requisite to have 4 or 5 good shippes wel furnyshed of al thinges necessary to be sent from thens, over and above suche shippes as be under the leding of Lescano in Zeland; wherin the

Kinges Grace trusteth no refusail or stikking shall be made by the said Emperour, considering howe small that porcion is in comparison of the other, whiche His Highnes for his partie must and wol provide, as is aforesaid. And it is veraily to be thought, that, the said nombre oons joyned with the Kinges navye bifore the said moneth of Marche, the Frenche King shal undoubtedly desist and forbeire to sende any of his shippes to the see; nevertheles special regarde and ordre is to be taken, that by some sure provision, and bank to be had with merchauntes or other persons here, money may be avaunced and had from tyme to tyme, aswell for contentacion of wages to the said 3000 men for thEmperours partie, as also for their revitaillinges and other necessaries when the cace shal require. For if the same shulde be apointed to be sent oute of Spayne, as was this yere passed, where bothe whete and al other vitailes (wynes excepted) be of higher price then here, it shulde be a clere disapointment and frustracion of al their purpose, aswel for the incerteynte of wynde, as for the tracte of tyme, and other manyfolde losses and chaunces whiche myght therof ensue. Wherfore being furnyshed and pourveyed of wyne, the residue of al their vitailes may by meanes of the said bank be better and more commodiously had here, then in any other place; like as thEmperour and his Counsail, to whom ye shall diligently and with al effect solicite this matier, may by their grete wisedome wel perceyve and consider.

And for further advertisement to be made by you unto the Emperour of suche other exploytes as the Kinges Grace, by deliberate avice of his Counsail, thinketh good to be attempted and enterprised for this present yere; to be playn unto His Majeste as aperteyneth, it is thought unto the King and his Counsail that thise weighty charges and burdeyns to be susteyned by His Highnes, aswel against the Scottes as on the see and otherwise, wel pondred and considered, remembring also that if the power of the common enemye be so largely employed on this syde as is aforesaid, He shalbe of litel puissance to do any grete annoyance or feate against the Duchie of Mylayn, the Emperour of his goodnes wol not ne can reasonably desire or thinke that the Kinges Grace shulde be contributory to any entertaynement of the Swices, Almayns, or other, on that side; specially remembring not oonely the charges of Scotland, but also the grete sommes of money and other thinges requisite to be had and put in redynes for the common grete expedicion against Fraunce. And for this cause ye shal shewe unto His Majeste that a better and more politique meane and device can not be imagined or studied for avoiding of superfluous charges, whiche myght sounde to the hinderance and empechement of the said grete expedicion, then by some convenient and goodly way, either at the Frenche Kinges suite, or by the Poopes mediacion, as of hymself, or otherwise

otherwise not appering to procede of thEmperour or the Kinges Grace, to condescende to a trieux for this present yere; the same to be none other but a mere cessation and desisting from hostilite for that season, not comprehending the realme of Scotland. For, in cace the Scottes myght enjoye also the benefite of that trieux, they shulde, after the terme expired, be at the same avantage for invasion of this the Kinges Realme in his absence, as they nowe be; who, not subdued by the King, or reduced to suche ordre as they can ne may invade this his Realme, no wise man wol avise His Grace to departe oute of the same.

Wherfore it is thought that the Poopes Holynes, being herin secretly advertised of the Emperours and the Kinges mynde, shal not lak ways and meanes inough, howe to conduyte the same, specially considering the solicitacions and labours made by the Frenche King unto Hym to be a mediatour for peax; wherin if He shulde fynde the same Frenche King difficile either for comprehension of Mylayn or of Scotland, His Holynes, for the grete effectes whiche shulde ensue therof to the restfulnes and tranquilite of Christendome, putting first the Frenche King in comfort that, suche a trieux oons had, God may inspire in the myndes of Christen Princes to condescende unto a further peax, myght, if ther wer non other way, by his auctoritie as hed and father of al Christen Princes, indicte the said trieux to the said three Princes: wherunto, with convenient protestacion for conservacion of the auctoritie royal of the King and the Emperour, and upon condicion that, the Frenche King refusing the same, His said Holynes wol declare Hym self against Hym, with fulmynacion of the censures of the Chirche, it shulde be wel don, rather then faile, that the King and the Emperour shulde condescende.

Neverthelas, if by no convenient way the said trieux myght passe withoute comprehension of Scotland, the Kinges Grace trusteth so spedily to avaunce his enterprises on this side, that during the tyme of the treatie, and bifore the same shal mowe be concluded, the stroke shall be stricken. Wherfore necessary it is that this matier be diligently and spedily set forthe, if the same shalbe thought to the Emperour and his Counsail convenient. For whiche purpose, inasmoche as the Poopes Holynes by his sundry breves hathe exhorted and desired me to interpone my self as a meane and good furtherer of peax; I, taking my grounde therupon, have writen at this tyme unto His said Holynes my mynde towching the said trieux as a thing proceding of my self, whiche myne originall letters, with a copie of the same, I sende unto you herewith, to be delivered and presented unto thEmperour; to the intent that, if the contentes therof shalbe agreable unto Hym, the same may be sent furthe with his letters

and

and by his postes accordingly, or ellis to be reserved, or otherwise ordred, as to the said Emperour shalbe thought most convenient.

Fynally, if this overture shall not mowe take effect, or that the same shal not be thought to thEmperour and his Counsail covenable and requisite, indelaied order must be geven by His Majeste for the raysing and setting furthe of an armye in thise his Lowe Countreys, to joyne with suche an other as the Kinges Grace in that cace hathe provided and appointed for that purpose, aswel to levye any siege whiche shalbe laide by the common enemy, as to defende the said Lowe Countreys, or to procede to other exploites, as the cace shal require; wherin no tracte of tyme or delay may be used. And expedient it shalbe, that substancial direccion be taken, aswel for their furniture from tyme to tyme with money, as for vitaile and al other thinges convenient; for lak wherof, and by reason of other mysordres of the capitains and subgettes there, no maner of good unite is amonges them, but grete division and mysagrement; whiche thing is highly to be pondred and considred, and remedy to be surely provided, in avoiding the manyfolde daungiers and inconvenientes which elles may ensue.

And to the intent that the Frenche Kinges power may be diverted and divided into sundry partes, specially remembring howe the Lowe Countreys of Flaundres be unpourveyed aswel of men as of money, not being able to entertayn any grete armye for resistence of the Frenche King, necessary it is that a good power and armye be also prepared and set forthe on that syde of Spayne; wherby not oonely the more annoyance may be don to the said common enemye, but also his enterprises on this side more facilly resisted.

Nowe ye be sufficiently and playnely instructed in al and singuler the matiers before reherced, the Kinges Grace committeth to your diligences wisedomes and discrecions the spedy and effectuel solliciting of the same, with acceleracion aswel of thEmperours answer to be made therunto, as also of the said nombre of men and shippes to be sent from thens hither, for the better strenghting and garding of the sees; wherin may be no delay used, considering howe ferre forthe the Frenche King is with his preparacions. And right expedient shal it be, that the Emperour, with the said 4 or 5 grete shippes, do sende also 2 zabres of the portage of 30 or 40 ton a pece, whiche shalbe mete aswel to set men on land, as also for exploracion and espial to be made from tyme to tyme, nere unto the shores and havons, for discovering of the enemys; like as the Kinges Grace intendeth to cause also oon or 2 like zabres to be made for the same purpose. And what answer and resolucion shalbe made in al and singuler the premysses, togider with the newes successes and other occurrantes in those parties, the Kinges Grace willeth

willeth and desireth you to advertise me by your letters distinctely and at lenght, with all possible diligence, as his special trust is in you. Thus fare ye well. At my place besides Westminster, the day of January.

Post scripta. Ye shal understonde that the Kinges Grace and his Counsail, mynding to studie and divise some politique wayes and meanes howe to conteyn the Swices from the service of the Frenche King, and also suche Almayns as percace wolde take his wages, thynke right expedient to use this way folowing, that is to say:—It is thought right necessary that the Archiduke Don Ferdinando shulde kepe his residence this somer either in his Duchie of Wiertenberg, or in his Countie of Ferrate, whiche dothe confyne in some partes with the Swices; wherof shulde folowe 2 principal effectes, first that the Swices, as it is veraily to be supposed, wol not sende oute their folkes to serve in France, when they have suche an auncient enemye at hand as the Dukes of Austriche must nedes be, considering that they have slayn in batail 2 or 3 of them, lying on their bordres; secondely, though some of the Almayns myght be inclyned towardes Fraunce, yet the Archiduke, lying in the countrey, and moche in the way where they shulde passe, may be an occasion for them to forbere that voyage. Wherfore ye, shewing the premisses unto thEmperour, shal solicite that his letters may be spedily addressed to the said Archeduke for this purpose, wherein the Kinges Grace hathe in the meane tyme writen to the Lady Margaret, desiring her to avaunce that matier with effect as moche as she can, trusting that the same shal do grete good for conteynyng of the Swices and Almayns as is aforesaid.

Over this, it is the Kinges pleasure that for the better furniture of his armyes by see, ye shall cause indelayed provision to be made, in Biscay or Ipusca, of suche peces of ordenaunce of iron as be mencioned in a bil herin closed, taking money by exchange to content and pay for the same; whiche money, upon exhibicion of your letters, shalbe here immediately repaid, as shal aperteyn: and the said peces of ordenaunce ye shal cause to be sent unto Portesmouthe, either with the 4 or 5 grete shipes to be sent by thEmperour, or by other the most spedy and sure way that ye can devise.

Albeit that mencion is made bifore of letters of the Kinges oune hande to be sent herwith, yet neverthelas M^r^. John de la Sawche, berer herof, made suche hast to departe, that the same coude not be writen; neverthelas they shalbe sent in post after hym to the see side.[1] But, if percace he shalbe gone

[1] No copy appears to be extant of this letter, nor is there any trace of the other documents referred to in the text, except those which are noted in pp. 110, 111.

before

before, ye shal then make the excuse in the best maner ye can; proceding to the declaration of your charge to thEmperour, the lak of the said letters notwithstanding. And thus eftsones fare ye wel; writen as above.

(*Signed*) Yo^{r} lovyng frende,

T. Car^{lis} Eb̃oř.

(*Superscribed*)

To my loving frendes Sir Thomas Boleyn Knight, Treasorer of the Kinges most honourable Household, and Master Richard Sampson, Deane of the Kinges Chapel, His Graces Ambassadours to the Emperour.

LII. Pace[1] *to* Wolsey.[2]

Pleas itt Your Grace. I have recevidde your letters datidde the 19 daye off Marche, sent to me by my Lorde Electe off Baith[3] frome the citie off Trent the 17 daye off Maye, wyth myne instructions to the Duke off Milen and Swyces, wyth diverse othre wrytyngis apparteygnynge to the same causis. Verraye sory I am that I can not go abowtes the execution off the sayde instructions, beynge as yitt reteignydde heere, for suche causis as I have by diverse my letters declarydde unto your Grace at lenght, especyally by the curior by me depechydde the 14 daye off the monyth off Maye. And, as I wrote unto your Grace at that tyme, thEmperours Brothre, Archeduke off Austryke, doith as yitt persevere styll in the denyall off hys commission. And suche letters, as the sayde Emperour haith wretyn unto hym for the hasty sendynge off the same commission, do nott appere; wheruppon grete suspition is heere, that the sayde Archeduke haith the sayde letters, and wull not be aknowen theroff, to thintent he maye therby have sum color to denye the sayde commission. The Popis Holynesse haith sent unto hym agayne, by our procurynge, for the same, and hourely lokyth for an answere, whyche I praye Godde maye be goodde, for the sayde Archeduke is verraye obstinate in thys cause, gretly to hys dishonor as all wyse men do jugge, knowynge the

[1] Pace continued at Rome (where he was, p. 89.) till about August 1522, when he was removed to Venice, and received instructions for his conduct there, of which there are three MS. copies extant, viz. one in the State Paper Office, one in the Harleian Collection, Vol. 283, leaf 35, and one in the Cottonian Library, Nero, B. VII. leaf 28, of which copies the second is the most perfect. As these instructions are to be found in the Appendix to the first volume of Strype's Memorials, No. XIII., they are not reprinted in this series.

[2] Holograph.

[3] Dr. John Clerk.

importance

importance off this matier. And itt is to me a verraye strange thynge, thus to be troblydde wyth the sayde Emperors Brother, aftre that we have in effecte obteignydde all our purpose heere agaynst hys ennymys; where as we do make dayly labor to cum to sum appoynetment wythowte the sayde commission, as is largely specifiede in my former letters. The decision off thys thynge yitt doith hange in the grete Counsayle heere, and by reason off the late Dukes[1] deth we couith as yitt have none answere therin; the cause wheroff is, that the Venitians do suspecte that the sayde Archeduke wull sende no commission for the ratification off thys peax and amitie to be concludydde wyth the sayde Emperor. And thus our matiers heere ar hynderydde diverse wayes by the sayde Archeduke, litle regardynge that all thEmperors, hys Brothres, reputation and honor doith hange and depende uppon the conservation off hys realmes and dominions in Italy, whyche He can nevir suerly kepe, yff the Venitians be nott seperate frome Fraunce, as theye hadde been totally oon monyth nowe past, yff the sayde commission hadde been sent hydre acordynge to the sayde Emperors promise made to this Signiory in the begynnynge off thys treatie, aftre the arrivall off the late Seignior Hyeronymus Adurnus. And thus Jesu preserve your Grace in longe helth, and continuall prosperitie. Wretyn at Venice, thys 5 off June, by Your Graces most humble and faythfull servant,

Ri. Pace.

LIII. Pace *to* Wolsey.[2]

Where itt haith pleasydde Your Grace to advertise me, wyth what promotion the Kyngis Hyghnesse haith remembrydde me synse my departure, I do yeve unto Hys Hyghnesse most humble and lowly thankes for the same, and am most bounde unto your Grace for your most lovynge and favorable promise to me made to be mediator to the Kyngis Hyghnesse for my further promotion; desyrynge your sayde Grace thus to continue your favorable mynde towardys me, whyche to deserve I schall durynge my lyffe endevor my selfe to the best off my power by any service I can or maye do to the same.

I couith nott affore thys tyme certifie your Grace off the creation off the newe Duke heere, namydde Andreas Griti[3], because that no curror was

[1] Antony Grimani. [2] Holograph.

[3] Andrew Gritti was elected Doge of Venice on the 20th of May 1523.

depechydde frome hense synse hys election tyl thys daye. He is namydde to be a perfecte Frencheman; and for thys consideration the Frenche Ambassadors resident heere made grete festes and triumphis when he was chosen, to hys no litle displeasure, as I undrestonde, because all was owte off reason. And he undoubtydly is a wyse man, and off grete experience, and as farre as I can perceve, aswell by hys deadys as hys wordys hydreto, he intendyth nott to be partiall to the Frenche Kynge, but rather substantiall to the honor and profecte off hys owne cuntreye. When I cam furst unto hym ad gratulandam electionem pro more hujus civitatis, he recevidde me wyth grete honor and reverence, schewynge that he was bounde so to do for the Kyngis sake, to whome he offrydde hys service, wyth the most effectuall wurdys he couith devise; he promisydde also to me at the same tyme to further our matiers heere; and, notwythstondynge the Frenchemennys crakes, I am well assurydde he haith as yitt nothynge hyndrydde the same.

Post scripta. By certayne letters cummyn thys daye frome the sayde Archedukes Courte, wretyn by a sadde and discrete person, I undrestonde that he is nowe sumwhatt inclinidde to sende hys commission hydre schortly. I praye Godde he so do; for, that doon, all other thynges ar lyke prosperosely to succede heere.[1]

(*Superscribed*)
To my Lorde Legates Grace.

LIV. Extracte of letters oute of cifres, sent unto my Lord Cardinal from my Lord of Bath, the Kynges Ambassador to the Popis Holynes[2], dated at Rome, the 11th of June.

Please it Your Grace to undirstonde that the third day of June I entred Rome, and shulde have done a day rather, but by cause I was comme 10 dayes rather then any man loked for me. The Popis Holynes, informed by Maister Doctor Hanibal of my commyng, sent word that I shulde tary a day 6 myles withoute the towne, to the intente that the next mornyng I myght, with warnyng, be the

[1] This despatch, though clearly original, appears never to have had a signature or date.

[2] See Clerk's commission of the 12th of March 1523. Vitellius, B. V. leaf 164., and another of the 31st of May, ibid. 188.

more

more honorably receyved. And so His Holynes against that tyme had caused sundry Cardinallis to sende against me their families, who with dyverse other the Kinges Highnes friendes and servauntes, as Maister Hanibal, my Lord of Worcester, Maister Gregories brothour, right wel accompanied, cam to me in the mornyng, many of theym to my loggyng, and so brought me unto Rome with asmoche honour as coude be divised. I suppose verely I had above one thousand horsis at myn entre. My Lord Cardinal de Medicis and Campegius shewed me greate humanitie. They, beyng here in Rome, caused me to be honorably receyved and feasted in Bononye, and also in Florence, where I was lodgid in the Cardinallis awn palais, and solemply feasted and accompanyed thorough oute the dominion of the Florentynes. It may please your Grace to cause theym to be remembred for ther kyndenes, when occasion shal fal, that they may thinke it wel bestowed. The same day of my arival at nyght, the Cardinal Campegius, in habite dissimiled, cam to visite me, and right hartely inquired of the Kynges Highnes welfare, and also of youres. Partely by cause of myne awne alteracion through my longe journey in this incomperable heetes, partely bycause of the Popis Holynes is soundry impedimentes, it was the 5th day after myne arrival, or I cam to the Poopis Holynes presence.[1] Howbeit the next night after my commyng to Rome I went prevely to the Cardinal de Medicis, for John Matheo his Secretarie had shewid me that he longed to speke with me. And I assure your Grace he made veray moche of me, and right hartely demaunded of the Kynges welfare, and also of youres. I made both the Kynges Highnes recommendacions, and also youres, unto hym, in the best maner that I coude divise. Preterea, beyng ripely enfourmed, bifore my spekyng with hym, in what case the Cardinal de Volterra alias Soderino, his capital enemye, had brought hym in with the Popis Holynes, and how that now every thing was wel again; the said Cardinal de Volterra is gilis and fraudes beyng disclosid and opyn, to his perpetual infamye shame and utter destruction; I gave gratulacions hereof unto the Cardinal de Medicis in the Kynges name and youres, sayng that it shulde be gretely to the comforth of you both to here of this his resurrection. I thanked also the said Cardinal de Medicis for the greate chier and the honorable interteynement he caused me to have by the wey, and for the honour he did vouchesafe to shew the Kyng therin. The said Cardinal said he coude not do his dutie therin, specialy to the Kynges Highnes, ne yet to your Grace, whom he had taken pro unico portu et refugio suo in omnibus calamitatibus, rekenyng hymself asmoche bounde to the Kynges

[1] This agrees with Hannibal's despatch of the same date, Vitellius, B. V. leaf 192. Campeggio's letter of the 10th (ibid. 191.) merely announces Clerk's arrival at Rome.

Highnes and also your Grace, as to any men lyvyng; and howe that ad servitia et obsequia vestra jam dedicavit se et sua, omnibus diebus vite sue: with the best and most pregnant wordes that any man coude divise, shewed me ferther that I shulde nowe fynde mutatam faciem rerum mirum in modum, for this Cardinal de Volterra had with crafte and subteltie brought this good Pope in that case that white was tourned into blak; and al good men were owte of favour and credence, but men of the said Volterra is awne condicions. Which I assurid your Grace, bifore my departyng, to be as serpentyne as ful of malice craft and venom and poyson as any man coude be. And I am now veray glad that I did describe unto Your Grace this man bifore my departyng, seyng that nowe every thing doth manifestly appere accordyngly. The said Cardinal de Medicis shewed me playnly, that all the Emperours faccion was in clene desperacion, and loked for no more favour of the Poope, then they wolde have done, if he had been borne within the citie of Paris; in so moche that, as I am infourmed, His Holynes doth yet reaport that He gave more faith and credence soli Voleterrano quam toti collegio. Thanked be God, it is nowe sommewhat amended, for His Holynes, who doth geve litle feith or credence to any man lyving, hereafter to Volterra woll geve none at all. His Holynes was so sore deceived in hym, that He is yet oute of pacience, when He remembreth it. Doubteles he had brought the Pope in suche a trayne, and had impressed such pestilencial opinions in the Popis mynde, that, if he had contynued, all Cristendom shulde have suffred therby. All good men here thinkith theymself moche bounde to Allmyghty God, that the Popis Holynes is rid of so pestiferous a Counsailour. I lerned also of the said Cardinal the French Kynges untowardnes concernyng any peaxe, and of their scorneful overture of a truxe for two monethes. And after long communicacion of the premissis, with other generalities, I departed, not otherwise delyvering the Kynges letters and youres to the said Cardinal; but reserved theym to the opyn visitacion, which of congruence I coude not do to the said Cardinal, unto such tyme as I had been with the Popis Holynes. The said Cardinal de Medicis then desired me that he myght goo with me to the Pope at my first audience, sayng that he thought it belongyng to his dutie bicause he was Protector, that he shulde so do, and the Courte shulde see therby that he had dependenciam a tanto principe, which thing shulde be greately to his estimacion and honour. Wherfor he desired me instantly, that, if I had no veray secrete thing to be said at this first audience, that he myght goo with me, and be there present. Wherunto I said, that one of the chief thinges the Kynges Highnes and your Grace gave me in commaundment was, that I shulde be as studious of his honour as of your awne, and that I was right glad for the Kynges honour that he wolde vouchesafe to do as he said he wolde. As touching

touching any secretes to be disclosed by me at my said first audience, I requyred him in the Kynges name firmely to beleve and to persuade hymself, that there is no thing that ye have so secrete, but, for the love that ye bere unto hym, and the trust and confidence ye have in hym, ye wolde it shulde be as sone disclosed unto hym as to any other mortal man lyvyng: shewing furthermore that I had no thing in commission to shewe the Pope, but I have like commission to shewe the same to hym. Wherfor, if it shulde please hym to be present when I spake with the Pope, he shulde shewe me a greate pleasure in takyng fro me the payne of the reiteracion of a long tale. Which myn awnswer semed to be to his high contentacion, not onely bicause it shulde appere outewardly, what confidence the Kynges Highnes and you had in hym, but also that he myght therby persuade hymself and stidfastly beleve that it was so in dede.

At the day appointed for audience there cam the Cardinal Campegius familie, Maister Gregories brothour, accompanyed with many other noble men; and so accompanyed, Maister Hanibal and I, with all our servauntes on horsebak, rode to the Popis Holynes, takyng in our way the Cardinal de Medicis house, where we were skant entred, but he met with us hymself, after salutacions in maner blamyng us that we did alight from our horsis, and so withoute delay we toke our horsis agayn. And thus accompanyed with a greate multitude of people both afore us, and also after, I on his right hand and Doctor Hanibal on the other, rode through the chief of Rome to the Popis palais, beyng in distance from the Cardinal de Medicis house a large halfe myle. Where met with us the Cardinal Campegius, qui solus ex omnibus Cardinalibus habitat in Palacio. And so thies two Cardinallis brought us through the Palais to the Popis presence, with all the honour they coude, wher the Popis Holynes sate at ease upon a lowe stole, underneth a cloth of astate. Afore whom, after curtesies and reverences accustumed, I kneled downe, and immediatly He axed me de valetudine serenissimi Regis, et Regine, necnon vestre Dominacionis Reverendissime. I shewed His Holynes that at my departyng, thanked be God, ye were all in good health; and makyng all your humble and harty recommendacions unto His Holynes, I delyverd the Kynges most honorable letters, which He caused the Auditor of the Chambre to rede. His Holynes, in reedyng, marked and noted right well particulerly every clause in theym; and after redyng of them, said that they were optime et plenissime litere, and axed of me whither I wolde adde any thing unto theym. Wherupon I beyng infourmed of the Frenchemennys frowardnes, and that the matiers of peaxe ware no further forward, and that ther was no likelihode that the French Kyng shuld, by treatie of peaxe, or by any fair meanes, be brought to any

any reasonable poynt of acorde, onlesse the Popis Holynes make somme other demonstracion unto Hym, also that the Poopis mynde was sore alienat from theym sythyns the takyng of the Cardinal of Volterra, I thought it best, not swarving from myn instruccions, to ordre the matier in this forme that foloweth, comprisyng aswel the matier conteyned in my first instructions, as also in my last: and so first repeted eftsones the Kynges Highnes humble recommendacions, with the declaracion of the greate devocion entier love and cordial affections, the which His Highnes, your Grace, and all the realme berith unto His Holynes, for his manyfolde goodnes and vertue, the fame and renome wherof is no where more plentuous then in the realme of Englond; howe prone and howe glad the Kynges Highnes is to accomplisshe all His Holynes is desires, specialy in thies matiers of peaxe, which was never more necessarie amonges Cristen princes, then nowe at this present tyme; and how studious His Highnes hath ever been to set and stablishe universal peaxe betwene Christen princes, folowyng the oth and profession of a Christen prince, forseyng what hurte and dammage might fall unto all Cristendome for lak therof: shewed what pacience labours paynes travailes and intollerable charges His Highnes had taken and suffred at sundry tymes for this purpose; how nevertheless the Kynges Highnes was frustrate of all his hope labour travaile and studie, for the French Kyng rekenneth, that nother othe, treatie, ne none other paccion or convencion, doth bynde Hym: and therupon recited unto His Holynes not onely such domages and injuries, as the Kynges Highnes and thEmperour, but also this See Apostolique had of late suffered of the French Kyng, contrary to his oth and all good reason; by reason wherof the Kynges Highnes was compelled to have warre with the French King, not so moche for his awne cause, as for the defencion and proteccion of this See Apostolique, and his most dere son and cousin thEmperour, and other his confederates, acordyng to such lieges and convencions as He had made and stablisshed with theym. All thies thinges declared, as more at large is conteyned in myne instructions, I shewed his Holynes that the Kynges Highnes, and also your Grace, were stidfastly in this opinion, that the French Kyng wolde never incline ne condescende to any reasonable poyntes of peaxe, untill such tyme as He shulde be brought to somme more extreme necessitie; and percase He were brought to condescend to a peaxe, yet ther shulde be no trust to be had to his promisse therupon, onlesse He were first brought so lowe, that He shuld not be of power to do the contrarie though He wolde. For what faith is in his promysse and othe, He havyng power to do the contrarie, He hath of late given good experience, aswell to Pope Leo and His Holynes, as thEmperour and the Kynges Highnes. Wherupon I desired His Holynes, in the Kynges name, consideryng

considerynge that this warre hath been principally begon for the Churchis sake, considerynge also that this warre cannot be wel extincted, unto such tyme as the French Kyng be brought sommewhat lower, ne bifore that tyme we shal never have assured peaxe, which is nowe so necessary to the weale of all Christendome, His Holynes therfor will, joynynge to thEmperor the Kynges Highnes and other their confederates, be contented that somme newe lige, defensive and offensive, may be made against the French Kyng: the which lige ones made, the French Kyng, withoute any other demonstracion, for all his obstinacie, wolde be right sore aferde, and will doubteles be right glad of a perpetuel peaxe, thoughe He nowe thinkith Hym self liberall in scornefully offering a trieuxe of 4 monethes: shewyng furthermore that, percase His Holynes coude be contented to common upon this newe lige against France, I had here allredy an ample and large commission to treate and conclude upon the same; and how that Maister Secretarie had a like commission to treate with the Duc of Millayn and the other potentates of Italie: declarynge that aslonge as His Holynes did not declare Hymself, but kepe this neutralitie, so long the French Kyng woll hope well; and that assone as He shulde se His Holynes adherere parti adverse, then wolde He fall into totall desperacion, and be glad to take quascunque conditiones pacis finally concluded. As touching this poynte, if His Holynes wolde have peaxe, the onely way therof was in His Holynes awne hande; for, if His Holynes ones declared Hym self against the French Kyng, He wold be shortely at a poynte with Hym therin. I shewed further more that, percase His Holynes thought yet that there were any meanes to bryng in the French Kyng to somme good poynte by treatie, the Kynges Highnes, albeit He be nowe right well furnisshed for the warre, and hath made such preparacions that He cannot desiste but to his great losse, yet that notwithstandyng of His Highnes is awne good nature, and fast mynde which He hath ever had towardes universall peaxe, partely stired and induced ther unto by your Grace, who travaileth day and nyght to kepe His Highnes in this good purpose, like as in tymes past His Highnes, at other Popis request, for their defence and weale, hath taken the swerde, and at ther desire hath left the same; so His Highnes, beryng no lesse reverence unto his Holynes now beyng, then He hath don to any Pope that ever was, for his manifold vertuous and good qualites, can be contented to shewe asmoche towardnes and conformitie to peaxe, at the requisicion of His Holynes, as any prince lyvyng: trustyng that His Holynes woll pondre and considre that the Kynges Highnes hath been broughte to thies warris for the Churchis sake, which His Highnes hath been alwais redy to defende both with his swerde and also with his penne, and that His Holynes woll so handle this treatyng of peaxe, that tender respect

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be had unto the honour right title and suretie of His Highnes as apperteyneth, that in tyme to comme He, ne none other Cristen prince, by the example hereof be not discoraged an other tyme to jeoparde their persons substance and realmes for the defence of the Church, when like necessitie shal require: not greatly otherwise extendyng my self in thies matiers of peaxe, bicause I sawe no likelihode ne towardnes of this matier, for I undirstonde that the French Kyng hath revoked his Oratours, when He harde of the takyng of the Cardinal de Volterra. Wherfor I shortely concluded that the Kynges Highnes had sent me hither, furnisshed with two commissions, the one for warre, the other for peaxe, of the which peaxe withoute warre His Highnes had litle hope, as having some experience of the French Kynges pride and obstinacie. Notwithstandyng, to the intente He wolde shewe Hymself obedient unto all His Holynes is desires, therfor His Highnes had sent both the said commissions, gevyng me in commaundment to use that commission which His Holynes shuld thinke most convenient to be used. I shewed His Holynes also, howe that I had brought an other like commission pro pace to thEmperours Orator, and how that acordyng to such treaties and convencions as be betwixt theym, the Kynges Highnes wolde do nothing nisi concurrente consensu Cesaris. His Holynes first of all awnswered me to that, sayng that He had parfite knowlege of such paccions and convencions as be betwixt thEmperour and the Kynges Highnes, and that neyther of Theym myght do withoute the others consente. His Holynes said quod merita Gallorum erant pessima, and that of their prowde ambitious crafty and subtile dealyng He had had long experience, et quod hactenus distulit coherere Cesari et Regi, non amore quo prosequebatur Gallos, sed pio zelo quo prosequitur populum Cristianum, quem dolebat continuis bellis lacerari. Fynaly His Holynes thanked the Kynges Highnes and your Grace for your good mynde; and whither it shulde be best for his Holynes to declare Hymself against France or not, as yet He was not determyned; He wolde thinke upon the matier, and shortely send for us again, and debate the matier, trustyng to take that way that shulde be most beneficial for the weale of all Christendom. Hec Pontifex expedivit quam paucissimis. And so not tarieng any replicacion, His Holynes said I was welcom, and demaunded of me, an essem fessus ex itinere; and so roose, and made a crosse with his hande over my head, as He is accustumed to do when He woll have a man departe. And so we made our curtesies, and departied.

The second day after, we went to His Holynes to breke with His Holynes agayn of the premisses. When we cam to the Palais, there was within with the Popis Holynes the Cardinal of Medicis, and the Duc of Suessa thEmperours Orator. His Holynes, certified of our beyng withoute, sent for us incontinently, and

and causid us to sit downe, and there declared unto us, how that He had receyved letters from the Archduc, beryng date the 23th day of May, wherin His Holynes was ascerteyned that the said Archduc had all redy sent to Venece a commission ad acceptandum articulos pacis jam prius inter Cesarem et Venetos concordatos. His Holynes had also receyved other letters very freshly from his Oratour at Venyce, who writeth, ther was then no spekyng of any such commission, and how that the Venycyans did seme to be at a poynte to conclude with the French men; upon the which matier it shulde seeme that they had talked long bifore our entryng; therfor methought it becommed me not to speke moche in a matier allredy debated, specially being yet rawe in all matiers. Notwithstandyng, when the Pope had tolde his tale, bycause there was a greate pause made after, every man holdyng his peace, me thought they loked I shulde say sommewhat; and so I said, that it myght stonde togither that the Archdukes commission was comme to Venyce, and peraventure not publisshed at that tyme when His Holynes is Oratour wrote his letters; and that, whither it were comme, or not, it coude not be long unknowen, and that it coude not be but within a day or tweyn His Holynes shulde have parfait knowlege. His Holynes said that it was 14 days betwixt the date of his Oratours letters, and the date of the Archdukes. Notwithstandyng the rest assented unto my sayng, and, as it apperid, they had told His Holynes the same bifore. As touching this matier, His Holynes resolved Hymself eftsones to sende incontinently newe brieves, as well to the Archduc, as to the Venecians, sommewhat to make the matier more hote on both sides. After this the Popis Holynes said, "Diu expectavimus resolutionem Venetorum, quia si ipsi "adherebunt Cesari, possumus Nos eciam declarare Nos contra Gallos cum "minore periculo." ThEmperours Orator said, "Pater Sancte, the Venecians "be subtile and crafty, they be sure that aslong as they kepe theym self "neutral they leese no thing. Hitherto to dryve furth thEmperour they have "founde this cause of delay, viz. for the defaulte of the Archdukes commission. "Nowe the commission is comme, put case they fynde somme other cause "of delay, or peraventure totally refuse it; will Your Holynes then refuse to "declare Yourself? ymmo then Your Holynes shulde somoche the rather "declare Yourself both against the Frenchmen and theym also." His Holynes smyled, and allegyng povertie, said He had no riches ne substance to maynteyn warre, et quod vana est sine viribus ira; wherfor necessite did compel Hym to take that wey, that He myght be assurid not to be troublid with warre, specially with France, oute wherof did grow and arise more profittes and emolymentes to the See Apostolique, and this Courte, by reason of thexpedicions, than of

any other thre nacions in Cristendom. It was awnswered, that this lucre and avauntage was not to be compared to the universal dommage that all Cristendom suffrith by reason of the French pride and ambicion, and that His Holynes shulde rather ponder and provide for the universal annoyance of theym, then care for a particular lucre; namely, seyng this lucre shulde not long ceasse, for His Holynes ones declaryng Hym self against France, France shulde shortely comme again perforce, if they did not by faire meanes. As for any riches that shulde be necessarie in this case for His Holynes, His Holynes shulde not greately nede to care therfor; there shulde be contributars unto al such charges al the potentates of Italy, so that His Holynes onely puttyng hereunto his auctoritie with spiritual armure, they wolde desire no temporal aide of His Holynes, but such as His Holynes shulde be hable to bere well ynough. The Duc of Suessa spake veray moche in this matier, and so did the Cardinal de Medicis veray well. They spake, and we spake, but I assure your Grace, Pontifex, velut rupes in mari sita, undique petita fluctibus, mansit immobilis. And so in conclusion, seiyng that it coude not be long but He shulde here from Venece, what way there shulde be taken there, nos dimisit. I understand the Cardinal Volterra hath confessed such letters in cifres, as were intercepted, to be of his awne hande. His defence is, that it is as laufull for hym to practise the French Kynges commyng into Italy, as it is for the Cardinal de Medicis to practise for the Emperour. In all our communicacion with the Pope I mysliked moche the Dukes and the Cardinallis communicacion in one thing, for they never exhorted the Pope no further then to a lige defensive; at whiche tyme I spake nother pro nor contra, thynkyng that it was best to herkyn for awhile. But afterwardes Maister Doctor Hanibal and I spake with the Duc, sayng that we mervailed that he spake no thing also of the lige offensive, seyng that he knewe right well that both his maister and also myne, with the rest of the confederates, did intende invasion bothe here on this side, and also beyonde the mountaynes oute of Spayne, and also Flaundres. He awnswered me again that he knewe wel the impossibilitie that shulde be to bryng the Pope to any lige offensive, and therfor he spake nothing therof. He said that as touching the lige offensive, it must be treated with other potentates of Italy, and not with the Popis Holynes; Who, he assured me, wolde never condescend to doo that thing that He myght not do with the blissed Sacrament in his handes. And thus of all our hole progresse heere your Grace may perceyve, first, that of any truxe here is no spekyng, and lesse of peaxe: when any shalbe, I shal folowe myne instructions in both poyntes. As for any lige offensive, the Pope woll not here therof concernyng his owne feate. We shal have

have moche ado to bryng His Holynes ad meros terminos defentionis, specialy if thEmperour and the Venicians agree not the shortlier. Wherby your Grace may perceyve wherunto ye may truste, for I assure your Grace ferther then this I shall not, as I thinke, opteyn here. Omnia hic frigent preter pestem, que hijs proximis diebus incepit sevire maxime.

LV. Instructions[1] geven by the KINGES HIGHNES to his trusty clerc and counsaillour Maister WILLIAM KNYGHT, Doctor of the Lawe, the Kynges Ambassadour with the Lady Margaret, touching certeyn matiers to be treated and done with the Duc of Burbon, as folowith.

FIRST, the Kynges said Ambassadour, for his more parfite knowlege and ripyng in this matier, shal undirstand, that the said Duc, who is a man of noble and vertuous courage, perceyving howe by the mysordre evill governance and wilde demeanour of the French Kyng the realme of France with the subjects and commons of the same, is brought into right miserable state, beyng sore oppressed by tailles exactions and other indue imposicions, besides many other great outrages and enormities dayly done to theym by the French Kyng, that they can not, ne may be hable, any lenger to susteyne and bere the same, hath converted and applied his mynde and studie for the relief socour and helpe of the said commons, the reformacion and redresse of the said enormities. Wherupon certeyn practises have been by hym set forth a good season

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[1] Printed from a copy in the State Paper Office. Of these instructions there are three incorrect copies in the repositories mentioned in the preface, p. xiv. The date is fixed to within a day or two of the 25th of June 1523, by Knighte's letter to Wolsey (Galba, B. VI. leaf 132), which is dated at Mechlin on the 29th of June, and begins by acknowledging the receipt on the 25th of Wolsey's letter of the 21st, and concludes by saying that after the writing of his despatch he had received his instructions and commission. He further mentions that he had been to the distance of seven leagues to inform the Lady Margaret of his intended trip to Switzerland; that she asked the cause, and he answered that the King, having lately minded to send Pace to the Swiss, had countermanded him to continue in Venice, the late Duke being dead and another elected, and for this cause he (Knighte) was sent. He adds, that she desired him not to hasten his journey, for she would write with her own hand to Wolsey that might peradventure tarry his journey, which letter he inclosed.

passed[1], and nowe lately renewed by sending a special and secret man unto the Emperour to declare intimate and shewe unto Hym, not onely the premissis, but also the toward benevolence and lovyng mynde, whiche for their greate vertues and qualites he berith unto the same Emperour, and the Kynges Grace, in whom he perceyveth the onely socour refuge and relief of the present calamitie and miserie of France, with the pacification of the warris discordes and variances in the same, to consiste. And for that cause the said Duc hath offred that, if the Emperour woll geve him one of his Sisters in mariage with a convenient and honorable dote, and that His Majestie and the Kynges Grace, makyng invasion into France, wol geve hym entierteynement as shal apperteyn, he wil not onely knyt and bynde hymself in parfite intelligence with theym, but also declare hym selfe enemye to the Frenche Kyng, joynyng with their armye in his person with the nombre of 500 men of armes and 10000 fotemen. And, for asmoche as this matier is of no smale consequence, and that beyng so grete grudge and displeasure in the hertes of the French men against the said French King, and so greate love by them generally borne towardes the said Duc, whom they have in singular estimacion, it is not to be thought, but that, he ones declared, many other noble men of that realme woll do the semblable, and the people, beyng now in thraldome and captivitie, shal, for the trust and desire that they have to be releved therof, incline and fall to their partes. The Emperour and the Kynges Grace therfore, having this good oportunitie, be in no wise mynded to neglect or omit the same. For which cause the Emperour hath in greate diligence and secretenes depeched his trusty Counsaillour, and Companion of his Ordre, the Lord Beawreyn[2], in whom He hath, for his wisedom and dexteritie, singular and special confidence, to repair hither unto the Kynges Grace, and to intimate unto Hym all such knowlege as lately hath been had from the said Duc therupon, beyng the Kynges Highnes contented and aggreed to departe by postes unto Burgus in Bresse, where by the last day of this instant moneth the said Duc hathe promised secretely to mete with hym, and such other as the Kynges Highnes shal appointe, for communication treatie and conclusion to be had, aswel of the said mariage in a treatie aparte with

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[1] Boleyn and Sampson, in their despatch from Valladolid of the 8th of March 1523, reported that Bourbon had left the French Court in ill humour, having been detected in intrigue with the Emperor. Harl. Vol. 295. leaf 134., printed by Galt, Appendix, p. xcvii. And he opened a communication with England on the 12th of May, by sending Châteaufort as envoy to Wolsey. Vitellius, B. V. leaf 184. Before his messenger could have arrived, Sampson and Jernigam were commissioned to treat with the Duke. Vespasian, C. II. leaf 125.

[2] See his instructions, dated the 28th of May 1523. Ibid. 138.

thEmperour,

thEmperour, as also for his enterteynement and declaracion against the Frenche King by common treatie, in maner and forme above specified; like as by an abstract of theffect of such instructions, as thEmperour hath geven unto the said Monsr de Beaureyn, which the said Maister Knyght shal receyve herewith, he may perceyve more at large.

And for asmoch as the Kynges Grace, after good deliberacion taken, and theffects of the said Beaureyns charge groundly reasonned bifore Hym, hath and doth perceyve, that this matier requireth quicque and spedie acceleracion to be handeled by such a circumspect expert and discrete person for the Kynges partie, as hath good practise and knowlege in the present affaires, His Highnes therfor hath of singular and special trust appointed his said Ambassadour hereunto; willyng and commandyng hym that, takyng his leve of the Lady Margaret, and faynyng hymself to be sent into Swiceland, for such consideracions as were lately specified in letters sent to the said Maister Knyght, he shall with all possible diligence, take his journey by postes, and in habite dissimuled, towardes the said Burgus, whither Monsr de Beaurayn for the more expedicion is departed and gone afore; having with hym a memorial of some such thinges as be to be spoken of and remembred on the Kynges partie to be done with the said Duc; the copie of which memorial is also at this tyme sent unto the said Maister Knyght.

And to the intente that no knowlege apparance or suspicion be had of the commyng of the Kynges said Ambassadour to Burgus, it is divised that either he shal take his wey, firste unto Basile, or els unto some other place, such as by his inquire made of the most sure and secrete passage for hym, he hath founde most convenient; making his demor at the said Basile, or some other towne a good wey distant from the said Burgus, from whens he shall depeche and send his letters unto Monsr de Beaureyn at Burgus, intimatyng unto hym his arrival at the said Basile or other place aforesaid, with offre to proceed further, or to demore stil there for a season, as by the letters and aunswere of the same Beaureyn he shalbe advised; according to whois advertisement the said Maister Knyght shal ordre hymself: that is to say; if the said Monsr Beaureyn, fyndyng the matiers in good state and inclination, shal write unto the said Maister Knyght to repair incontinently unto Burgus for conclusion of the said treatie, shewyng that the Duc is contented to aggre and condescende to such articles and points as be mencioned in the said memorial geven unto Beaureyn by the Kinges Grace for his partie, then the said Mr Knyght shall upon those letters repair with diligence to Burgus, or such other place as the same Beaureyn shal appoint. Howbeit ordre is taken that, if difficultie

shalbe

shalbe made by the said Duc to condescende to such material pointes as be conteyned in the said memorial, then upon advertisement made unto the Kynges Grace by a special man, whom the said Beaureyn hathe promised to sende hither with awnswer within elevyn days next ensuyng his departure from hens, the Kynges Grace is mynded further to instructe his said Ambassadour of his mynde and resolution in and upon the same difficulties. In which case, if Monsr de Beaureyn shal write unto the said Maister Knyght, declaryng that by any mutacion change or alteracion this matier is clere and totally perisshed, departyng therfore hymself awey from Burgus towardes Rome, withoute spekyng or treatie with the said Duc, or any person for hym, the said Maister Knyght then shal use hymself touching his demore, or retourne to the Lady Margaretes Courte, as by the said Monsr de Beaurayn shalbe thought expedient. And for the more secrete conveyance of such letters as the Kynges said Ambassadour shal write unto Beaureyn, it is devised that the same his letters shalbe enclosed in a forel directed to the Treasorer Vionet, Treasorer of Bresse, who receyving theym wol make sure and secrete delyverie of the same unto the said Monsr de Beaureyn. Neverthelesse, beyng the said Mr Knyght advertised by Beaureyns letters that the Duc accordyng to his appointement is commen unto the said Burgus, albeit there may percase be some difficulties and obstacles made in condescending to all the said articles; yet neverthelesse, to the intent that the Kynges Grace may be parfitely ascerteyned, whither ther be any other particuler overtures practises or motions set furth in that diet, either by colour thereof to treate or divise upon any appointment between thEmperour and the French King, or otherwise, wherunto the said Maister Knyght with all circumspection shal have vigilant and special regard, he shal nevertheles, upon such knowlege had of the Dukes beyng there, take his journey with diligence and secretenes to the said Burgus, having with hym the Kynges Commission under his Greate Seale, sent with thies presentes, wherein he is amply auctorised to common treate and conclude with thEmperour and the said Duc all such thinges as concerne this matier; in the treatie and debatyng wherof the Kynges said Ambassadour shal ordre hymself in maner and fourme folowyng.

First, upon his metyng with Monsr de Beaureyn he shal inserche and understande, in what disposicion he doth fynde the Duc of Burbon touching such poyntes and articles as be mencioned in the said memorial, notyng wel the specialties therof, and whither any difficulties be made in the same; which knowen, and the reasons alleged by the Duc wel and perfitely understonden, when he shalbe brought unto his presence, he shal in loving and cordial maner make

make the Kynges recommendations unto hym, shewyng and declaryng, how benevolently and thankfully the Kynges Highnes, for his partie, acceptith and takith the good and toward mynde whiche he berithe towardes thEmperour and his Grace, commending moche the desire good zele and studie that he hath to refourme amende and redresse the misgovernaunces and disordres used by the French Kyng to the undoyng of his realme commons and people; whiche matier he may extende with such good wordes and sentences, as to the tyme and matier shalbe most accommodate; notyng what awnswere the said Duc shal make unto hym, and what is his intencion mynde and purpose to do at this tyme concernyng the same.

And, amonges other thinges, special regard is to be made by the Kynges said Ambassadour, as nyghe as to hym may be possible, in what state the said Duc presently stondith with the Frenche King; that is to say, whither by likelihod he be in any estimation grace and favour with Hym, or that he remayneth in suspicion displeasure and indignacion; semblably, howe the favour and love of the Lordes and Commons of Fraunce contynueth and discontinueth towardes hym, and what power by likely hood he shalbe of to allecte unto his partie any greate nombre of the said Lordes and Commons; besides that, whither he have any intelligence with those that be presidentes governours and capitayns of cities townes and fortresses, eyther in Normandye Guyen or elliswhere, wherby it may be thought or supposed that after his declaracion the same places may the more facilly be rendred or not; and whither he have, or can have, any practice with the said capitayns governours rulers and subjectes for dedicion and delyveraunce of their places townes and strengthes to the Kynges subjection and obeysaunce; and generally the said Mr Knyght by his wisedome and prudence shal substancially note, whither, upon such knowlege as he can have, it may be perceyved that any grete or notable effecte is like to folow to the Kynges benefite profite and advauntage by this intelligence to be had with the said Duke. For, if the same Duke, beyng totally abject out of the French Kinges favour, be of extreme necessitie inforced and compelled to come to this treatie with the Emperour and the Kynges Grace, as he that withoute the same is in peril to amit and utterly lose his state and possessions; then it is not to be doubted, but he shalbe the more glad to condescende facily unto the condicions desired. And, if his power estimacion and strength in France be not so greate, that by his declaracion and takyng the Kyng and thEmperours partes, either some greate revolucion is like to insue in Fraunce, orels at the leest the French Kyng therby brought into such danger and feare, that He shalbe glad to come to a peaxe with the Kynges Grace and the Emperour,

Emperour, under such condicions as may stonde with their honour utilitie and profite; it were not wisedom to astringe and bynde theymselfes to any greate thinges in treatie with the said Duke, by whois meanes smale avauntage or good myght ensue unto theym. And therfore special regard is to be taken by the Kynges said Ambassadour to understand what frute may come unto His Grace by the intelligence with the said Duke; so that in conclusion to be taken with hym the condicions be qualifyed accordingly.

The Kynges said Ambassadour shal also, in procedyng to this treatie, have good respect that by any articles to be passed for defence or mayntenaunce of the said Duke or his armye, the same be not so couched or divised, that, in case it shulde hereafter come to the pointe of a beneficial or necessary peaxe or truxe with the Frenche King, it shulde be totally empeched let and hyndred for the said Dukis onely cause; but that, honorable provision being taken for the suretie of the same Duke, aswel by comprehension of hym in any such peaxe or truxe, as for assistence to be geven unto hym in case the comprehension be not observed, thEmperour and the Kynges Grace be not compelled, by this newe treatie, to demor and contynue allweis in werre. In which mater the said M[r] Knyght must use good dexteritie, so that the said Duc, by any debatyng or reasonyng to be had in this pointe, do not conceyve feare or suspicion, that he, ones declared and makyng werre against the French King, shulde be abandonned at any tyme by the Emperour and the Kynges Grace; whois mynde and intente is (as to reason it apperteyneth) to conclude such convenient thinges, as may be to the suretie mayntenaunce and defence of the said Duke at al tymes, and yet nevertheles the peaxe or trux, when the case shal require, not to be empeched or hyndred. For the Kinges Grace is well pleased and thinketh reasonable, that besides the interteynement of the said Duke and his band for the tyme that the common armyes shal invade, and besides other ordre to be taken for hym in case he shulde be inforced to withdraw hymself to any of their countreis, as is mencioned in the abstract of thEmperours instructions, provisions be also divised that, whensoever it shal fortune to come to truxe peaxe or other appointement with the French Kyng, thEmperour and the Kynges Grace shalbe bounde that the said Duc shalbe comprehended, and that for none observance of the comprehension they shal maynteyn and defende hym with such assistence as may be thought reasonable; but as to the general wordes comprised in the said abstracte of bandes offensive and defensive, good regarde is to be taken that no thing be so passed, as may utterly put thEmperour and the Kynges Grace from any likelihode to conclude peaxe or truxe hereafter. And herein the Kinges said Ambassadour must cal to his remembrance the article

article next preceding, that is to say, the knowlege of the state of the said Duc of Bourbon, and what benefite may ensue to the Kinges Highnes by this intelligence; which is to be regarded, and no further convencions and bandes to be made therein, then may be countervailed with the effectes like to ensue of the same.

And albeit that it apperith the said Duke to take his ground for makyng of this intelligence for the common weale of the realme of France, and reformacion of the enormities and abuses used by the French King, upon whiche grounde it may be thought he may with his honor proceede hereunto; yet neverthelesse, inasmoch as the Kynges Grace claymeth and pretendith to be rightful inheritour to the Crowne of France, with other greate patrimonies in Normandye, Guyen, and elliswhere, it is to be considred and foreseen that, none other provision beyng taken and charges peraventure by thEmperour and the Kynges Grace largely susteyned for settyng furth of thair armyes, and enterteynement of the said Duke, he may upon the said grounde fayne a good occasion, in tyme of most nede, to relinquishe and forsake theym; alleging, that the Kynges pretense is contrary to the common weale of France, and wherunto with his dutie of allegiance he may not incline. For which cause it is thought by the Kynges Grace and his Counsaile, that a more honorable grounde and occasion cannot be taken by the said Duke, then to recognise the Kynges Grace his suppreme and soverayn Lord, makyng othe and fidelitie unto Hym as to the rightful inheritour of the said Crowne of Fraunce. In which doyng the Kynges said Ambassadour may shewe unto hym that not onely the honour of hym, his house, and bloode, shal hereby be conserved and increaced for ever, but also he may be sure that all the governaunce rule avauncement and auctoritie, which the Kynges Grace may adde and put to hym, his house, and familye, shal and must of good reason and congruence be doon, whom he shal fynde as gracious and favorable a Prince unto hym and al his friendes, as ever reigned upon subjectes; in suche wise that he and al they shal have cause to be joyous and glad, that ever they admitted and toke Hym unto their soverayn Lorde. Wherfor, with thies wordes and al other good demonstracions which the Kynges said Ambassadour can shew touching this purpose, he shal instantly move and exhorte the said Duke in any wise to condescende hereunto, so as upon his said declaracion the recognicion may also be published, which shalbe the best meane that can be devised to cause such of the nobilitie and other of France, as be nowe in dispaire, to reasume and take agayn their corages, adherynge unto the said Dukes parte, with trust by his meanes and rule, under the Kynges Grace, to be releved from the miserie that

 they

they now be in. And hereunto the Kynges Ambassadour shal effectuelly persuade the said Duke, notyng his awnswer and resolucion therin, and advertisyng the Kynges Highnes therof with diligence accordingly.

Over this the said Maister Knyght, ensuyng the effect of such other articles as be conteyned in the memorial gyven by the Kynges Grace to Monsr. de Beaureyn, shal procure the avauncement of the same as moche as to hym shalbe possible, that is to say, if it shal be so thought most beneficial and profitable, withoute dangier of the said Duke and hynderance to this intelligence, to put over his declaracion, til the common personal invasion, though therin the said Maister Knyght shal make no greate stikkyng; specialy, if he do perceyve the disposicion of the realme of France and state of the said Duke apte and mete for greate good now this sommer to be done; semblably that the money which shalbe contributed by the Kynges Grace for interteynement of the said Duke and his bande may be paid at such tymes and by exchanges to be provided for that purpose, that alwais payment be made for one moneth before hande, and no more, lest that if any sinistre meanyng or dealyng myght happen to be used (as it is not to be beleved) the Kynges Grace shuld not yet suffre jacture and losse of any greate somme. In which matier the said Maister Knyght shal have respect that the Kynges Grace be as litle charged as may be possible, and that some way be taken for certeyn knowlege to be had from tyme to tyme of the parfite nombre of the said Dukes bande and armye, so as money be not paid for moo persons then shal do service; and likewise to take ordre, by the Dukis avise, by what marchantes bankes and meanes the money may in the said fourme comme unto hym from tyme to tyme, and thereof to geve semblable advertisement by his letters as is afore specified.

And, albeit the Kynges Grace verayly thinkith that the said Duke of Bourbon, of his honour and greate wisedome, wolde be lothe to be a mynister in trumperies and deceiptes, specially with so greate Princes; yet nevertheles one grete matier is to be groundly and substancially forseen by the Kynges said Ambassadour and Monsr de Beaureyn, which the same Ambassadour shal in most secrete maner disclose and open to the said Beaureyn; that is to say, it is to be considred if the said Duke ment any indirect thing or crafte in the premissis, and that peraventure he shulde joyne his army with that of Prospero Columpna in Langedok, under colour to adquire and wynne that countrey, what dangier the Duchie of Mylayn shulde stonde in after the Emperours armye commen on this side the mountaynes. For, if the said Duke were of egal or better puyssaunce than tharmye of the said Prospero Columpna, and those that shulde joyne with hym, he, meanyng untruly, myght percase geve unto

unto the same Prospero an overthrow, and so, withoute stroke or resistence, enter unto the said Duchie, and clierly recover the same for the Frenche King; and semblably, after he had made his declaracion and receyved thEmperor and the Kynges money, joynyng with one of their armyes, it myght peraventure be agreed betweene the Frenche Kyng and hym, that at the day and tyme of strikyng bataile he with his hole power shulde revolte and retourne to the French Kynges side, convertyng theym self against thEmperours or the Kynges said armye, wherby the same myght be totaly defeated and overthrowen. And the thinges most moving somme suspicion to arise in the premisses is the closenes of Monsr de la Mote, who, in this his beyng with the Lady Margaret, not onely hath seen and herde of all the preparacions, and state that thEmperours Lowe Countreis be in, and peraventure hath set furth somme secrete practises with such as favour the French partie there, but also after his commyng in to Spayne shal, by colour of his adheryng to thEmperour, knowe and understand the hole secretes of his mynde intente and purpose, wherin may be moche dangier. For remedying wherof the Kynges Grace and the said Lord Legat have gyven warnyng to thEmperour, advising Hym to conteyne the said De la Mote in such wise, as, whither he be privie or not, he shal not have oportunitie to escape and renne awey from the frontiers, or do any other hurte, if he were so mynded and disposed; for at his beyng here, no maner knowlege coude be had of hym of his compasse intente or purpose; which, knowyng the firme intelligence bitweene thEmperour and the Kynges Grace, and that the benefite of the one is the profite of the other, he by reason should have done, to have atteyned therby the more estymacion and thanke. Wherfor the Kynges said Ambassadour shall exhorte Beaureyn to thinke and loke prudently hereunto, advertisyng the Kynges Grace what shalbe his opinion avise and awnswer upon the same.

Fynaly, in asmoche as, this matier beyng ones concluded, it is like that thEmperour and the Kynges Grace shal this sommer send puyssant armyes into France; the Kynges Ambassadour shal take the said Dukes counsaile and avise, in what parties and by what countreis he thinkith best the armye, for the Kynges parte, to descende, where either for the debilitie and wekenes of the townes and fortresses, or for the intelligence which he hath or may have with the capitayns rulers and people, most facile and easy entre may be had, with all such thinges as the said Duc shall thinke expedient concernyng such descent; and semblably where or in what place he thinkith he may best joyne with thEmperours or the Kynges armye: wherein one thing is by Maister Knyght specially to be noted, which is, that as the Kynges Grace is infourmed

thEmperours mynde is rather, that the Duc of Burbon shulde joyne with his armye in the parties of Langedok than in any other place, having good hope thereby to adquire and gete to hym selfe the same Langedok, which, as it is said, is not furnisshed of any grete strengthis holdes or resistence: howbeit it is to be considered at what greate chargis the Kynges Grace hath been and muste be by reason of thies warris, and as yet no parte or porcion adquired recovered or goten for his parte, but all, that hath hitherto been done by His Highnes, hath been to the onely benefite weale and commoditie of thEmperour, who by the Kynges meanes and helpe hath attayned and adquired veray greate and notable thinges. Wherfore the Kynges said Ambassadour, prudently and discretely regardyng that matier, shal by his policie and wisedome so use and handle the same, that by this treatie such likelihode or meanes may ensue, as nere as can be divised, that some good peaxe may be recovered to the Kynges benefite and behofe, whois armye shalbe greatelye strengthned by joyning with theym of the said Duc of Burbon, with his band and power, if it may conveniently be; of whois mynde and opinion therin the Kynges Grace beyng spedely ascerteyned, may furnishe and purvey his armye to be avaunced into such partie or countrey as the said Duc shal thinke most expedient. And albeit percase the divise of Monsr de Beaureyn may be that the Kynges armye shal descende into Normandie, wherin His Highnes wolbe glad to here the opinion of the said Duc, yet neverthelesse one thyng is to be regarded, which is this, that thEmperours horsemen of those Low Countreis, who as it is concluded shall joyne with the Kynges armye on this side, do, as the Kynges Graces is infourmed, loke that, if they shal come to any place by see, they wolbe reteyned for one hole yere, which shuld be to greate and excessive a charge unto the Kynges Grace, and a greate parte therof spent in vayn, as the Duc of Burbon can wel considre. And therfore the said Mr Knyght, reasonyng this matier with hym and the said Beaureyn, may advertise the Lord Legate what they shal thinke therin, in case the Dukes opinion and avise were, that the Kynges army shulde descende into Normandie, or unto any other place upon the see cost; debatyng it so with theym, that the said inconvenient for excessive chargyng of the Kynges Grace in maner and forme aforsaid bee avoided and put aparte: the substancial orderyng and handelyng of all which premissis, with such other thynges as be comprised in the said memorial, the Kynges Grace committith to the wisedome and dexteritie of his said Ambassadour; willyng hym in no wise to fynisshe or clierly to condescend and conclude any thing in the same with the said Duc, before such tyme as, upon the first letters that shal comme from the said Beaurayn of the Dukes mynde and

and disposicion, awnswere shalbe sent to the said Maister Knyght, and commaundement gyven unto hym so to do; onlesse then he shal perceyve, first, the matier beneficial to the Kynges Grace, and secoundly, the said Duc mynded and contented with al such thinges as His Highnes desireth to be done in this behalf. In which case the same Mr Knyght, by vertue of his commission sent unto hym at this tyme as is aforesaid, shal procede to the final conclusion of the said treatie betweene the Emperour the Kynges Grace and the said Duc, makyng capitulacions of every thyng accordyng to the purporte and effecte of thise present instructions, withoute digressing from any material or notable pointe conteyned in the same; having all weis speciall regarde howe and in what forme and with what clausis and sentences the other treatie of mariage between the Emperour and hym doth passe; and lokyng substancially, if difficulties arise in this common treatie, whither any other practises or driftes be made and used at this diet withoute the Kynges consent and knowlege; wherunto he shal vigilantly herken, and to al other thinges which may sounde to the honour suretie benefite and weale of the Kinges Grace, with such discrete maner allweis, that no suspicion or diffidence may be thought to be in his said Ambassadour touching any such practises, as the Kynges Highnes puttith in hym, for the good secret and prudent conducyng of this greate and weighty matier, his special trust and confidence.[1]

LVI. King Henry VIII. *to* The Emperor Charles V.[2]

Sacratissimo &c. Henricus &c. Ad Nos nuper advenit Serenissimus Rex Dacie, Frater noster carissimus, atque una cum eo Illustrissima ipsius Conjunx, qui ubi ad has Flandrie inferiores partes accessisset, et si ob antiquam inter Nos confederationem mutuamque necessitudinem, et presertim quod Vestre

[1] By a letter from Knighte to Wolsey of the 20th of August from Bruxelles, (Galba, B. VIII. leaf 46) it appears that he had been to Basle, from whence he was making his way towards England, and had passed Oudonburg on his route, when he received Wolsey's order to tarry with the Lady Margaret, and leave to communicate to her the secrets of his journey; that he arrived at Bruxelles on the 16th, and she scolded him for not having either made her privy to his going, or awaited her return to Mechlin.

[2] Headed by Tuke, "Copie of the Kinges letters sent to thEmperour, towching the King of Denmark."

Cesaree

Cesaree Majestati est tam arcta affinitate conjunctus, potuisset de hoc nostro Regno, et Nobis perinde ac de uterino suo fratre cuncta sibi polliceri, ei tamen visum fuit, securi salvique conductus literas prius a Nobis petere, quas, non quod opus foret, sed ut ejus petitioni satisfaceremus, libentissime concessimus; quibus acceptis e vestigio ad Nos trajecit, de varijs gravissimisque rebus Nobiscum tractaturus; illudque inter cetera animo molestissimo tulimus, tantam fuisse ejusdem Serenissimi Regis subditorum perfidiam, ut non solum ab eo desciverint, sed etiam instructis insidijs eum, quo sue liberorumque saluti mature consuleret, e proprio regno proprijsque finibus atque dominijs abire coegerint, quod grave scelus ob id accuratius cavendum est, quod deterrimo hoc exemplo ex levissima qualibet causa de Regum Principumque omnium summa et statu agi manifestissime percipimus. Quantum enim mali ac detrimenti Reipublice Christiane brevi inferretur, si Reges ac Principes a proditoribus perfidisque subditis ex eorum duntaxat arbitrio aliqua conficta causa ejici impune sinerentur, in promptu est videre. Nos itaque, partim quod eundem Serenissimum Regem affinitate mutuaque amicitia Nobis ab antiquo conjunctissimum, Vestreque Cesaree Majestatis intuitu longe charissimum, fraterna synceraque benivolentia prosequimur; partim vero quod huic malo, ne latius serpat, in tempore mederi ex principum omnium re et officio est, eidem Serenissimo Regi adeo adsistendum favendumque esse judicamus, ut suis regnis ac dominijs potiatur, juraque sua recuperet. Quoniam autem ad regnum Dacie, ut aiunt, per electionem Regem assumi consuevisse intelligimus, benivolis medijs potius quam violentiori aliqua ratione hoc tractandum esse censemus; quod facilius ex sententia succedet, quum ex innata sua clementia ac bonitate, gravissimas acceptas injurias, sibique durissima illata damna, suis subditis condonare, pœnam nullam exposcere, sed eos benignissime tractare, et, si quid forsan erratum est, in melius corrigere, decreverit. Proinde, Sacratissime Cesar, nostro judicio imprimis necessarium est, ut Serenissima Majestas Vestra una Nobiscum probos aliquos dignosque viros in Daciam, et ad ea loca, omni celeritate oratores mittat; qui vigili cura, summa industria, parique dexteritate, et humanissimis modis, de controversijs ac discordijs inter prefatum Serenissimum Regem et eos exortis componendis agant; procurentque, ut Vestre Cesaree Majestati et Nobis graviora discutienda remittant, ad quod adeo circumspectam æquamque rationem Nos adhibituros pollicebimur, ut nostrum in se amorem ac benivolentiam sit utraque pars haud dubie expertura. Ad hec maxime expedire judicamus, ut dictus Rex quamprimum in Daciam redeat (cujus major munitiorque pars, ac tota Norvegia, aliaque diversa loca, in fide adhuc permanent); quo sua presentia prudentique consilio quos habet fidos ac benivolos conservet,

conservet, aliosque plures in dies magis ac magis sibi conciliet. Vestram idcirco Cesaream Majestatem vehementissime enixissimeque rogamus, ut hanc rem, que maximi momenti est, cordi habere commendatissimamque suscipere velit. Sed de his nostri apud Eam Oratores secum nostro nomine uberius colloquentur, quibus ut indubiam certamque fidem prestare non gravetur, impense oramus, &c.

LVII. Sampson *and* Jernigam *to* Wolsey.[1]

Please it your Grace. The 18th of June I, Richard Jarnegam, arryved here from La Redo be post, so that the 11th day from the taking off the schippe at Hampton, I com hithir to Walladolyd; and at my commyng thEmperour was yet at Towr de Zelys, with his mothyr, and the Quene of Portugale: and bycause that I, Richarde Jarnyngham, yet had not spoken with thEmperour, by somme of his Counsell yt was devised me to remaine, and not to receave the Quene of Portugall. Wherfore I, Richarde Sampson, with all other Ambassadours accompanyed the Lorde Chauncellour; and so the said 21st daie wee mett with the Emperour and the Quene abought one quarter of a myle withowte the towne. The Quene, in blacke as mournynge, was in a horse lytter; thEmperour rode with her by the syde of the saide lytter. And when that wee mett with them first, wee saluted thEmperour; and bycause that our horses and mules durst not approche the blacke lytter, wee light a foote; &, Sir, to Hyrre I made the Kinges Highnes most affectuous recommendation, moreover shewinge that I hadd expresse comaundement to signyfye unto Her Highnes as well for the singuler love that the Kinges Grace hath towardes Her, as also for thentier amytie that is betwixt thEmperours Majestie and His Grace, that, where soever and when soever His Highnes might have occasion, He was most desirous to doo Her all honour plesure or other thinge agreable, as thoughe She were his owne naturall Sister, whereof She sholde not dought but assueredlye beleve the same. And so rode to thEmperours lodginge, the Popes Nuncio and I next before the lytter, next unto us the Serjeauntes at Armes, and then the

[1] Printed from a copy in the State Paper Office, with the two last paragraphs (which are there wanting) supplied from Vespasian, C. II. leaf 149. The latter is an original despatch written by Sampson, and there is one of the same date from the Ambassadors to Henry VIII. Ibid. 143. The letter in the text enters more into details than that in the Museum.

Harrauldes,

Harrauldes, and before the Harrauldes thAmbassadours of Venys, of Mylane, Florence, and other. The 22th daie wee were with thEmperours Majestie; and first with the Kinges most hertie recommendations I, Richarde Jarnyngham, delyvered to His Majestie the Kinges letters of his owne hande; and after that they were redde, the other letters also of addresse. I delivered also, Sir, with your recommendations, in the best manner that I coulde, your Graces letters to His Majestie, the which redde, He demaunded most affectuouslye to knowe of the Kinges prosperous health, the Quenes, my Ladie Princes, and your Graces: moreover shewed that one especiall of my commynge was as well to knowe, and so to certifie the Kinge my master of his prosperos healthe and other successes, as also to advertise His Majestie of soche thinges as hath prosperouslye folowed for the Kinges partie, that by soche mutuall knowlege the one myght so be participant of the others affaires, and be clere knowlege of all thinges from thone to thother, soche prosperous successes might followe of the same, God willinge, that sholde be to both their honours. ThEmperour said that He was most desirous and gladde to be mannye tymes advertysed of the Kinges prosperous healthe and successes, which He estemeth no lesse then his owne; and moreover He said that the token in the Kinges privey letter He knew verrie well: and allso I remembred Him of soche wordes as the Kinges Highnes and He hadd at their laste departynge, to the whiche His Majestie answered that He hadde them in as freche remembraunce, as thoughe at the same tyme they shulde be spoken, and shold never forgett them; and furthermore said that the Kinges Highnes might be aswell assured of Him to observe all soche thinges as were spoken betwixt Them, as of his owne self, lyke as He dowtithe not of soche mutuall correspondence for the Kinges parte, and thoughe it were that in some small thinges, for other his grete affaires the whiche He hath dailie, somme faulte hathe bene, and not all performed, yet in anie gret busynes that shall concerne there welth and honour the Kinges Highnes shall know Him assueredlye to faile no promesse, but rather augment them his partie: and after that wee hadde promysed him in lyke manner for the Kinges partie, wee pawsed a littell space. And after a littell pawsinge, ensuinge the instructions I, Sir Richarde Jarnengham, shewed His Majestie bothe of the Kinges armye, and enterprice intendid ageinst the Scottes, that the yere to comme, according to the treatie, the personall invasion might the better be doon with suer effecte for his partie, leavinge no enemye at the backe of anie puyssaunce to empeache it in his absens; and also I shewed His Majestie of soche rodes and excorses as hath bene made into their countries, to the devastinge and distruction of all their borders, which be the moste fertile places

places of all the realme. And to this His Majestie said He was verrie gladde to here of theis prosperous successes of the Kinges Highnes ageinst thos enemyes, to the assueraunce of quietnes of his realme, with mannie other good wordes. Wee gave allso His Majestie thankes for advertysmentes of newes by soche letters as the Kinges Highnes receaved by his Ambassadour in Inglonde, and in lyke manner the Kinges Highnes and your Grace hadd nowe sent to Him originall and coppies bothe of letters and answers, whereof He thanked bothe the Kinges Highnes and your Grace. Theis thinges so past, we shewed His Majestie that other chardges wee hadde also to declare, when that yt should be his plesure to here them. He said that at the same tyme He was content and gladde to here of them. And so, Sir, wee shewed our chardge, his Counsell beinge present, accordinge to our instructions concernynge the warrs to be doon this yere, wherof wee have one grete parte in writinge; shewinge also how for the same his Ambassadour in Inglonde gretlye did solicite, els fearinge daunger that might ensue not only to thaffaires of Italye, but also to Flaunders and the other Lowe Countries there. ThEmperour, Sir, hadde also theffect of our said charge concernynge the warres by his Ambassadour before, with tharticles to be passed for the accomplishement of the same. And after the disclosinge of our said chardge, thEmperour said that He wolde appointe certen of his Counsell to treate and debate the matters with us. The next daie was the Feast of Saint John, and of grete pastymes here, like as the first daie of Maye in Englonde; wherfor that daie was nothing doon. The 25th daie they were also in Counsaile uppon the said affaires.

The 26th wee hadd warnynge to be with the Lorde Chauncelour at 7 of the clocke in the mornynge; and at our commynge thither, with the said Chauncelour was the Grete Master and Monsr de la Roche, appointed to debate theis matters with us. And first the Lorde Chauncelour seide, that thEmperour with his Counsell hadde well consydered theffect of our chardge, and in the same especiallie He fownde foure difficultes. The first was for the imparite of thEmperours partie accordinge to our demaunde, the which he extendeth with mannye wordes. The seconde, that thEmperour thought that in somme other place rather a good exploite might be doon, then uppon Bolein, bycause yt was so stronge; and their partlie he touched the daungers of the Lowe Countries in the meane tyme, the armye beinge so farre of. The thirde was, that in Guyen also in theis parties they shoulde lese their tyme, for ther is no good entrie but by Bayon, the which is so stronge, that bothe their paine and tyme they shulde spende in waste; and their he toched the entrye of Langadocke, havinge will rather to entre there. The fourthe was, that he wolde the armye sholde entre in thos parties in the begynnynge of August, and thEmperours

armye here in beginnyng of September; and to coulour this, he said that in Auguste yet the tyme was so hotte, that in theis parties no manne might be abrode in the fieldes. To theis foure difficulties, Sir, wee answered; and to the first, according to our instructions, wee shewed not onlye howe the Kinges Grace made warre this yere onlye at thEmperours contemplation, and for the tuycion of his other countryes, but also how that His Highnes for the same left a grete parte of the singuler and good occacion that nowe His Grace hathe ageinst Scotlande, to converte the same ageinst Fraunce at thEmperours desire: moreover wee shewed them of the grete chardge that the Kinges Highnes hathe hadde in theis warres ageinst the said Scottes, and thoughe that His Grace shall not have so moche ageinst them, as his purpose was, for thEmperours sake this yere; yet His Grace will not faile to have stronge garrysons ageinst them, able to make grete rodes and other disturbaunce, that the next yere the expedicion against the same Scottes maie be the more easye to put His Graces Realme in suertye, for the grete expedicion to be made ageinst Fraunce. And furthermore wee shewed them bothe of the nombre of men that the Kinges Grace hath hadd upon the seas ageinst the Frenche men all this yere, aswell for the defence of thEmperours Lowe Countreyes as of his own, and yet hath; and also of the three thousand men that His Grace hathe in the Scottes sees, over and above the gret preparation of vitailles that the Kinge hathe made in divers places for the same intent: all which no lesse concerneth the commune affairs then this journey. Also wee shewed them, yf that the chardges shoulde be equallye considered, besydes thynfinyte costes that the Kinges Grace hathe in the transportinge of his men, whereof they have non, thEmperour shall with lesse chardges interteigne 20 thowsande of theis countrie men, then the Kinge 12000 of his: so that if our instructions extendid farre, wee durst take uppon us onlye in theis demaundes to beare thEmperours chardges, so thEmperour shoulde beare the Kinges, besydes all other the Kinges chardges above rehearsed. To the seconde wee said that the Kinges Grace hadde good knowlege of the towne of Bolleyn, that in some parties it is not so stronge as els yt is estemed; and also consydering that the Kinges Grace, havinge the army uppon the sea, maye asseage the same bothe by sea and by lande, ther is no place more apte or of more likelihode, then is the same. And if that place with a syege be sore pressyd, the Frenche Kinge shalbe so desyrous to eide and releyve yt, onlesse yt shoulde be loste, that He shall have lyttell mynde to invade other places. And in case He shall invade either Heinolde, or anie other place abordringe ageinst Artois or Picardye, for the grete displeasure that maie be to the commune enemye, in the wynnynge of Bollein for the space of 6 weekes or two monethes at the moste, the Lowe Countries maie have provision

provision for their necessarye defence, lyke as the Kinge, notwithstandinge this armye, invadeth yet another as stronge an enemye as Fraunce is. To the thirde wee saide that wee thought the tyme coulde in non other place be so well spent as is Guyen, because yt is the next borderes to Castyle, the most puysaunte parte of Spaine, and most especiallie ageinst Bayon, for the Frenche men now hath Fountre Abbye, to the grete displeasure of thEmperours Majestye and all Spaine; and in cace that Bayon bee wonne, with the same allso is Fountre Abbye recovered, for it cannot holde, the other lost. And in tymes past, when the Emperour wolde have hadd ought of Ingland an armye to joine here with thEmperours, the Lorde Chauncelour shewed us that Bayon not onlye might welbe wonne, but also ther was other intelligens for the wynnynge of yt; wherefor wee thought none other, but for thEmperours honnour and proffett, this short tyme sholde be so well emploied, as there. To the fourthe wee answered, that whereas the Lorde Chauncelour spake byfore of imparyte of thEmperours partie in this thinge, he wolde have moche and grete imparite, bothe that the Kinges Grace sholde have his armye one moneth before thEmperour, and also that in the same tyme all the hole puyssaunce of Fraunce might be converted ageinst the Kinges armye, to their grete daunger, and lesse feare to the commune enemye. And for the greate heates, as wee thought, sholde not lett the men of the same countreye to be in the fieldes, and well suffre the same hettes, they sholde also lye oute of Spaine in Guyen, whereas the hetes be not so fervent as within the countries of Spaine. And after this debating, Sir, they replied verrye lyttell to theis answers, but wee passed over with other thinges tyll dynner tyme, and so dyned with the Lorde Chauncelour. And after dynner wee retorened agein to the Counsell, whereas first the Lorde Chauncelour demaunded of us, if that wee hadde anie other chardge to disclose, whereof they might advertyse thEmperour. Wee said that wee hadd bothe shewed and debated all our chardge with them for that tyme. And yet after a lyttell communication, the Lorde Chauncellour agein demaunded, if wee hadde anie other chardge to disclose. Wee saide, naye. Then he asked what wee said to soche letters, as thEmperour hadd wrytten to the Kinges Highnes concerninge the Popes breve, and his admonicions for the treugis. Wee said that for an answere to that, wee hadd now delivered to thEmperours Majestie the Popis originall breve to the Kinges Highnes, with the coppie of letters from the Colledge[1], the coppie also of a breve to your Grace, with the coppie of other letters from the Colledge, with the coppies of answers to all the same, the which, as wee thought, was answere sufficient, for

[1] See Vitellius, B. V. leaf 162.

as concernynge the same by the saide coppies they might well perceave the Kinges mynde and your Graces also. Then to induce us to speke and graunte more of our chardge in this byhalf, as they suspect that more wee hadde then yet wee disclosed, the Lorde Chauncelour debated the Kinges answere to the Popes breve, seinge that the Kinge in his answere clerelye refused the treugis; and, after a lyttell debatinge of the matter, the Chauncelour demaunded of us, what wee wolde doo, if the matter of the treugis sholde nowe be sett forwarde. Wee said that thoughe wee hadd non especiall commaundement to speke of yt, yet, if it were thEmperours plesure, levinge this other waye, to encline his mynde to the treugis, wee shoulde so ordre and demeane us, that yt shulde be to the contentation of thEmperour and his Counsell; for the King our master is clerelye determyned to doo and folow those thinges that maie be to the moste honour and plesure of thEmperours Majestie, his owne honour not omytted, whereof he doughteth nothinge of thEmperours singuler good love and mynde towardes Him, but that He woll regarde the Kinges as his owne, like as the Kinges Grace semblablye for his parte will not faile towardes the Emperours Majestie. And thus wee departed from them; they to make reporte of all our debating to thEmperour and other of his Counsell. And, Sir, in the debatinge of theis matters, bycause that wee spake of the Kinges grete chardges ageinst Scotlande, the Chauncelour said that they spake nothinge of the Duke of Jylders, Robert de la Marche, and soche others, the which also were grete chardges to thEmperour: whereunto wee sayde that in this byhalf they compared a gnatte to an elephante, with the which answere the Lorde Chauncelour was somewhatte quicke; neverthelesse wee shewed him by good meanes, that trewth yt was. The laste daie of June wee were againe with the saide three personages, and their they conseted and concluded that this expedicion sholde be donne now with spede this yere ageinst Fraunce accordinge to soche articles[1] as I, Sir Richarde Jarnyngham, brought with me; the which articles, signed with the seid three handes, havinge thereunto ample comyssion, wee send now unto your Grace. And, Sir, thoughe yt so were, that wee shewed them expresslye of the Kinges plesure and his Counsailes concernynge Mouns[r] de *Bourbon*[2], that for this yere, or before the grete expedicion, wee sholde treate nothinge of that matter; yet now at the concluding of theis matters they wolde that wee sholde have concluded this expedicion under the condicion that if the said Mons[r] de *Bourbon* might not be kept till the grete entreprice, but if he were not taken this yere, that good

[1] None of the Articles referred to in this despatch have been found.
[2] In cypher throughout the rest of the letter.

occasion

occasion sholde be lost that this army now shold be sent forth; and in case he might be reserved till the next yere, and wolde be content to reserve him self till that tyme, then this expedicion now sholde not be sett foorth, but all thinges dyffered till the next yere for the grete enterprice. And thoughe that wee woulde not graunte expreselye to this condicion, as wee might not, yet they seid that their intent was to conclude the expedicion of this yere under the said condicion, and not otherwise; and so thEmperour wolde wryte to his Ambassadour, that otherwise this enterprise sholde not be sett foorth; and if the Kinges Grace have not suer knowlege of the determynacion of Monsr de *Bourbon* before thende of Julye, they will not binde the Kinges Highnes to transporte anie armye this yere. And uppon this condicion they rest; and though wee perceave yet no preparations, yet notwithstandinge they have assueredly promysed to put all thinges withoute faile in a reddines to entre into Guyen the 20th daie of August, of which thEmperour hath asseured us also of his honour there shalbe no faile. And, Sir, wee concluded with them to be in the enemyes grounde the 20th daie of Auguste, bycause they woulde have a certen daie appointed, the which is accordinge to tharticles also that were afore, that if the Kinges Grace be advertysed before thend of Julye, then tharmye sholde be at Callice before the 16th daie of August, and within 5 daies at Margesyn shold mete with thEmperours armye. And because wee thought the Kinges Grace coulde have no worde now from us before the myddes of Julye, not yet they thought (wherupon they rest) that before that tyme the Kinge sholde have no worde of the mynde of Monsr de *Bourbon*, wee spake nothinge of the moneth of Julye, but omytted that parte of tharticle with them now with anie condicion. And, Sir, wee have concluded of the said *Bourbon*, wherfor the Kinges Highnes maie use his plesure, and take the said condicion to his advantage; for their myndes resteth only uppon the condicion of *Bourbon*, as before we have saide, they wolde differe the grete expedicion no longer then to the 25 yere.

The first daie of Julye wee were agein with them, and by cause that all the wrytinges were not yet fullye engrossed, we differred thexpedicion till the next daie, onlye receavinge their commyssion, and they likewise owrs. The same afternoon thEmperour sent for us, and saide that He undrestode wee had concluded with the seid personages for thenterprice of this yere, wherewith He was verrye well content. And then, Sir, He rehersed the condicion of Monsr de *Bourbon*, accordinge as before we have expressed, and that He wolde so write to his Ambassadour, and that He wold with diligens put everye thinge in a reddines for this enterprise; wherefor He hadde then present the Masters of his Finances, and for the beginninge He was sure of monney sufficient, and

so

so should not faile to have it from tyme to tyme as He should have nede: and of trewth, Sir, the Masters of his Finances were ther present. He said also that with spede his artillerye sholde be advaunced to the borders to be their in a reddynes. And the 2nd of Julye when wee hadde concluded signed and sealed tharticles for this present enterpryse, the Chaunceloar saide that thEmperour was content to renew tharticle of your Graces indempnite accordinge to the same signed with your Graces handes, to thintent that wee might wrytt to your Graces Ambassadour at Rome, that when they sholde perceave tyme and occasion with thEmperours Ambassadour ther, they myght communi consensu passe the matters according to their foorther instructions. Notwithstanding He saide He wolde differre the sendinge to Rome, till they might have suer newes of the *Duke of Bourbon*, that ther after thAmbassadours might have instructions to procede in the matter of the treugis.[1]

It is also brutyd here that in Fraunce ther be 6000 aventuriers abowght the countree of Langadokke, the whiche dothe robbe spoyle and borne at ther pleasour; and that lately an armie of 10000 or moo com agens them, and gave them batayll; of the which nombre, os it is seyd, the aventuriers slew many, and put the rest to flyght.

The 15 day, Sir, off this monith lettirs off warning be forth to all parties, to be present here all such personagis os be requirid for the Parliament, and then it schall begynne: and, os we think here, it schalbe kept; the which, os the Chauncellour seith, schalbe allso endyd within 15 or 16 days. Os knowith Our Lord, who preserve Your Grace in most prosperos helth and honour. At Wallydolyd, the 3 day of July.

Allso, Sir, I, Richard Jarnegan, according to your commaundement, have providyd 2 zabers.

Your most bowndyn with
all our service,
RICH: SAMPSON. RYCHARD JARNEGAN.

LVIII. WOLSEY *to* SAMPSON *and* JERNIGAM.[2]

MASTER SAMPSON and Master Jernyngham, I commende me unto you in my right herty maner. Sens the arrival here of Mr Boleyn, by whom the Kinges Grace hathe ben advertised of the state wherin thEmperours matiers and

[1] Another copy in the Harleian, No. 297. fo. 89. also ends here.
[2] This is very incorrectly printed by Galt, Appendix, lxxii.

affaires

affaires stode at his departing, is also commyn hither Mons[r] de Bewarayn, sent by the said Emperour with letters to the Kinges Grace and me, and also with two instruccions, oon concerning such matiers as he had to be spoken of here, and the other touching certein besynes to be by him don with the Duke of *Bourbon*[1], the effect of bothe whiche instructions wer taken oute and translated in to English, and the abstractes of the same for your better knowlege and understonding I send unto you herewith.[2] I receyved also by the said Beawarayn

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[1] In cypher.

[2] " The effect of the instructions geven by thEmperour to Mons[r] de Beawrayn touching such " matiers as be to be treated with Mons[r] de Burbon.

" The first article concerneth no thing to be don with the said Duke, onles then the Kinges Grace " wol contribute aswel to thentertaynement of the 500 men of armes and 10000 fotemen, as also to " susteyn and defende the same Duke against al persons, and conclude the common invasion.

" Secondly, that the Kinges Grace condescending, the Lorde Beawrayn shal treate with the said " Duke, aswel of his mariage, as of the said entertaynement, with the lest that can be either for " the charges of the armye for thEmperours parte or for the mariage or entertaynement.

" Item, in the same treatie to bynde the Duke that within 10 dais after the common armye arrived " in Fraunce he shalbe on the felde with the said nombre, declare hym self enemye of France, make " werre, and joyne with the said common armye.

" After the declaration, the somme of 200000 crounes of golde shalbe paid to the said Duke at " places and termes to be divised; and if they shalbe entertayned for long tyme, further assistence " shalbe geven unto hym at the common charges, and bondes to be made be lege reciproque, " offensive and defensive, to defend the said Duke against al persons, the paymentes to be made " by exchanges at the Dukes assignement.

" The common armye ons entred, the said Duke as often as shalbe nedeful shal receyve the same " in to his townes and places, and thider they shal retyre only in tyme of necessite, wher the Duke " shal cause them to be assisted, for ther money, of victailes and other necessaries.

" And, if it shalbe nedeful for the said Duke to withdrawe hymself with his people into the " Emperours or the Kinges countreys, his people shalbe in likewise receyved as theirs shulde be in " his countreys; and as for his person he shalbe intreated as he shal have cause to be contented.

" Item, after the said declaration, thEmperour and the Kinges Grace shal take no peax trieux " or appointment with the Frenche King, but that the said Duke be comprehended, and his landes " and seignioryes; for conservacion wherof they shal aide and assist hym, not suffring hym to be " oppressed or greved, asmoche as may be to them possible. And the semblable the Duke shall " promyse on his parte.

" Item, the said Lorde Beawrayn shal treate mariage to be had bitwene the said Duke and the " Quene of Portugale, so that if She consent not, it shalbe made with the Emperours sister the " Lady Katheryn, with divers articles concernyng that matier. The said conclusion taken, Beaw- " rayn shal aske the Dukes avice, in what parties it shalbe best the armyes entre France, and to " what townes they shal adresse them, and where he may best joyne with them, and howe the " Lordes of Fraunce may be drawen to his partie, as, the Duke of Lorayne, the Son of Albret, " Vandosme, Saint Poule, and other, and to knowe what meanes the said Duke must take for the " gouvernement of the common weale of the realme.

" Item for making capitulations, letters be sent to the President of Burgoyne, and Mons[r] Loys " Maranyes, oon of them faynyng to go to Saint Claude to go with hym, under colour to addresse " hym by the countrey of Bourgoyne.

" Dated at Valedolite, the 28th day of May, 1523."

" The

Beawarayn the letters of you, Mr Sampson, to me directed, the effect wherof I shewed unto the Kinges Grace, who, aswell for your diligent writinges at that tyme, as for other your former advertisementes, geveth unto you speciall thanckes, like as I do the semblable for my parte. And forasmoche as by the said 2 abstractes ye shall amply and fully understonde the charge, whiche was committed to Monsr de Beawarayn by the two instruccions, I shall therefore referre you therunto for your knowlege in that behalf; advertising you that inasmoche as the said Beawrayn myght not ne wolde make any maner abode here, saying that he must be with the said Duke at the place prefixed by the latter end of this moneth, a memorial therefore was geven unto hym

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" The effect of the instructions of Monsr de Beawrayn for suche thinges as he hathe to do " in England.

" First, to deliver letters of credence; to shewe of Graciens commyng from the Duke of Burbon; " the maner of his passage; and the charge that he brought.

" Secondely is rehersed the affeccion of the said Duke to serve the Kinges Grace and thEm- " perour; the refusaile of hym to be reconciled with the Frenche King; the necessite of the same " King; the myscontentement of his subgettes, with diverse other considerations moving thEm- " perour to condescende to the entertaynement of the said Duke, and desiring the King to do the " semblable; sending commission by the said Beawryn or some other with brefe expedicion.

" Thirdely is shewed the calling of thEmperours courtes against July, the new croysade with " the 4th parte of the profites of the benefices, the sale of the goods of the exceptes, with other " thinges whiche wol suffise to raise a good puissance to entre France, and that He hathe of ordy- " narie 17000 men of armes, 1000 light horsemen, 3000 Almayns, and hathe sent for 4000 moo, " besides fotemen Spanyardes and al suche horsemen as the grete men of Spayn wol bring: " exhorting the King in any wise to avaunce an armye, perticuler this somer, against Fraunce, and " promysing to do the semblable.

" And if the King wol contribute to the entertaynement of half the fotemen and artillarie of " thEmperours armye being in Italy, and that the appointement with the Venecians take effect, the " Emperour is content to contribute egally, and over that to support alone the charge of his folkes " of ordenaunce there, and to sende that armye in to France, being content to avaunce 100000 " ducates for his parte, so the Kinges Grace do the semblable, commytting a personage to employ " his money.

" And, after mencionyng diverse inconvenientes, whiche myght ensue, if the said armyes shuld " not be sent furthe, with rehersal of the daungier of the Turc the next yere in Italy; it is " desired that the said armyes may be redy to entre France by the first day of August, putting the " Kinges Grace in choice, whither He wol sende his armye by Pikardye or elleswhere, and pro- " mysing that thEmperours armye shal be sent on the cost of Spayn, where He shal thinke best to " endomage thenemyes, and assist the said Duke.

" And the Kinges Grace sending his armye by Pikardye, they shal for their money have vitailes " and other necessaries out of the Emperours countreys, asmoche as may be, where his men of " armes and ordenaunces of the garnisons of Flandres shal joyne with them, and shal help the " Kinges Grace to have horsmen of Cleveland, Julliers, and other, and fotemen Almayns, for his " money.

" And though overture wer made afore for armyes, conjoined or perticuler, the Emperour nowe " desireth they be perticuler, promysing that the 3000 men by see shal be sent by the myddes " of July.

" Dated at Valedolite, 28th of May, 1523."

of

of certein thinges whiche he shold do there on the Kinges behalf, til suche season as Doctour Knight, being in ambassiate with the Lady Margaret, and consequently wel forwarde on his way, myght with commyssion and instruccion sent unto hym in diligence repaire also to the same place, there to be present at the diet and treatie with the said Duke for the Kinges parte; which commission and instruccions, incontinently after the departure of the said Mons[r] de Beawrayn, were made and sent unto Doctour Knight; the copie wherof and also of the memorial in Latyn geven to Beawrayn[1] ye shal receyve at this tyme: so that by al the said copyes ye shal mowe knowe and understonde the hole

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[1] " Memoriale eorum, que Dominus de Beaureyn tractabit cum Illustrissimo Duce Burbonie pro " communi beneficio utriusque Majestatis.

" Inprimis, concluso matrimonio cum Sorore Cesaris, una cum reliquis condicionibus pro inter- " tenemento dicti Ducis et gencium suarum, dictus Dominus de Beaureyn instabit, quantum poterit, " quod declaracio dicti Ducis differetur usque ad personalem invasionem fiendam per utramque " Majestatem.

" Item, si non poterit dictus Dux induci ad dictam dilationem declarationis sue, sed quod necesse " est quod ista estate fiat invasio, et quod se declaret absque ulteriori dilatione, tunc et in eo casu " Dominus de Beaureyn, tanquam comunis consiliarius, prudenter et circumspecte investigabit, " qualis fructus istis Majestatibus, et quale detrimentum et dampnum communi hosti ex hoc succe- " dere posset. Et in ista parte debet attente advertere utrum per istam declarationem et invasionem " fiendas Rex Gallorum erit in periculo amissionis bone partis status sui, vel quod realiter debeat " citius per hoc induci ad honestas pacis sive induciarum condiciones.

" Item dictus Dominus de Beaureyn cum omni dexteritate debet investigare, utrum nobiles vel " major pars nobilium regni Franciæ, ipso declarante se inimicum Regi Gallorum, velint adherere " dicto Duci Burbonie, et eciam utrum dictus Dux habeat aliquam intelligenciam cum hijs qui in " presidijs castris villis et civitatibus presunt, sive in Normandia, sive in Guyenna, sive alibi " locorum in regno Francie, et quod possit eos trahere in devotionem Regis Anglie, ad tradendum " in manus suas aut locum tenentis sui ipsa loca quibus presunt, casu quo Rex Anglie per Nor- " mandiam vel Guyennam invadere velit.

" Item dictus Dominus de Beaureyn procurabit, quantum poterit, ut magna summa pecuniarum " non solvatur pre manibus; sed duntaxat immediate post declarationem, stipendium unius mensis " solvatur eidem, et sic postea de mense in mensem secundum numerum equitum et peditum, cum " quibus realiter geret bellum contra Regem Gallorum, et quod modus concipiatur pro certificatione " habenda de dictis gentibus.

" Item Dominus de Beaureyn, casu quo Rex Anglie contribuet pro parte sua pro dictis Duce et " gentibus intertenendis, omnino procurabit, quod dictus Dux Burbonie admittet dictum Regem " Anglie in suum supremum Dominum, tanquam verum et legitimum Regem Francie, astringendo " se juramento ad hoc faciendum.

" Item dictus Dominus de Beaureyn dicet ex parte Regis Anglie dicto Illustrissimo Domino Duci, " casu quo velit ipsum Regem in Dominum suum suppremum admittere, non solum habebit eum " in maxuma estimacione, sed etiam ita eum ad honores et possessiones promovebit, quod ipse et " omnes sui successores gaudebunt se habuisse et admisisse talem Regem; eruntque perpetuo " liberati a jugo servitutis, in quo nunc sunt.

" Item dictus Dominus de Beaureyn debet cum omni vigilancia advertere, ut per dictum tractatum " cum Duce Burbonie et obligacione pro defencione ipsius Ducis contra omnes gentes, et offensione " inimicorum suorum, iste Majestates non teneantur perpetuo stare in bello; et ne pretextu istius

hole proces of every thing whiche hathe been divised concluded and done by the Kinges Grace and his Counsail in this behalf, and howe redy and inclyned His Highnes is to every suche thing as may sounde to the furtheraunce benefite and advauncement of the common enterprises and affaires. And, in cace either the said Mons[r] de Beawrayn, or thEmperours Ambassadour[1] here resident, had had any commission and instruccion to have treated and concluded with the Kinges Grace, upon the nombre place tyme and other specialties concerning the avauncement of armyes on either syde against Fraunce this somer, and for putting over of the personal invasion, the same had also ben fully concluded and agreed. Nevertheles al possible diligence is used here for preparacion and putting every thing in perfite redynes, that shalbe requisite for the armye to be sente oute of this Realme in to Fraunce; so as, incontinently upon knowlege had from you, that the Emperour hathe concluded a treatie for that pourpose, and that ye see real and effectuel execucion of the same, and avauncement forwarde on that syde, the Kinges armye without tracte of tyme or delay shalbe in diligence transported, so to procede according to the convencions and agreementes, whiche shalbe passed by you in that behalf. Wherfore ye shal diligently procure and solicite thEmperour to accelerate his resolucion therin, if it be not done alredy, as I truste veraily it is before this tyme, and your letters depeched hitherward conteyning answere of the same; whiche for the more suerty ye may duplicate, so as for lak of knowlege from thens, if any mysaventure shulde happen to your first letters, the Kinges Grace shulde not remayne destitute and unpourveyed of an answer towching thEmperours mynde in the premisses, withoute whiche no fruteful thing except preparacion can be

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" tractatus non tam facile deveniant ad pacis sive induciarum tractatum, si eorum negocia pro " tempore id requirere poterunt.

" Item dictus Dominus de Beaureyn practicabit cum mercatoribus pro excambio pecuniarum " contribuendarum pro parte Regis Anglie, quid sit Regi Anglie solvendum pro eodem excambio, " de quo Reverendissimum Dominum Cardinalem statim certificabit.

" Item dictus Dominus de Beaureyn practicabit cum dicto Duce Burbonie pro interceptione sive " captione Regis Gallorum, sive in mascarijs, sive in venationibus privatis, vel alijs locis, ad que " Rex Gallorum cum parva comitiva se divertere consuevit.

" Item dictus Dominus de Beaureyn sic omnia cum dicto Duce prospiciet, quod nulla fraus per " ipsum Ducem dictis Majestatibus proveniat.

" Item prefatus Dominus de Beaureyn investigabit, quas practicas Rex Gallorum habeat contra " Cesarem et Regem Anglie, sive per terram, sive per mare, sive per Flandriam, sive per Scociam.

" Item prefatus Dominus de Beaureyn investigabit, ex qua parte Francie commodius ad nocu- " mentum communis hostis invasio invasio per Regem Angliæ fieri debeat.

" Item dictus Dominus de Beaureyn per postas cum omni celeritate, et in cifris, advisabit prefatum " Reverendissimum Dominum Cardinalem de singulis propositis et tractandis inter ipsum et dictum " Ducem."

[1] Lewis De Praet.

don,

don, either concernyng invasion to be made this yere as is aforesaid, ne also the effectuel execucion of the treatie to be passed with the said Duke. And what the Kinges Grace hathe resolved and don towching the charge of Beawrayn, ye, being nowe sufficiently instructed by the said copies, shal, with the Kinges most cordial and my moste humble recommendacions, shewe and declare unto the Emperour, with suche doubtful poyntes as concerne De la Mote, and other suspicions, which myght arrise in this matier; as the thing, whiche thoughe it be not veray apparant, yet the Kinges Grace, who tendreth the Emperours honour and weale asmoche as his awne, wolde not pretermyt to advertise His Majestie of any mater that myght be doubteful and daungerous unto his affaires.

Over this ye shal shewe unto the Emperour that, upon saulfeconduyte desyred by the King of Denmarke and to Him graunted, He, with the Quene his wife, and 100 persones in their company, be lately arryved here; whom the Kinges Grace, aswell for the honour of his Highnes and of this his Realme, as for the aliance whiche is with the said King by reason of the Quene his wife, hathe, for thEmperours and her love and honour, more then for any demonstracion of kyndenes hertofore shewed by the King of Denmarke towardes the Kinges Grace and this Realme, hathe receyved and entertayned in the best maner, at the Kinges charges and expences, from thair arrival at Calais forward: sens whose commyng to the Kinges presence at Grenewiche, where they were for a season loged and fested, and also sens their commyng to London, where they nowe be at Bathes Place, al at the Kinges coste as aforesaid, I have on the Kinges behalf had sundry communications with the said King of Denmarke uppon the cause and occasion of his commyng hither; perceyving in effect by Hym that the crowne of the realme of Denmarke is not descended unto Hym by rightful succession of enheritaunce, but by eleccion, as it hathe alwais ben accustumed; the prerogative and jurisdiccion of whiche eleccion resteth in certen spiritual persones of the same realme, who at the request of the late King of Denmark, fader to this man, passed the eleccion of Hym in his faders days to succede in the said kingdome after his tyme, with certen condicions wherunto they astringed and bounde hym; for the non observance and violacion wherof it shulde be liefull to the same elisours to departe from his obeisaunce. Whiche eleccion so passed, having the said old King of Denmark at that tyme an other son, and being this King at the tyme of his said eleccion but of seaven yeres of age, was by his fathers procuracion after the dethe of the said other son, newly ratified and confermed. Howe be it, the said King affermeth that the condicions were more straite, then had ben accustumed to be used in other Princes dayes, wherunto He in that

mynorite was nevertheles obliged and bounden; and that for suche matiers as the said elisours, with other his subgettes, do alledge against Hym, sounding to the rupture and breche, as they say, of the said condicions, albeit He was and is contented, if He can be founde defective in the same, to refourme and amende any thing by Hym passed; yet nevertheles partely by counsail of the Duke of Holston, and partely by the instigacion of the Stedes, enemys to the said King, the said elisours have abandonned Hym, and elected his Uncle the said Duke of Holston; who, with the puissaunce of his adherentes, so proceded againste the said King, that, if He had not fled with his wife and children, He and they shulde, as He saith, not oonly have ben put in daunger of their persones, but also He had loste his shippes ordenaunce goodes and substaunce. For which cause He withdrew Hym selfe firste towardes the Emperours said Lowe Countreys, and nowe in to England, to require demaunde and aske of the Emperour and the Kinges Grace, aswell helpe and assistence, as also advice and counsail. And this is the veray cause and maner of his repaire hither at this tyme. Whereupon the Kinges Highnes, for the nere conjunccion whiche the said King of Denmarke hathe with thEmperour by mariage of his Sister, who is a Princesse full of good vertues and maners, and whom the Kinges Grace, aswell for thEmperours sake, as for her noble qualities, right moche dothe tender and regarde, hathe at good lenght debated and divised upon this matier with me and other of his Counsail; to whom it is thought right strange that the King of Denmarke, having, as He affermethe, diverse other grete patromonyes countreys and places of his enheritance, and otherwise feithefull sure and true unto Hym, who wol at all tymes take his parte, and receyve and obey Hym as their Soverain Lorde, the names of whiche countreys and places be mencioned in a bill herin closed[1], wolde thus sodenly departe in to remote and straunge parties; whereby the more corage and boldnes myght be geven to his adversaries and enemys, bothe to persist in their displeasant myndes towardys Him, and also to provoke other of his loving subgettes to their devocion and partie; whereas by his presence and ostentacion of Hym self they myght percace, with good policye and aide of his loving subgettes, have ben the more facilly vaynquyshed and subdued, or at the lest induced to have chaunged their pourpose. For whiche cause, upon good deliberacion, and often communicacions by me had with the said King of Denmarke, I have avised and counsailed Hym in any wise to repayre again with diligence to suche of the said countreys and places, remaynyng in his obeissance, as He shal thinke expedient; making his demore and contynuance

[1] Not now with the Letter.

there

there for procuring and labouring suche thinges as may be most beneficial to the recovery of the good wylles and myndes of the said elisours, lordes, and subgettes of Denmarke, and the reconsiliation unto Hym of his enemyes: to the furtheraunce wherof it is thoughte that the Emperour, of good congruence and kyndenes, and the Kinges Grace for gratuite and love, shal put their handes by good mediacion, sending Ambassadours and letters bothe unto the said elisours, Duke of Holston, and other Lordes of Denmarke, whiche may labour them to resume and take again their said King, who is contented not oonly to refourme al suche thinges, if any be, as they thinke Hym to have done contrary to the said condicions; wherin the Kinges Grace wol take upon Hym and be bounde as his suertie that he shal so do; but also woll utterly remytt and forgeve any displeasure or attemptate, whiche they or other his subgettes have enterprised done or commytted against Hym in this his expulcion and newe eleccion. And furthermore meanes may be made to the said Stedes, who have grete privylages and liberties in the Emperours and Kinges regions, that, at their contemplacion, and for their sakes, they wol ceace from any hostilitie warre or rancour against the said King, and som amycable composicion to be made in the differences depending bitwene them. All whiche divice the Kinges Grace wol also cause his Ambassadours resident in the Courte of Rome to shewe unto the Poopes Holynes, to the intent that the same may also send his breves and writinges bothe to the said Duke of Holston, elisours, and other of Denmarke, and also the Stedes, for this purpose; with whiche Ambassadour expedient it shalbe that the Emperours Ambassadours do also joyne herin. So as it is verayly trusted that the Emperour putting his hande effectuelly herunto, as of reason and kyndnes He must nedys do, the proximitie of bloode and faire succession descended bitweene the said King and Quene considred, this matier may yet be reduced and brought, with labour helpe and policye, in to good trayn, and the said King, with Goddys grace, by loving and faire meanes restored to his kingdome withoute further violence werre or effusion of blood; whiche way is mete and expedient to be first attempted, and no further hostilitie to be raised or stired in Cristendome, if it be possible. Neverthelas, if the same shal in no wise do profite or availe unto Hym, but that the Danys and Stedes shal remayne obstynate and in pertynacite, without conformynge them self to good ordre and reason; then further direccion may be taken for assistence to be geven unto the said King, aswell by the Kinges Grace and the Emperour, as by suche other Princes of Almayn and elleswhere, as be his confederates lovers and frendes. Wherefore ye, shewing and declaring the premisses unto thEmperour, shal procure and solicite the spedy depeche of suche personages and writinges, as He wol sende

sende for this pourpose, with commaundement to be geven to his Oratour at Rome to joyne with the Kinges Ambassadour as is aforsaid; in whiche meane tyme as moche shalbe done by the Kinges Grace, as may be possible. For it is a thing ferre discrepant from good ordre reason or congruence, that a Prince shal thus by the wilfulnes of his Lordes and Commons be expelled and put from his Croun upon any greves by them pretended; specially not being the matiers firste shewed and objected unto Hym, and his aunswer herd upon the same. Ascertayning you that the said King, accepting merveilouse thankfully and in good parte this good avice and counsail, the circumstaunces wherof I have caused to be put in articles in Latyn[1], whiche he singulerly liketh, is mynded within four or fyve dais to departe with the Quene his wife towardes Flaundres, where his shippes be in rigging, so to procede further accourding to the said divice. Praying you therfore to ascertain me of the Emperours answer and resolucion herin, and in all other the premisses, with diligence, as the Kinges speciall trust is in you.

Post scripta. Letters be arrived, aswell from the Bishop of Bathe being the Kinges Ambassadour at Rome, dated there the 3de day of the laste moneth, as also from Mr Pace dated at Venece the fyft day of the same, the copies of whiche letters[2] for your better knowlege and informacion I sende you with these presentes; be tenour wherof ye shal amonges other thinges perceyve, howe uppon the attachement of the Cardinal Sodorino the Frenche King hathe revoked his Ambassadours, which were on their way towardes the Poopes Holynes, and that in the Courte of Rome is neither commyssion ne person deputed for the seid Frenche King, to treate either of peax or trieux; so as there is no maner likelihode apparance or towardnes that any thing may or shal at this tyme be further don therin, or that thEmperour and the Kinges Grace shulde grounde or establish their common matiers therupon, but substancially to forsee and provyde for al suche thinges as may concerne the most effectuall annoyaunce of the common enemye. Ye shal furthermore perceyve by the said copies, what expectacion is to be had of the Poopes Holynes, Who in nowise wolbe induced to condescende unto any treatie offensyve against Fraunce; respiting also, upon the successes of the affaires at Venece, to declare and shewe his resolute mynde touching his entre in to a liege defensive, which wol be the most that He can be induced unto, and that not without difficultie. For which cause expedient it shalbe that the King and thEmperour, withoute forther delaye or tracte of tyme, do with diligence furnyshe provyde and loke

[1] Not to be found.

[2] Neither of these is to be found.

unto

unto their besynes, and in suche wise to prece the Frenche King ernestly, and not with smal prikkinges, which as it appereth He dothe little esteeme, that He may be constrayned and enforced otherwise to knowe Hym self, then hytherto He dothe begynne. In whiche matier ye shal declare and shewe unto the Emperour the Kinges opinion, consisting in 2 material poyntes. The firste and grettest thing considered by His Grace and his Counsail is, that remembring the untowardnes and obstynacie of the seid Frenche King, it is nowe thoughte expedient, by al the meanes and wayes possible, to accelerate the personal invasion, and for that purpose to divise howe in any wise it may be feysible, aswell by forbering and sparing other particuler charges, whiche myght sounde to the delaye or empechement therof, as otherwise. For better it shalbe oons to annoye the common enemye with grete puissances, whiche He shold not be able to resiste, wherby He may be dryven to offre and comme unto reasonable and honourable condicions, then this in dryving the tyme by litel and litel to wast and consume treasour, and in conclusion no good effect to come therof. Wherfore, if the Emperour and the Kinges Grace myght be furnyshed with money treasure and other requisites for a mayn and grete invasion to be made in their oun persons, the soner the same wer don and put in execucion, the rather the common enemye should be broughte and compelled therby to speke of an other tune, and percace some grete and notable victorye myght therof ensue to their grete honour and profittes. Neverthelas, if for lacke of furnyture of money and treasour thEmperour and the Kinges Grace shuld not mowe do the same in their oune persons the next somer, ne the yere then folowing, by whiche tyme it shalbe seen what the Frenche King wol further do touching peax, then it is thoughte a way myght be taken for making of an expedicion by lieutenantes, the same to invade in suche places, taking the yere bifore them, and with such force and puissaunce, as some notable effect myght ensue therof, and thenemy enforced to knowlege hym self. The debating and divising of whiche matier, by common consent, myght in the residue of this somer and the next wynter be practised commoned and concluded, so that at the begynnyng of the next yere the same myght be executed accordingly; whiche is thoughte a more discrete and prudent way, and better effect shal ensue therof, then to differre the enterprises til the somer be almost spent, as hathe ben this present yere. And, as they shal and may be furnyshed of money on bothe sides for the perfourmaunce of the premysses, either for invasions in person or by lieutenauntes, necessary shal it be that mutuel frank and playne advertisement be made therof from tyme to tyme, to thintente that every thing may procede to the honour of bothe Prynces, annoyance of the common enemye, and eschewing of superfluous and vayne expences as shal appertayn.

appertayn. For by suche drybbing warre, as hit hitherto hathe ben made by the said Princes, the common enemye is rather exalted, contempnyng, and lytel or nothing regarding them, then driven to knowlege Hym self, or comme to honest condicions of trieux or peax: desyring the contynuance of warre in suche maner, rather then otherwise; supposing therby that the said Princes shalbe empoverished, and He litel or nothing dammaged or annoyed. And in cace thEmperour and the Kinges Grace can not be furnyshed, neither to invade in their persons, ner by their lieutenantes as above, wherin playnes owethe to be used, and al dissimulacion or conceylement layde aparte, then by mutuel counsail it must be devised, howe and by what good meanes they may come to an honourable peax; for thus to stonde and contynue so long in warre, withoute doing any notable domage to thenemye, can neither be to their honours, nor endured by their realmes and subgettes.

The other matier, whiche the Kinges Grace and his Counsail have special respect unto, is this: ye knowe the ful resolucion of His Grace, towching suche thinges as be to be done this yere; for the aunswere whereof, and knowlege of thEmperours mynde in the same, His Highnes loketh to be advertised with suche diligence, that having on monethes respite, after the tyme of the said aunswere, to assemble and transporte his armye, the same may be entered in to the enemyes countreys by the myddes of August at the furthest. For as the Emperour may wel considre, if for lacke of suche knowlege in tyme, the hole moneth of August shuld peraventure expire, before the Kinges armye myght be in the feld, rayny wedre then in Septembre dailly commyng on, and the armye intended to be sent unto Boleyn, as ye wel knowe, it shuld not be possible either for the shortnes of tyme to do any good there, or also in that fowle and wete countrey to convey bak again the artillarye and ordenaunce, wherof consequently shuld ensue non other but wast, and expences of money, losse of thartillarye, and grete dishonour. For whiche cause the Kinges pleasure is that ye, shewyng the premisses to thEmperour, do substancially note, whither aswel the armyes to be prepared on that syde may be avaunced and entred in to the Frenche Kinges countreys bifore or by the said myddes of August at the furthest, as also that your advertisement of the same may comme in suche tyme as the Kinges armye, with the said on monthes warnyng, may do the semblable on this side. In whiche cace the Kinges Grace is and wol be right wel contented to folowe and perfourme the divice and communication had therupon, for execution wherof no thing in the meane tyme is here pretermytted. Neverthelas, if either thEmperours armyes can not be so sone redy in those parties, or that his resolucion be not so sone taken sent and here arrived, that with the said on monethes warnyng the Kinges armye and

and the other assistence to be sent unto them out of thEmperours Lowe Contreys, may be redy in the feld by the myddes of August, whiche is asmoche or more necessary to be done by that tyme here, then on that syde, the strenght of the countrey and the grete ordenaunce requisite to be caryed consydered; then it is thought unto the Kinges Grace and his Counsail, that better it were to leve and forbere the sending of any suche armyes this somer, and to spare the money that shold be spent in the same for the said personal invasion, then oute of tyme to avaunce them, and with losse reproche and dammage to retourne. And in the meane tyme thEmperour and the Kinges Grace, stonding in mere termes of defence, and providing sufficiently, aswel for furniture of their townes fortresses and places, as for garding of the sees with som good and mete shippes, that is to say, the Emperour from the trade alonges the coast of Spayn, and the King from the trade hither, and so to the coast of Flaundres, and they to loke there to the garding of the said quarters, sure They may be, that not oonly their countreys and subgettes shalbe wel defended, and with smal charges in comparison of the other, but also the common enemye in the mean season the more weryde fatigate and empoveryshed, wherby at the tyme of the said personal invasion they shuld be of moche the better strenght and habilite to maynteyn them self for a grete space, whiche is requisite to be done, if any frute or good effect shal ensue thereof, and to begynne in the latter ende of the yere, when no tarying or abode may be to do any effectual annoyance unto thennemye. And, if percace it myght be thought that this tyme were most opportune and convenyent, by reason of the matier of the Duke of *Bourbon*[1], I doubte not but by the tyme that the Emperour and his Counsail shal have groundely pondred and noted the difficulties conteyned byfore in thise my present letters, whiche peraventure were not thought upon, it shal appere that there is not like to growe so grete benefite or commodite therof as was estemed. I require you therefore circumspectly and discretely to handle this matier with thEmperour, taking suche direction by your prudent demonstracions to be made unto Hym herin, that neither the tyme in making thise sobre warres against thenemye be thus lenger consumed, but that, by avauncement of the said personal invasion this next yere, He may be ernestly handled as is aforesaid, ne also that the enterprises to be don this somer be so lately by you there concluded, that for lak of knowlege in the tyme before lymyted the Kinges Grace be dryven to avaunce his armye and people, spend his money and tyme in vayn, and consequently no

[1] In cypher.

 good

good done, but rather reproche losse and dammage to be susteyned. And of thEmperours resolucion in al and singuler the premysses, with suche other knowlege and successes as shall occurre in the meane season, I praye you diligently to advertise me from tyme to tyme, as the Kinges Grace specially trustith you.

And, where in sundry former letters and instruccions geven unto M^r^. Boleyn and you, M^r^. Sampson, ye were commaunded to solicite and procure the spedy sending in to thise Narowe Sees of an armye of thre thousand men, whiche thinge the Kinges Grace moved and desyred oonly by cause at that tyme the Frenche King prepared a grete and puissante armye to have ben set to the see, intending, if He myght, to have bene lorde of the same: inasmoche as the same Frenche King, upon knowlege had of the Kinges armye by see put in redynes, whiche He sawe wel He was not able to countervaile, hath nowe lefte of the setting forthe and avauncement of his said grete armye, not being mynded, as ferre as the Kinges Grace can perceyve, to sende oute the same this yere; the Kinges Highnes therfore, having as grete respect to the saving of the Emperours charges as of his oune, and rather more, being mynded to further every thing that may be to the dyminicion of the said charges, so as therby They may be the more able to make the said personal invasion, willeth that ye shal shewe unto His Majeste that, for the said consideracions, He shal not nede to put Hym self to charge at this tyme for sending of the said 3000 men, but oonly to provide for the garding of those sees from the trade along the cost of Spayn, as is aforesaid, so as the merchauntes and subgettes of bothe Princes, and other their fryndes, may passe to and from oute of daungier as shall apperteyn. And hertily fare ye wel. At my place besides Westminster, the thirde day of July.

(*Signed*) Yo͠ lovyng frende,

T. Car^lis^. Ebor̃.

(*Superscribed*)

To my loving frendes, M^r^. Richard Sampson, Deane of the Kinges Chapel, and Sir Richard Jernyngham, Knight, the Kinges Counsaillours and Ambassadours [*with the E*]mperour.

LIX. A memoriall by way of instruction of suche thinges as Sir John Russell, Knight, hathe to be saide and done with the Duke of Burbon on the Kinges behalve.[1]

Furst, after the deliverye of the Kinges letters, and herty recommendacions to hym made, the said Sir John Russell shall saye that, aswell by letters received from Monsr de Bewrayn, as by the credence of his Secretary Chastean berer therof, the Kinges Highnes hathe perceyved and understonden that certain articles of convencion and agrement been lately passed and concluded bitweene the said Beawryn in thEmperours name and the said Duke, aswell concernyng mariage, as also werre, offensive and defensive, to be made against the Frenshe King, according to a memoriall by theym bothe passed of the said articles, the copye whereof the said Beawrayn sent unto the Kinges Grace. His Highnes hathe also perceyved that, at the tyme of communicacion and conclusion of the said articles, the Ambassadour, whom His Grace had sufficiently auctorised and instructed semblably to commyn and conclude with the said Duke for the Kinges partie, aswell for daungier of the waye as otherwise, coulde not be, ne was, present at the same. Wherfore the Kinges Highnes is right sory. Nevertheles, for the greate love and favour, whiche His Grace berith to the said Duke, and for the speedy avauncement and furtheraunce of the entreprises intended against the commyn enemy, His Grace hathe of newe depeched and sente in habite dissimuled, with all possible diligence, his said trusty servaunt, furnished and auctorised with large and ample commission to conclude and passe certain articles and convencions on the Kinges behalf with the said Duke, sounding to the perfeccion and accompleshment of thair commyn enterprises. And at this poynt the said Sir John Russell shall here and note, what aunswer the Duke shall make unto hym in this behalve; whiche done, he shall procede in exhibicion and shewing of the articles divised on the Kinges partye. And first he shall shewe unto the said Duke the paper of articles signed by the Kinges hande, wherin is mencioned and conteyned non excepcion ne relacion to thEmperour touching the acceptation of the Kinges Grace by the said Duke as his naturall and soverain liege Lord, whiche paper hathe on the bak side of it this marke [2]; shewing unto the said Duke

[1] See Russell's Commission, dated the 2d of August, Vitellius, B. V. leaf 197. There are copies of these instructions in Vespasian, C. II. leaf 66, and Harleian, No. 297. p. 74.

[2] The paper is torn in the minute remaining in the State Paper Office, and no blank is left in either of the copies in the Museum.

that those articles have been here cowched and divised as nygh as might be according to suche wordes and clauses as be already passed bitweene the Emperour and hym in suche thinges as concerne the common affaire. And, as for the particularites, ther is nothing mencyoned or put therin, but that whiche of reason and necessite is requisite to be concluded, and suche as the Secretary of the said Monsr de Beawrayn hathe bene privey unto, and by vertue of his credence undertaken shulde content the said Duke; according to the effecte of whiche articles the said Sir John Russell shall offre, by vertue of his commission, to conclude with hym: and not oonly to deliver unto hym, in the Kinges name, the paper before mencioned, signed with the Kinges hande, making othe on the behalf of His Grace for perfourmance of all and singuler the contentes of the same, but also to receyve of hym a semblable boke of like articles, signed and subscribed by hym, and to take also his othe for the assured performance therof accordingly: ascerteynyng the said Duke that, the brevite of tyme considered, with the season of the yere nowe almost expired and passed, remembring also the difficultie and impossibilitie to be surely furnished and provided of vitailes for an armye to descende into Normandye, and that neither horsemen can be levyed in England in so breve tyme, ne the horsemen of Flaunders transported in season to joyne with the Kinges fotemen there, by reason whereof the enterprise of Normandy is in no wise faisible this somer; it is thought therfore unto the Kinges Grace that, if it might so have stonden with the said Dukes commodytie to have respited and put over this matier til the next somer, the Kinges Highnes wold not have failled either to have descended in his own Person, or by his Lieutenant, in Normandye, with a puissant armye of horsemen and fotemen, trusting to have don than moche greatter and more honerable feates, than nowe, the wynter approchyng, can be accheved.

Neverthelas, inasmoche as the Kinges Highnes perceyveth that, for the daungiers whiche might ensue unto the said Duke, this matier may be no lenger respited or differred, but that it must be perfyted and done at this tyme without further delaye, the Kinges Grace, having singuler mynde to the weale tuycion and suertye of the same Duke, is contented for his sake to sende a puissant armye at this tyme into Pykardye, according to suche ordre as is conteyned in a bill of articles signed with the Kinges hande, divised to be concluded and passed bitwene the Kinges Grace and the said Duke. Wherupon the same Sir John Russell shall offre to delyvre the said paper of articles marked as affore, receyving semblable of the Duke, with alternate othes to be made, as is afforesaid.

And in cace the said Duke, making difficultye to recognise the Kinges Grace

Grace as his naturall and soverain liege Lord, shall refuse to passe and conclude the articles in that matier, than the said Sir John Russell shall instantely move and persuade him therunto, alleging and shewing that it shall stonde muche with the conservation of his honnour so to do, considring that by the same he shall departe from no fidelite that he berith unto the Crowne of Fraunce, but rather have therby more reasonable grounde to procede unto his enterprise. And sure he may be, that he shall fynde the Kinges Highnes so liberal gracious and loving unto hym, that he shall have cause to be joyews and glad that ever he did service or came into the subjeccion of so noble a Prince. Howbeit, if in no wise the said Duke wol agre therunto, than the said Sir John Russell shall saye that the Kinges Highnes, not doubting but that upon the contynuance of this intelligence more perfite and assured love shalbe daillye increaced bitwene theym to thair bothe weales and contentacions, and not willing the said Dukes affaire to be totally empeched for any particular difficultye, whiche herafter may be remedyed, is contented with suche resolucion as the said Duke hathe taken in this behalve by his answer made to Mons[r] de Beawrayn, that is to saye, this point only to be remitted unto that whiche thEmperour shall ordeyn. And for that cause His Highnes, for the more assured conclusyon of this matier, hathe passed a boke of articles, wherin the clause touching suche recognicion is qualifyed according to the mynde and answer of the said Duke, specyfyed in the articles passed with thEmperour. Wherupon, reserving unto hym self the said paper of articles first before mencioned, the said Sir John Russell shall shewe unto the said Duke that other paper signed with the Kinges hande, offering to make delivere therof unto hym in the Kinges name, receyving a semblable by the said Duke signed for his partye, with othes to be made by theym bothe for accomplishment of the same, as is aforesaid.

After whiche matiers perfited and passed, the said Sir John Russell shall not only desire the said Duke to sende incontinently to his frendes and servauntes in Pykardye for thair favour helpe and counsail to be geven unto the Kinges armye appointed to discende there, aswell for thair victailling as otherwise, but also to geve unto His Highnes his best counsail and avice, what exploictes or enterprises by siege or other maner shalbe best and most beneficial for the Kinges said armye to attempt in the countrey of Pycardye, and what places he supposeth there most preinable, or facile to be had; semblably, whither he have any intelligence in those parties, and with whom; and further by what waye or meanes he intendith to joyne with the Kinges armye, in cace the Frenche King shal attempt to geve theym batell; to thintent that, those matiers perfytely known, every thing may the more prousperously succede to the honour weale and furtherance of the said enterprises.

Fynally,

Fynally, the said Sir John Russell shall inquire of the said Duke, in what places and bankes the somme of 100000 corones, to be avaunced of the Kinges partye, shall best and most to his commodyte be made by exchange, and howe and by what meanes the same may come to be payde ther unto the handes of the said Sir John Russell, or suche other as the Kinges Grace shall apoint to have the oversight and order of payment of the Lanceknyghtes for the Kinges partye. And of the said Dukes answer therin he shall advertise the Kinges Grace, with all other resolucions and successes of this affaire, and such other newes as shall come to his knowlaige in all possible diligence, to thentent the Kinges Grace may ordre every thing on this side accordingly.

Ascerteynyng the said Duke that the Kinges Highnes, not abiding any answer either from hym or from thEmperor towching this matier, dothe, upon the reaport and relacion made by the letters of the said Monsr. de Beawrayn, and the credence declared by the said Chasten, not only prepare and put in redynes a great and puyssant armye of noble elect and chossen persons, with artillary and all other requisites, but also woll undoubtedly transport the same in such spede, God willing, that they shalbe at the towne of Calaies by the last day of this instant moneth, wherunto the said Duke may and shall assurydly trust; putting therfore every thing for his partye in perfyte redynes, so as the common enterprises, diligently and effectuelly folowed, may succede, to the honour of the Princes, thair weale and suertye, and to the vaynquishing and endomaging of the enemyes according to the singuler and speciall trust, which the Kinges Grace hathe conceyved and taken in the said Duke, and as His Highnes shall do for his partye.

Over this the said Sir John Russell, passing by the Lady Margaret, shall make unto her the Kinges most herty recommendations, to whom he shall also delyver the letters of credence of the Most Reverende Fadre in God the Lorde Legate, to her addressed, with his semblable recommendations, saying that he hathe expresse charge and commaundment of the Kinges Highnes and the said Lord Legate to declare and shewe unto her the hole contentes of his charge, whiche he shall do accordingly; and the same done, he shall on the Kinges behalve ascertain her, that the armye of His Grace shall undoubtedly, God willing, be at Calaies redy to avaunce forwarde by the 25th day of this instant moneth. For whiche cause the Kinges Highnes instantely desireth her in any wise so to ordre and dispose her affaires, that the 3000 horsemen and 3000 fotemen, to be sent for thEmperours partye, may be in perfyte redynes assurydly to joyne with the Kinges armye at the same tyme without any delaye, in avoiding the great losse of tyme, to the totall empechement and hindrance of the common enterprises.

LX. WOLSEY *to* SAMPSON, &c.

MAISTER SAMPSON and Maister Jernyngham, I commende me unto you in my right harty maner. Ascerteynyng you that it is not a litle to the Kynges mervaile and myne, that, sens the letters receyved mencionyng the arrival of you, Sir Richard Jernegan, in the courte of Spayne, no maner worde letters ne knowlege hath been had from eyther of you both: wherby the Kinges Grace is in greate incerteynte, howe to ordre and dispose his affaires on this side, as ye may well knowe; and moche the more, by reason that Monsr. de Beaureyn was sent by this way unto the Duc of Burbon, for treatie and conclusion of the matiers whiche ye be privie of; for avauncement wherof the Kinges Grace also sent his trusty counsaillour D^{r}. Knyght from the Lady Margarets Courte, in habite dissimuled, with instructions and commissions to have made like conclusion with the said Duc. Neverthelesse, by reason of sekenes reignyng in Burgus, the said De Beaureyn was fayne to passe alone 40 myles within Fraunce, where the articles were passed with the said Duc, like as by the copie of his letter to me sent, and also of the same articles, beyng herin closed[1], ye shal perceyve at large. Whereupon the Kinges Grace hath also sent his servaunte, Sir John Russell Knyght, with certayn other articles confourmable in maner to the other divised to be passed betwene the Kinges Grace and the said Duke; like as by the copie of Russellis instruccions and of the same articles, whiche I also sende you herewith, ye may perceyve at length.

And, albeit the Kinges Highnes hath no maner worde or knowlege of thEmperours intente and conclusion, eyther touching the charge of you, Sir Richard Jernegan, or what shalbe done on his partie in the affair of the said Duc, and that also newes be commen hither that Beaureyn hath of long season demored at Jeanes upon his passage; yet neverthelesse, for the singuler affection which the Kinges Grace hath unto the avauncement of all thEmperours causes and matiers, specially considerynge that the French Kyng, as it is writen from Rome and dyverse other parties, intendith this somer to attempte the recoverie of Millayn, hath upon special trust of the Emperours preparacions made on that syde, put a puyssant armye in such aredynes, which is now in settyng forward, that, with Goddes grace, the same shalbe at Calais by the 25th day of this moneth, so to passe into Picardy, and to joyne with the nombre to be prepared by my Lady Margaret on that syde, to do such honourable exploytes as I trust shall comme to good effect; for, the brevitie of the tyme

[1] There is no trace of these documents.

considered,

considered, it was not possible to furnishe horsemen shipping and vitailes to passe into Normandie. Wherfor, seyng that the Kinges Grace thus frankely liberally and lovingly procedith on his partie, onely upon truste of the Emperours doyng the semblable, ye shall, on the behalf of His Grace, desire the said Emperour not to pretermyt this grete oportunite and occasion, wherof the like shall never folow, aswel for his honour and the suretie of the state of Italy, as for wynnyng of Langedok, and other annoyance of the common enemye. Of which matiers, beyng this berer Maister Hannybal redy to depart[1], I thought convenient tadvertise you in fewe wordes; desiryng you to call upon these matiers, and to loke substancially therunto, as ye may and shall perceyve, by the said copies, the importance therof necessaryly to require.

And, to thintent ye may undirstand such newes as be sent hither oute of Italy, I sende unto you herewith a copie of certeyn letters written to me from Maister Michael concerning the disposicion and inclinacion of the Swices, with other newes occurrent in those parties; ascerteyning you, that as yet I cannot here of any resolucion taken by the Venecians, but that they remayne in suspence as by the said copies ye shall perceyve more at large. Now ye perceyve the grete importance of these matiers, I pray you to solicite the substanciall orderyng therof on that syde, according to the speciall truste and confidence which the Kinges Grace hath in you. And thus hartely fare ye well. At my place besides Westminster, the 10th day of August.

(*Signed*) Yō lovyng frende,

T. Carlis Eboñ.

(*Superscribed*)

To my loving friendes Mr Doctor Sampson, Dean of the Kynges Chapel, Sir Richard Jernegan Knyght, the Kynges Ambassadours to the Emperours Magestie, [*to both*]e, and to either [*of them*].

LXI. Wolsey *to* Sampson, &c.[2]

Master Sampson and Mr. Jernyngham, I commende me unto you in my right hertye maner. And have not oonly receyved your letters to me directed, dated at Valadolite the 3rd day of July, but also have seen your other letters of

[1] By his letter from Rome of the 11th of June he declares his intention of going home, as soon as he should have brought Wolsey's causes to good effect. Vitellius, B. V. leaf 192. By the letter from Rome of the 14th of September (post, p. 175.) it appears that Hannibal was there on that day, so that his destination to Spain must have been altered.

[2] Incorrectly printed by Fiddes, Collections, p. 135.

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the same date addressed to the Kinges Highnes, togidre with the originall treatie by you lately passed there with thEmperours Commissioners for suche enterprises as be to be made this somer against Fraunce; perceyving also by your said letters the discourse ordre and forme, whiche hathe been used and observed with you sens the arrival of you, Sir Richard Jernyngham, to the Court, and the maner of declaracion of your charge unto thEmperour, with the aunswers debatinges and final resolutions made had and taken upon the same, the circumstance wherof the Kinges Grace and I like verray well, and aswell for your good indevours used therein as for spedy advertisement of the same, though your servaunte by contrariete of wynde and other impedimentes was verray long in his jorney, the Kinges Highnes and I bothe geve unto you good thankes.

And albeit that by myn other letters lately to you directed, whiche I truste be commyn to your handes long bifore this tyme, I did advertise you of the matiers here at that tyme occurrant, namely of the arrival here of the Lord Beawrayn, with the specialties of his charge, of his departure towardes [1], and of the answer had from hym of suche articles and convencions as he had concluded with the said Duke, the copies wherof I sent unto you at that tyme, with the copies also of instruccions and articles geven unto Sir John Russell to be concluded with the said Duke on the Kinges behalve, who is contented to contribute the somme of 100000 crounes for entertaynment of the 10000 Almayns which shalbe sent by Don Fernando to the same Duke: shewing unto you furthermore that, considring the weighty importance of that matier, with the goodly commoditie and oportunitie nowe geven unto the King and thEmperour, the semblable wherof is never like to ensue again, if the same be nowe pretermytted: albeit His Grace at that tyme had no maner of knowlaige of the said treatye by you passed with thEmperours Commissioners, yet for the singuler and tendre mynde whiche His Highnes alwaies bereth towardes the furtherance and avauncement of the common affaires, His Grace, abiding non answer from you of your said charge, did with all possible diligence put in redynes a myghty and puissant armye, whiche by the 25th day of this moneth shulde be at Calaies, so to joyne nere upon the marches of the same with 3000 horsemen and 3000 fotemen to be appointed by the Lady Margaret on thEmperours behalf, and from thens to passe unto the siege of Boleyn, as in my former letters and copies was mencioned and specified more at large. Yet neverthelas, to thentent that thEmperour may be from tyme to tyme advertised of the successes in this great and weighty affaire, wherby His

[1] Blank in the original.

Majestye, having knowlaige therof, may the better knowe howe to ordre his matiers on that side for his partie, I ascertain you, that, insuyng the deliberacion and determinacion taken as afore, the Kinges Grace hathe levied a puissant armye of as tal active and elect persones, with as expert and good capitains, as hathe passed oute of this Realme at any tyme this 100 yeres; whiche armye, largely furnished and pourveyed of ordenaunces artillarye and other abilyamentes of werre, and semblably of vitailes in sufficient quantite, is commytted unto the governaunce and leding of the Kinges entierly beloved Cousin and Counsaillour the Duke of Suffolk, being His Graces Lieutenaunt General of the same. In whose company be also assigned diverse Lordes and other discrete and experte counsaillours and capitains, as the Lordes Mountjoy, Mountague, Ferrers, Sandes, Berkeley, Herbert, Curson, Sir Richard Wyngfelde, Sir Andrewe Wyndessour, Sir John Vere, Sir William Skevington, Sir Richard Weston, Sir Edward Guldeford, Sir William Kingeston, the Lord Cobhams son, the Lord Fitzwarens son, Sir Anthony Wingfeld, Sir William Sidney, Sir Geffray Gates, Sir Richard Cornewalle, Sir William Courtney, Sir Giles Strangwish, Sir Edward Digby, Sir Edward Nevell, Sir John Willoughby brother to the Lord Willoughbye, Sir Henry Owen, Sir Anthony Browne, Sir Edmond Bray, Sir Griffith Done, and many other, besides diverse other good capitains being in the Kinges crewes at Calaies and Guysnes, whiche with thair nombers shall also joyne with the Kinges said armye; and, according to my former letters, such extreme diligence with great studye labour travaile and payne hathe been made, that not only the said Duke of Suffolk was transported and arrived at Calaies the 24th day of this instant moneth, but also the said capitains and his hole armye, with the ordenaunces vitailes bagages and other requisites whiche shulde be sent from hens, were before hym, and sens his departure also, transported and passed and remain nowe at Calaies, oonly for the horsemen and fotemen that shulde come from the Lady Margaret, and for suche cariages and draughtes as, at the Kinges cost, be provided in thEmperours Lowe Countries; whiche, God willing, shalbe at Calaies holy and entierly by the last day of this moneth, on whiche day the said Duke intendeth to set furthe on his jorney; trusting that by the grace of Almighty God, and the good hertes inclinacion and corage that his people be in, with suche notable provisions as be made, there shalbe a large assaye made to attayn thair purpose; wherin I pray God to send theym good spede. Wherfore, in asmoche as this matier is so fer set furthe with effect on the Kinges partie, His Grace doubteth not but that, aswell ensuyng the tenour of the said newe treatie, as for taking the occasion of the said Duke, thEmperour also hathe really and actually sent and avaunced his puissant armye on that syde into Guyen, the diligent proceding

proceding wherof to the most damaging and annoyance of thenemye ye must instantly procure solicite and cal upon; so as the same enemye, nowe ernestly preced on bothe parties, may thereby be compelled to divide his power, whiche by that meane shalbe of les abilite to make resistence on either syde, and consequently the affaire of the said Duke well sett furthe, as the Kinges Grace trustith it shalbe, ther shall, God willing, appere in breve tyme high and notable effect to ensue of this enterprise, to thEmperours and the Kinges great honnour and reputacion, the singuler benefite and avauntage of thair commyn causes, and the repressing of the said enemye being the disturbar of the quyete and tranquillite of Cristendome. And moche the rather this matier oweth nowe to be effectuelly folowed, for that Almighty God hathe, after the long werres discordes and discencyons whiche hathe ben in Italye to the great daungier of the same, put into the hertes and myndes, aswel of the Popes Holynes, as of the Venecians and al other Princes and potentates of Italye, to unite and knyt theym selfes to gedre in oone conformyte; like as I doubt not but that thEmperour is largely and specially advertised from his Ambassadours, bifore this tyme, aswell of the treatye concluded at Venece, as of the other passed at Rome; whiche thinges, concurrant so well to gedre, must nedes geve the more occasion to thEmperour not to slouthe any tyme that may be taken for avauncement of this enterprise, but so to renforce his said army, that some honorable exploit may by the same be done there. For the furtherance wherof, it is the Kinges pleasure, that the said Sir Richard Jernyngham in any wise procede with the said armye, to thentent that not only he may see and knowe thair maner of doing, but also exhorte encorage and sterre the leders and capitains of the same valiantly to avaunce theym self and lose no tyme, and for such other causes as be mencioned in your instruccions; of whose successes I pray you from tyme to tyme diligently to advertise me.

And to thentent ye may be participant of suche newes and occurrantes as have been here sens the departure of you, Sir Richard Jernyngham, I advertise you that, upon knowlaige had by espial and otherwise, that the Frenche King, of his malicious mynde, contynually made great preparacions to sende the Duke of Albany into Scotland with a good armye to do annoyance unto this Realme, the Kinges Grace not oonly hathe prepared and put in redines the power of the north parties to a great nomber, whiche under the leding of thErle of Surrey may at al tymes either invade or defende, as they shalbe commaunded, and vitailes ordred in staples for that purpose, but also hathe greatly renforced his armyes upon the sees; so as besides the navye being under Sir Anthony Poyntz on the West sees, to whom also be

lately sent of newe twoo great shippes, on of 400 the other of 300[1], and besides those whiche kepe the North sees under Christofer Coo, who with his own ship, and oone other wherin was Sir Henry Sherborne, amonges other enterprises, assaulted a ship of 400 sent twoo monethes passed oute of Fraunce into Scotland laden with men, of whiche men the capitain and thre hundred of his men were, in a long and sore fight, slain, dyverse taken prisoners, and the ship sore brused, with the los of a fewe Englishmen, except the said Sir Henry Sherbourne, who also was slayn with a gon. And, besides suche men of werre as garde the passage bitwene Dover and Calaies, and suche other as conduyte the Kinges merchauntes daily to and from Zeland, Sir William Fitzwilliam hathe been and yet is on the see with 36 great shippes well eskipped and manned, not accompting his vitaillers and other smaller shippes; who, though the wedder hathe been to hym moche stormy and contrarious, hathe not only geven the chace unto twelve shippes of Fraunce, sent to conveye the Archbishop of Glasco and other Ambassadours from the Duke of Albany into Scotland, enforcing theym to take the havons of Depe and Boleyn, in either of whiche havons twoo of the Frenche shippes were perished at thair entre, but also by some of his shippes left for that purpose dothe yet contynually kepe them in the said havons withoute suffring theym to passe on thair ambassiate; and furthermore proceded hym self along the cost, taking shippes and botes, landing in diverse places, where he hathe burned and done muche hurt, in suche wise that the Frenchemen of the countreys further in be al descended to the see side, whiche they have fortifyed in al places, and do kepe contynual watche, for fere and doubte of the Kinges said army; neverthelas the day of this moneth the said Sir William Fitzwilliam descended at Treaport, where the towne is scituate upon an high cliff, and to the same only a waye of smale brede leding, whiche waye was strongly fortifyed with bulwerkes, and the town garnished with above 3000 men. And, albeit that ferce shot of gonnes and querelles was made by the Frenchemen at the landing of the said Sir William Fitzwilliam, yet he, with Sir Frauncis Brian, Sir John Hopton, Cary, and diverse other capitains, with the nomber of 1500 men, landed in despite of thenemyes, and shortely also by force and strength wan the said bulwerkes; from whens the Frenchemen fled into the towne, whiche the Englishmen thrise assaulted, and the Frenchemen thrise issued, geving batell; neverthelas alwaies they were put bak: but, forasmoche as the towne was so strongly fortifyed and manned, and that, the tyde being spent, the Kinges said folkes might not with thair botes come

[1] See Vol. I. pp. 122. 125.

again

again on borde, if they had made leng demore, they brent the fawburges of the towne, wherin were 300 houses and above, distroied the bulwerkes, and toke all the ordnaunce of the same, whiche was moche and good, brent also three shippes of warre and 12 other shippes in the havon, taking all the ordnaunces of the shippes with theym; and in the conflictes aforesaid slewe above 600 men, with the losse of no moo than 12 Englishmen. Wherupon they departed to Seynhed, shewing theym selfes bifore the havon mowthe, where the said Duke prepareth to take his shipping; and perceyving that he wolde not ne dirst issue, albeit they by a messenger offred hym batell with as many shippes and men egal to his as he wolde oppoynt, knowing also bothe the wynde to be than contrarious for the said Duke either to passe by the West sees or by the Narrow sees, and for that also a greate storme compelled theym to leve that coste, retorned into the Downes, not only to receyve fresh vitailes, but also to lodge theym selfes in the Narrowe sees, there to lye awayte for the said Duke; so as by this meanes the same Duke hath been disapointed of the day, on the whiche he made feithful promyse to retorne into Scotland[1], whiche was the Fest of the Assumpcion of our Lady, and with Goddes grace shall not yet veray easily fynde commodite by oone waye or other to passe thidre: by meane wherof the Scottes, nowe being in dispaire of his commyng, begynne to abandonne hym and the Frenchemen, leanyng to the Quene of Scottes; and have accorded that, if the said Duke arrive not there by the last day of this moneth, as I trust he shall not, they woll not only take oute thair King, forsake the Frenche faccion, and constitute newe governers aboute Hym, but also sue unto the Kinges Grace for peax.

On the other partie, if the said Duke shulde or myght arrive, the said Erle of Surrey is in perfyte redines to encountre with hym, and hathe, what with the rodes made bifore the departure of you, Sir Richard Jernyngham, and sens, so devasted and distroied al Tivedale and the Mershe, that ther is left neither house forteresse village tree catail corne or other socour for man; insomoche as somme of the people, whiche fled from the same and afterward retorned, fynding no sustentacion, were compelled to comme into England beggyng bred, whiche oftentymes whan they ete, they dye incontinently for the hungre passed; and with no emprisonment, kutting of thair eres, burnyng theym in the face, or otherwise, can be kept awaye. Suche is the punishement of Almighty God to those, that be the disturbers of good peax rest and quyete in Cristendome.

Finally, the Kinges Grace committeth unto your perfyte wisedomes discrecions and diligences, the due solicitacion and furtherance of all suche

[1] See Vol. IV. p. 3.

thinges

thinges as may be to the avauncement of the common affaires, according to suche instruccion as hathe been geven unto you bifore tyme, and as ye shall and knowe to stonde with the mynde and plaisure of His Grace; praying you alwaies to be diligent in advertismentes of the successes, whiche is the thing that greately shall further profite and prevaile in thise present urgent and weighty affaires, the ferre distance bitweene thEmperour and the Kinges Grace, moche incommodious to thair common besynes, considred. And hertily fare you wel. At Hamptoncourte, the penultyme day of August.

(*Signed*) Yo lovyng frende,
T. Carlis. Eboñ.

(*Superscribed*)
To my lovyng friendes, Maister Richard Sampson, Deane of the Kynges Chapel, and Sir Richard Jernyngham Knyght, the Kinges Ambassadours to thEmperour.

LXII. King Henry VIII. *and* Charles Duke of Bourbon.[1]

Comme ainsi soit, que entre lEmpereur et Monsr de Bourbon ait este faite certaine convencion, promesse, et ligue, offensive et deffensive, envers et contre tous sans nulz excepter; ledict Seigneur de Bourbon entent, quen lesdictes convencions soient compris les amis des amis, et les ennemis des ennemis.

Item, veult et entent ledict Duc de Bourbon faire pareil traittie avec le Roy dEngleterre de ligue offensive et deffensive, tout ainsi que par luy a este conclud, promis, et jure, avec lEmpereur.

Item, en enseignant la promesse, que lEmpereur a faite audict Seigneur de Bourbon, de faire descendre son armee par le quartier de Narbonne endedens le derrier jour dAoust derrier passe, Messieur Jehan Roussel, Ambassadeur pour ledict Seigneur Roy dEngleterre, promet que larmee du Roy son Maistre soit ja descendue par le quartier de Picardie, avec artillerie, pour batre ville, ou autrement donner la bataille aux ennemis, selon quilz trouveront pour le mieulx.

Ledict Duc de Bourbon promet assister et faire assister de tout son povoir larmee dicelui Seigneur Roy dEngleterre. A laquelle si le Roy Francois vouloit donner la bataille, en ce caz ledict Seigneur de Bourbon sera tenu, avec ses gens de guerre, de cheval et de piet, et les 10000 lansquenetz que lEmpereur luy a promis faire avoir a son service, le secourir, et poursievir les ennemis, sans aucune dissimulacion, tant avec ledict Seigneur Roy dEngleterre ou ailleurs, ou il sera de besoing.

[1] From Miscell. Letters, Hen. VIII. 3d series, Vol. VIII. No. 20. Indorsed by King Henry VIII. himself, "Thartycles passyd wt the Duke off Burbon."

Ledict

Ledict Seigneur Roy dEngleterre sera tenu furnir en la ville de Dole, endedens cincq sepmaines du jourdhuy, la somme de cent mil escuz dor, pour faire payement ausdicts lansquenetz, lesquelz se payeront de mois en mois par gens a ce commis.

Ledict Seigneur de Bourbon sobleige de non faire aucun appointement avec ses ennemis sans le consentement du Roy dEngleterre, bien entendu que ledict Seigneur Roy de sa part fera le semblable.

Et quant a ce que ledict Seigneur Roy demande, que ledict Seigneur de Bourbon le recognoisse pour son naturel et souverain Seigneur, ce point, et autres, lesquelz pour le present ne se sont si facillement peuz conclure, seront remis a ce que lEmpereur en ordonnera ; et promet ledict Seigneur de Bourbon tenir pour agreable ce que ledict Seigneur Empereur en aura fait.

Et pour ce que pour le dangier na este possible assembler des deux costez gens de longue robe, a este seulement fait ce present memoire, jusques a ce que par lesdicts Seigneurs Roy et Duc de Bourbon sera le tout mis en fourme deue. Ce neantmoins lesdicts parties seront cependant tenues de mettre lesdicts Articles a reele execucion pour autant quil leur touche, sans attendre que elles soyent reduites en autre fourme.

Ledict Seigneur de Bourbon a jure sur la vraye croix et les Saincts Evangilles, quil furnira et acomplira le contenu de tous les dessusdicts Articles, et pareillement la promis et jure le Seigneur Jehan Roussel de la part du Roy son Maistre. Fait et passe, en pays de Bourbonnais, le 6^{e} jour de Septembre, 1523.

LXIII. Clerk *and* Hannibal *to* Wolsey.[1]

Please it your Grace. The second of this m[*oneth we advertised the*] same of the Popis Holynes syknes, who sythens [*the of*] August hath kept contynually his bed chambre, an[*d hath given*] veray sildom audience, except it were onys or twise [*to the Cardinal*] of Medices and to the Emperours Orator, for the importanc[*e of the*] affayres of Lombardy. His Holynes hath ben contynually vexyd doloribus renum, and as it is said cum excoriacione v , wherwith His Holynes, veray sore wekynnyd, and fearyng Hym [*self*], the 8th day of this present moneth of Septembre had [*all*] the Cardynalles to ghether in his chambre, He beyng in h[*is bed*], howbeit sittyng

[1] Vitellius, B. V. leaf 201. much burnt at the upper edge. There is no trace of their letter of the 2d.

up

up right; and there declaryd unto thaym what thorough his age, and sore vexacion of his disease, whiche styll contynued, He thought He shold depart to the mercy of God; and therupon desyred thaym to be conte[*nted*] with the distribution of certayn benefices consistoriall, which He there did distribut to certayn his servauntes, and that [*for*] the good and faithfull service whiche the Datary[1] had [*done*] unto Hym, He intendyd to make hym Cardynall; desyryng thaym also to be contentyd therwith. At the whiche tyme the Cardinal of Saynct Cruce[2] and 2 or 3 more answeryd His Hol[*ynes*] that His Holynes had a nepveu or twayn, vertuous and well lernyd, and that they cowd be right well conten[*tyd*] that His Holynes wold bestowe that dignitie upon o[*ne of*] thaym, rather then upon the Datary, quem diceban[*t se*] expertos inhumanum, durum, rigidum, et de paucissimis mo bene meritum, so that His Holynes was fayn to putt of [*the*] matter for that tyme, nothyng to his contentacion. His Holynes spake veray sensibly, but veray fayntly, and lyke a man veray sore fatygatyd and troublyd, and not lyke to contynue many dayes after. In the first part of the nyght folowyng He dyd swound onys or twyse; howbeit [*in the*] mornyng it was reportyd that His Holynes had restyd, and that He was somwhat amendyd. The 10th day of Septembre His Holynes publisshyd the Datary Cardinal, in a new congregacion, wherunto He had callyd all the Cardynalles for that purpose, and gave a Busshopriche in Cicilia[3] to my Lord of Worcettur, worth as it is reportyd 900 dokettes, and an Abbay to the Cardinal of Campegius brother. Our hed Cardynalles here in Rome, of auctoritie creditt and estymacion, been the Cardinalles Medices, Sanctorum Quatuor, and Campegius, qui videntur in Collegio constituere triumviratum. Thies 3 Cardinalles now lately have had many pryvat and secret metynges; and we assure your Grace ye have of thaym 3 substanciall fryndes, and by thaym many moo fryndes. It shold seeme that they, with ther band, whiche is not small, restith moche upon these 3 Cardynalles, the Cardinall de Medices, the Cardinall of Fornays, and upon your Grace. All that we do, we do by the counsaill and advice of the said 3 Cardinalles, and moche we knowe by thaym, and somwhat we knowe besides thaym. Notwithstandyng, the matters be yet so rawe and so grene, that it is hard to gyve jugement where the garland shall light. One thyng we can assure your Grace, that your Grace hath all redy many great fryndes

[1] William Enchenvoirt, Bishop of Tortosa, was the fellow-countryman and intimate friend of Pope Adrian VI., and was the only Cardinal made by him.

[2] Bernardino Caravajal was Cardinal of St. Cross, and is said to have died in December 1522, which is inconsistent with his having been with Adrian on his death-bed.

[3] Mileto in Calabria.

towardes

towardes it, and per caas it shold so chaunce that Medices can not make hymself, ne the Cardynall of Farnays, as it will be veray hard for hym to do, if the band contynue whiche was agaynst him at the last election; than it is great lykelyhod that this diademe shall light upon your hed, as we beseche Allmyghty God that it may. One thyng we be right sure of, if your Grace were here present, ye shold be as sure of it as ye be of Yorke, and that tota Curia Romana ipsis et Reverendissimis Cardinalibus una [*anima*] approbantibus, nor the Cardynall of Medices, nor [*yet*] the prowdest of thaym all, wold no more loke for it , then they wold go to Jherusalem upon ther thombys. [*We*] must shewe your Grace the worst. Many of owr corty[*ers*] and also Cardynalles cannot abyde the heryng that any [*one*] absent shold be chosyn, for feare of translatyng the See, and other sondry inconvenyentes, whiche ded ensue by the last election; whiche obstakyll we have movyd to your 3 foren[*amyd*] fryndes, to here ther opynyons; who answeryd us quod in [*hac*] tam recenti plaga suffred by the long absence of the la[*te*] Elect, your Graces absence semyd to be a great obstakyll: no[*twith*]stondyng they sayd that if ther shold be suche discention [*in*] the Conclave, so that they cowd not agre upon no man pres[*ent*] (the lyke wherof was at the last election), then shuld th[*ey*] be fayne to condescend and chose absentem, and wold [*as*] lytyll regarde the inconvenyentes affore expressyd now, then they dyd at the last election. And fynally, as farre [*as*] we can perceyve, the Cardinall of Medices hath a greate hope for hymself, and is advised by his fryndes to attempt the fortune for hymself, and so intendith to doo. Next hym[*self*] he wyll do for your Grace all that he can, accordyng unto [*his*] promes. If he shall se that he can not avayll for you, then to do the best he can for the Cardynall Farneys, and also the Cardinall De la Valle, whiche been bothe Romaynes Imperyall, and his trusty fryndes. In caas he can not bryng to passe for none of thaym, then he wyll never condescend to any that shalbe there present, and so res redibit ad absentes, as it [*was*] at the last election. Quo casu there is no doubt but your Grace shall have potiores partes. This is all (the matter beyng yet green) that we can write unto your Grace; owr labor, faith, and diligence shall not lak. The Cardynall of Volterra alias Sodoryn, capitalis inimicus Cardinalis de Medicis, is depryved per bullam voce activa et passiva in electione [*novi*] Pontificis, and condempnyd to remayne styll in pryson, unto suche tyme as it shalbe seen to the Popis Holynes or his successours further to ponyshe hym, or to assoyle hym. If thys provision had not been made, he shold have been at lybertye post mortem Pontificis, and wold doubtles have wrought moche myschief, to the disturbance of all good purposis.

Newis. been comen from Hungarye, datyd at Boode the 24th of August, how that the 7th day of the said monethe the Turkes great capitayne Perath Bassa, who hath maryed the Turkes syster, and by whoys pollicie pryncypally he hath hadd all his greate victories hetherto, enteryd Hungarye with 15000 men, spoylyng and sleyng, and was mett and encontred in suche wise, that he skant retourned with 2000 of thaym home agayne. Thus the Allmyghty God preserve your Grace. From Rome, the 14th daye of Septembre, 1523.

The Popis Holynes departyd owt off this present liff this 14th day off September. God blisse his sowle, and send Hym soche a successor as we do wyshe. Your Grace is most humbyll chapleyns and servantes.[1]

(*Signed*) Jo. CLERK, Pryste.
(*Signed*) THOMAS HAÑIBAL.

LXIV. CLERK, PACE, *and* HANNIBAL *to* WOLSEY.[2]

PLEASE it your Grace. By our other letters ye may at large [*perceyve*] all manner of processis done here, sithens the departure [*of Pope*] Adriane out of this present liffe unto the second of this m[*onethe of*] Octobre; saving that we may adde therunto for your Graces [*passe*]tyme, that upon Pope Adrian is sepulture, non permissu tan[*tum*] Cardinalium sed jussu, is written literis majusculis "Hic jacet A[*dri*]anus Sextus, cui nihil in vita infelicius contigit "quam quod impara[*vit*]." The Pope had a phisicion callyd Macerata, unto whom a sort of light brayned felowes erexerunt statuam in loco publico, put his name upon it, with this title, "Liberatori Patrie." The Pope is buryed in a chappell of Saynct Andrew in Saynct Petres Church, in the whiche chappell at the one ende lieth Pius Papa Secundus, at the other ende lieth Pius Papa Tertius. Adrian lieth betwixt thaym. Ther was written upon Hym, "Impius inter Pios." Many other sclaunderous metours rymys and versys wer sett up, aswell upon his said sepulture, as in other opyn places, whiche be here takyn and redde mag[*no*] plausu et patrum et plebis; wherby it doth manyfestly appere that this citie was never gladder of Popis death, then they were of this mannys. As we wrotte unto your Grace in our other letters, the first day of this moneth the Cardinalles entred the Conclave. The second day thei wer shett up. The third day ther came tydinges, how that the Duke of Ferrarre had takyn from the Churche the citie of Regio, and that without resistence, for

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[1] The last paragraph is added by Clerk. [2] Vitellius, B. V. leaf 210. burnt at the upper edge.

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the citie was unfurnyshed; and that he intendyd to set upon the citie of Modona; whiche tydynges troubled the Cardinalles in the Conclave veray sore, for the litle provision that for the season cowde be made by theym to resist the said Duke. Notwithstondyng thei sent for bankers to the Conclave dore, and there at ther wyndowe thei borowyd upon pledges 5 or 6000 dokettes, to send forth to the citie of Modona, whiche was thought sufficient unto suche tyme we shold have a newe Pope.

The 5 day of this moneth there cam tydinges from Plumbyno, a place 40 myles from Rome, that the 3 Frenche Cardinalles Auxe, Lorayn, and [1], wer come thether by see, and that thei wold be here the next mornyng. Wherupon thei sent ther counsaill to the Conclave dore to intymat ther commyng to the College; and the next mornyng they arryvid here, and were brought in solemply by the Ursyns, and other favourers and adherentes of the Frenche faction; and as they came in ther short wedis (whiche was thought veray dissolute), with bootes and sporys entred the Conclave. The Cardinall of Lorayn was in a gown of crane colored velvett, and had a hatt with fethers, whiche hatt he left behynde hym, for lesing. It ware long to recite unto your Grace the crakis of the Frenche faction, and with how prowde bostyng wordes thei, upon the arryvall of thies Cardinalles, thretyned and overloked every man, persuading assurydly to have a Pope at ther pleasure. As suerly the commyng of thies Cardinalles hath troublyd and empechyd all our good purposis mervelously. At the last election, by sondrie privie waies we had daily worde out of the Conclave, in a maner how every thing went; at this tyme ther is so straight provision made, that in a maner it ys impossible to send any secret advise other in or out. Notwithstonding, unto the commyng of thies 3 Frenche Cardynalles, it shold seme that the matters went well ynough for the Cardinall de Medicis. The 8th of this moneth ther was takyn from thaym a great parte of ther service, and he that had rostyd meatt had no sodyn, ne he that had sodyn, had no rostyd, aftur the manner accustomyd, whiche is the 8th day to abrige thaym of the one or of the other. Also this 8th day came tydynges from Mylan, how the Frenche men had gevyn socour, and revitaillyd the castell of Cremona; and how the Frenche men in a good nombir, conductyng vitaill to ther armye, ware mett, and in the conflicte ther ware many of thaym slayne, and 60 launces, and as many light horsis of thaym [*were taken*]; how also the Lorde Prosper Columpna, Generall Capitayn [*of the*] Emperours armye there, intendyd to marche forwardes a[*nd to*] joyne with the Venecyans, and intendyd to gyve bataill to the Frenche hoste; so that

[1] Blank in the original. It was Vendôme; see p. 189.

howrly we loked for good tydynges from thens. The 9th, the 10th, the 11th, the 12th day ther ware none owtwarde apperance from the Conclave, but of the greate discention and discorde that seemyd to be amongst thaym there within; whiche apperance of discention so contynuyng and da[*ily*] increasyng, brought us, and many moo your servauntes and fryndes here, in a great hope and trust of inclynacion to your Grace; and all Rome was in a great rumor therof, whiche rumor was greatly increasyd by this cause. The conservators and rulars of this citie, after the 12th and 13th day, seyng that unto that tyme the Cardinalles had made no provision, and how that by ther delay and by all owtwarde tokyns it ded appere that great discention shold be amongst thaym, so that non election was like to ensue shortly; the heddes and principalles of thaym cam to the Conclave dore, and they shewyd that they wold speke with the Cardinalles for a common welth. Wherupon the Cardinall Armelino[1], with dyvers others deputed, cam to the Conclave dore, where, at a hole, the Romayns declaryd unto thaym dyvers hurtes and annoyaunces, that the citie dayly suffred by the reason of ther long delay, aswell in scarcitie of vitailles as otherwise, through other mysserulyd parsons, whiche they cowd not ordre; and fynally said that it was a shame for thaym, somany wise men as they were, that thei ded no better ne no sonner aggree: exhortyng thaym to leve ther particuler affections, and to thynke and lene unto the common welth, as wise men and as good men shold doo. Unto whom the said Cardinall Armelinus answerid, sayng that all that thei went abowt was only to make a good Pope, and to make suche a one as shold be, after God, to the contentation of the nobilles and people of Rome, and so thei trustyd to doo very shortly, desirid thaym to have patiens in the meane season, and give thaym leysour therunto; for if thei shold goo to it hastely, thei shold be fayne to doo as thei dyd at the last election, and chose one that was absent. And therupon he demaundyd of thayme whether they cowde be contentyd thei shold chose one beyng absent, addyng thies wordes, "If ye can be contentyd with soche one, we be almoste at "a poynt all redy to make you one beyng in England." Wherunto thei made a great exclamation, that in any wise thei shold chose some man present, etiam si truncum aut stipitem electuri forent. Thei wer answeryd that, if thei wold take paciens, there shuld be no doubt that thei shold have a Pope at ther contentacion. Apon this Cardinalles sayng, and upon a lyke aunswer made upon lyke clamors by the Cardinall Columpna, the next day aftur, the voice of your Grace ded not only encrease, butt also contynued 2 or 3 dayes; so that every man thought that, to break striffe, the Cardinalles shuld be in a manner

[1] Francis Armellinus de Medici.

compellyd

compellyd to resolve themselfes upon you; many men beyng therof right sory, and some as gladd; as mennys affections ronnyth sondrye wayes in like caasis. It shold seme that the Cardinall of Columpna, thynking to do moche for the Emperour, if he made hymself Pope (for he persuadith hymself, and hath ever done, to be imperiall) labouryd effectually for hymself; and bicause he cowde not bryng the Cardinall de Medices with his band to inclyne unto hym, he sent a byll out to the Emperours Orator here, the Duke of Suessa, sayng that now it ded appere how sure a frynde the said Cardinall de Medices was unto the Emperour, for if the said Cardinall de Medices wold have consentyd therunto, ther myght have ben an assuryd imperiall chosyn Pope; the said Cardinall Columpna denotyng hymself. The Cardinall de Medices seemyd [*to stand*] fast for hymself, and, but it were the Cardinall Fernesio, [*there be*] none that hath kept styll so well his reputacion contynually abrode in mennys oppynnyons, for any signes, tokyns, bylles, or , that hath ben sent out of the Conclave unto this tyme, as the said Cardinall de Medices hath done.

The 19 day of this present moneth we receyved your Graces most honourable letters of the 4th of the same[1], and have diligently to gethers redde consideryd and ponderyd the Kynges Highnessis pleasure and youres conteynyd in the same. As your Grace may perceyve by our former letters, the Cardinalles entred the Conclave the first of this moneth, 4 days before the wrytyng of your said lettres, and 19 before the receipt of thaym, so that it was impossible for us, upon the receipt of y[*our*] letters, to do any more in the matter, than was done all redy. It is trouth that our poore wittes wold not serve us to do so well, as now we be more fully instructyd; notwithstonding, as ferre as our poore wyttes wold extende, leanyng unto suche instructions as your Grace sent hither at the last election, with all the diligence studye faith and labour possible, we pretermyttyd nothyng, before the Cardinalles entred into the Conclave, that myght make for the satisfaction of the Kynges Highnessis pleasure, yours, and of no mannys erthly more than our own desire in this behalf, beyng yett in fast and ferme hope to se some good successe ensue therupon. In our most humble maner besechyng your Grace to take our poore service in this matter aworth what chaunce soever shall befall; for, and our lyves had lyen upon it, we se not what we cowde have done to your proffitt and advauncement herin, more then we have done. We have ben with the Cardinall de Medices agentes,

[1] Printed by Burnet, Hist. of Reformation, Vol. II. Coll. p. 193., and by Fiddes, Life of Wolsey, Coll. p. 83.

and

and shewyd thaym the Kynges Highnessis good mynde and your Graces towardes the said Cardinall, and how that ye bothe had writton to the College of Cardinalles for hym now at this tyme veray favourable letters, addyng therunto, that we perceyved by your wrytyng that ye lokyd and thought verayly that the said Cardynall de Medices wold not be unkynde, and that per caas he cowde not gett this thing for hymself, he wold do the best he cowde for your Grace, as for his most speciall and assuryd lover and frynde. They answeryd us that, if they myght by any meanys possible, they wold advertise the Cardinall therof in the Conclave. It hath been seen in tymes past, that the Cardinalles have contynued 3 monethis in the Conclave, but that hath been de raro contingentibus, for, for the most parte, thei never were wont to passe 10 or 12 dayes. Pope Alexander was chosyn in 8 dayes, Pope July in 6, Pope Leo in 8, Pope Adrian in 14, and that was thought a veray long tarrying. This is nowe the 24th day they have been in the Conclave, with soche payne and diseas, that your Grace wold mervaill that suche men as they be wold suffre it; and yet, by none outward apperaunce, we can not perceyve that we be now any thyng nerar a Pope then we were the first day they entred the Conclave. We have lokyd thies 10 mornynges for the publisshing of one, and it may be that we shall have hym within a day or twayne, but by all owtward signes and tokyns we recon to have noone thies 12 dayes; for ther is a 20 of the old Cardynalles, that have sworne and conspired to gether to rather suffre deth, then to consent into Medices. And the Cardinall de Medices hath a nother bande with hym, whiche will suffre with hym all that shalbe possyble to the contrarye. And so by all lykelyhode he, that can best endure, shall in conclusion have the victorie. And, by cause that Medices is yong, and all his bande be yong men, and may endure, therfor many beleve fermely that he is lyke to have his purpose, either in his own parson, or elles in some fryndes of his. The Cardinall Columpna is now clerely agaynst hym; et, ut excitaret non solum odium sed etiam tumultum contra eum hic in urbe, he hath [*therefore*] noysyd throughout Rome, that by the said Cardinall [*de Medices*] meanys, at the last tyme, Cardinales eligerunt barbaru[*m Fle*]mingum in Pontificem, et quod nunc idem conabatur eligere Ang[*licum*]. And this is certayn, that the sayd Cardynall Columpna is brother hath reportyd opynly that, if his brother the Cardinall had not been, the Cardinalles had chosyn Pope one beyng absent out in another worlde, meanyng therby an Englisheman, propter carmen, quod solet esse in ore omnibus, "et penitus toto divisos orbe Britannos." Here be many of the Cardynalles veray insolent, and full unworthie, by our poore jugementes, unto whom so high an enterprise, as this is, shuld be commyttyd

commyttyd unto. The constitucions for the abbregement and the diminyshing of ther diett and otherwise, ordayned for the acceleration of the election in like caasis, been nothyng observyd; Princes Orators, deputyd the custodie, be so intermyxt with the Cardinalles kyndsmen, prelattes, and nobles here of Rome, that we cannot, ne darre, ordre thaym accordyngly; some by pretext of sykenes, and some upon on cause of favour, and some upon other, so that in a maner they be vitayled there within at ther pleasure.

It shold seeme that the Duke of Ferrar hath bargayned in tymes past with the Emperour to have the cities of Modona and Regio, payeng a certayne somme of monay to the Emperour for thaym, and howe that thies attemptattes, now made, and in makyng, by the said Duke for the recoverye of the sayd cities, be done by the consent and sufferaunce of the Duke of Suessa and other the Emperours Orators and agentes here in Italye, whiche prively dyd alowe and comfort the Duke of Ferrar in his said attemptattes: whiche thyng beyng disclosyd, the College of Cardinalles the 22 day of this moneth sent for the said Duke of Suessa, and advised hym to surcese from his said prive practises with the said Duke of Ferrar, or elles they wold revoke the Marquyse of Mantua out of Lombardye for the defence of the said cities. The said Duke, for his excuse and answer in this behalf, demaundyd of the sayd Cardynalles, whether thei wold styll contynue and persever in the liegge and confederacy made lately betwen Pope Adrian, the Emperor, the Kinges Highnes, and other confederattes, or no; and that, ther myndes knowen therupon, he wold gyve them a farther aunswer. Wherupon the said Cardinalles, deputyd to speke with the Duke att the Conclave wyndowe, said they wold advertise the College of his demaunde, and gyve an answer in the mornyng; and so the next day, the whiche was the 23^{ti} of this moneth, the said Cardinalles deputyd came to the Conclave wyndowe, and ther thei shewyd that the College of Cardinalles had takyn deliberation, and how they wer determyned to contynue and persever in the said liegge, unto suche tyme the Pope shold be chosyn; and at that tyme it shold be in his libertie what he wold do. They desyred the Duke, that he wold provide as moche as in hym shold lye that the See Apostolique war not troubled in ther londes and possessions in the meane season, contrary to the said liegge. And the said Duke promysed that he wold stoppe and lett, as moche as in hym shold lye, all maner of soche trouble and molestations, as shold be done in the mean season unto any of ther cities, and promysed that he wold not assist the Duke of Ferrar in no maner of wise in his doyng. The Frenche armye lyeth styll about the citie of Mylan, removing now to one place, and now to a nother, ever to ther losse and reproche. It is thought that

that soche petit assaultes as thei have hetherto made, have been to the intent they wold se, whether the people wold make any revolution or no; and by all conjecturys men thynk that thei wyll leve ther siege, and ayther retourne agayn into Fraunce, or elles fortifie thaymself for this wynter in Novare, whiche is in the confynys of that Duchie. Thus the Almyghty God preserve your Grace. From Rome, this 24 day of Octobre.

By your Grace is most humbyll
Servantes and Chapleyns,
(*Signed*) Jo: Clerk, Prist.
(*Signed*) Ri: Pace.
(*Signed*) Tho: Hañibal.

LXV. Russell *to* King Henry VIII.[1]

[*Sir, pleaseth Your Highnes to understand, that sence my last letter*] unto Your Highnes was closed, here arrived a messinger from Monsr. la Fayet to Monsr. de Bourbon, certifying that he was come to Messe in Lorayne, and is sworne to Monsr. de Burboun; and his commyng was thinking to have founde Monsr. de Bourboun in the felde with his armye: and the gentilman sayeth, that commyth from him, that La Fayet wol undertake to wynne Boulayne in 16 dayes, and Motterel in likewise, for he sayeth there is no man knoweth them so wel as he, for they be both fortified by his advice and counsel. Monsr de Burbon sayeth, and yt be your plaisure to have him, he is content that Ye shal have him for the time; but he sayeth that he wol loke to be wel entretayned, but he is in greate feyre to come among English men. Yf yt please Your Highnes to have him, that You wol write me your pleasure, and to him in likewise, certifiyng him that he may be assured whereto he shall trust. And I may know that yt ys your plaisure to have him, I shall bring him with me as I come homeward. And thus Jesu preserve Your Highnes and send Your Highnes good life and long. Writtin at Aynche, the first day of November.

(*Signed*) Your humble subget and servant,
J. Russell.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Kinges Highnes.

[1] Vitellius, B. V. leaf 214, b. burnt at the top. There is a letter of the same date from Russell to the Duke of Suffolk, ibid. 215. (catalogued as being addressed to Wolsey), and despatches from Besançon of the 11th and 28th of November, 22d of December, 27th of February, and 11th of March, ibid. 217, 221, 239. B. VI. leaves 9, 15.

LXVI. WOLSEY *to* SAMPSON, &c.[1]

MASTER SAMPSON and M^r^. Jernyngham, I commende me unto you in my right herty maner. The last day of Octobre at nyght arrived here a post of thEmperours with letters to his Ambassadour here resident, having also your letters to the Kinges Highnes and me directed of the 8th and 23th dais of September. With hym also arryved a gentilman of thEmperours, sent by this waye towardes the Duke of Bourbon, who brought sundry letters of moche fresher date addressed to the said Ambassadour; and two dais following a servaunt of yours, Mr Dean, arrived at Woodstock with the Kinges Grace, to whom he delivered all suche letters as ye by hym sent unto the Kinges Highnes and to me, aswel those that concerned the Kinges affaires as myn oune propres; whiche letters His Grace red and remytted unto me with diligence, like as I also sent unto the Kinges Highnes with like maner al your said former writinges commyn to my handes. By the premysses, and also by the copies of thEmperours said lettres written to his Ambassadour, to gider with the relacion of the said gentilman, the Kinges Highnes and I perceyve in what redynes state and disposicion thEmperours affaires wer at the dates of the said letters, with his intent to procede with his armye in his oune Person, and to supplie by the longer contynuance the tardite and slaknes, whiche hathe ben used in the setting forthe of the same; having also made provision for payment of the 100000 crounes for his porcion unto the Duke of Burbon towardes entertaynement of the 10000 lanceknyghtes, and desiring that the Kinges Grace wolde do the semblable for his partie, and to geve ordre that his armye, leving sieges of stronge places, and passing in to the bowelles of France, may continue al this wynter with a convenient reinforcement; offering and promysing that the Countie de Buren, with the Burgunyons horsemen and fotemen being under hym, shal semblably contynue. And finally His Majeste, shewing the good newes of arrival of certein golde from his Isles, desireth that prisoners of haveour takyn in the Kinges armye may be reserved for redemyng of suche of the Duke of Burbons frendes, as the Frenche King hathe takyn and attached; besides certein other good and discrete advertisementes, comprised in your said letters, of suche thinges as might there comme to your knowlege; like as in the same is conteyned more at large.

As herunto, albeit that the lak of advertisement from thens hathe ben

[1] Printed from the original. It has been incorrectly printed by Fiddes, Collections, p. 131. Neither the Ambassadors' letters of September, nor the correspondence with the Duke of Suffolk, have been found.

not a litle to the Kinges merveile and discomfort, and the no les hinderaunce of the common affaires, if, by grete foresight diligence and policie used on this side, thinges had not ben prevented remedied and forseen; yet neverthelas, it appereth by the dates of the letters, that the same hathe proceded by reason of contrarie and inseasonable wynde and weder, whiche must be suffred and taken in pacience. And, to the intent that thEmperour may by you be perfitely advertised, what greate diligence hathe bene used here for the furtheraunce of the common enterprises, aswel by sending and avauncyng of the Kynges armye with al effect; the order geven unto them at thEmperours former request to leve any sieges of strong places, and to procede in to the bowelles of Fraunce; the helpe socour and relief by the Kinges Graces geven unto the Duke of Burbon in extreme necessitie, by sending and avauncyng unto hym the Kinges hole porcion, that is to say, 100000 crounes, towardes entertaynement of the said lanceknyghts, withoute whiche, lakking then eny provision for thEmperours partie, they had ben skaled and retyred, and the said Duke utterly lost and destroyed; the benevolent and confourmable mynde of the Kinges Highnes, at thEmperours instance, and for the weale of the common affaires, not only to contynue his said armye this wynter, but also to renforce the same with a nombre of 4000 men, which ye shal name 7000 men; and finally the successes and maner of proceding of the Duke of Suffolk and the Countie Buren, with the Kinges and thEmperours folkes being under their leding: I, for your said advertisement, do sende unto you herwith the copies of certen letters lately commen at sundry tymes from the Duke of Suffolk, with the answers made unto the same, and semblably of suche letters as uppon the arrival of your seid letters be nowe written bothe unto the said Duke of Suffolk and also unto Doctour Knight; by tenour of whiche copies ye shal mowe playnely perceyve and understonde not oonly what hath ben don, and what trayne the maters on this syde stonde in, but also be sufficiently and amply instructed of suche thinges, as shalbe nedefull and requisite to be by you shewed and declared on the Kinges and my behalf unto the said Emperour: to Whom ye maye shewe that, before the arrival of these new letters, the Kinges Grace hath resolved this contynuance and renforcement of his armye, redy to be set forthe, assone as the King myght have worde that thEmperours armye was really and actually set forward. And in suertie that the Burgonyons shulde be entertayned and contynue in his armye, and thEmperours porcion for the intertaynement of the Duke of Bourbon furnished, aswel for the suertie of thEmperours said armye, wherin the King understondeth that His Majeste passeth personally, as also for the furtherance of the common affaires; considering by a foresight and highe providence that the

the same shuld be requisite and expedient, and nowe moche the rather, bicause thEmperour dothe instance the King so to do, thoughe so be, by the capitulations, as ye knowe, His Grace is not bounden to contynue his armye lenger then the moneth of October: trusting that, sens His Grace hathe done this of special foresight and benevolent mynde at thEmperours instance and contemplacion, His Majeste wol according to his writing supplie the tardite of setting forthe by longe contynuance, and also geve suche assured ordre that the said Countie de Buren and Burgonyons, withoute whom it shal not be possible for the Kinges armye, not furnished of horsemen, to contynue, may remayn stil with the same this wynter, and have from tyme to tyme substancial provision of payment; wherin, as by som of the said copies ye shal perceyve, there is grete lak and default; referring you unto the reasons introductions and persuasions comprised in the said copies for inforcing and aggreving of that and al other matiers necessary to be knowen shewed declared or solicited unto thEmperour, whiche ye shal by your wisedoms and discretions use, as ye shal se the cace and successes of the affaires necessarily to require: noting specially 4 material and principal thinges, whiche in nowise may be omytted. On is, the contynuance of thEmperours army on that syde, aslonge as shalbe possible. The 2de is, substancyal ordre to be geven for contynuance of the said Countie Buren and Burgonyons, with assured payment to be made from tyme to tyme, for the whiche ye have groundes and considerations inoughe comprised in the said copies necessary to be highly regarded. Thirdely, that no defaulte be in the avauncement and payment of the 100000 crounes for thEmperours porcion unto the Duke of Burbon, withoute whiche not only al the enterprise shulde be subverted, but also he totally lost and caste away. And fourtheley, that if the French King, whose armye was long agoo passed in to Italy, and He Himself remaynyng at Lions, do revoke the same for his oune strenght, as it is thought and bruted He dothe, ordre may be geven unto Prospero Colunna and other of tharmyes of Italy to folowe them in the taile; be meanes wherof thenemye, thus nowe at on tyme preced on al sides, shal, God willing, with lesse charge and besynes be brought to right basse and lowe state, and the matiers being in so good trayne a finall ende moche the rather put unto the werres of Cristendome, then, this thing in any parte slakked, shalbe possible to be again broughte aboute in many yeres. For the perfourmance whereof ye may say the Kinges Grace for his parte spareth neither labour studie travaile dangier or expences, and that with all effect and on every side bothe by see and by lande, to the inestimable charge of His Highnes. For besydes the armyes by see, and in Fraunce, and the greate garnisons also laide al this somer on the borders towardes Scotland, who have

done the grettest destruccions in Scotland[1] that hathe ben seen thise 200 yeres, His Highnes hathe there, attending nowe hourely the batail, if it be not striken before this, or the Duke of Albany and Scottes fled, the nombre of 3000 lordes noble men and gentilmen, and above 50000 souldeours largely and plenteously furnished eskipped and trymmed of ordenaunce artillary municions cariages vitailes and other necessaries, whiche maner of ernest proceding on al sides with effect at ons, ye shal say to thEmperour, is and shalbe more beneficial unto the common affaires, than by litel and litel to contynue and prolonge the enterprises many yeres, wherof ensueth smal annoyaunce or empechement to thennemyes, and to thEmperour and the King no profite, but losse expences and charges. Wherfor His Majeste poursuying the matier with al effecte, as the Kinges entier confidence is that He wol, ye may say, that, neither by the Duke of Savoy, ne suche indirect meanes, the Frenche King shal seke his peax; wherin thEmperour hathe taken substanciall ordre in retayning the messenger, supposed rather to come for exploracion then otherwise, and of his advertisement the Kinges Highnes most cordially thanketh hym; but, God willing, at the lest shalbe in brief tyme inforced and compelled to sende unto bothe Princes grete and honourable Ambassadours, with other maner of overtures and offres then He hath yet don; not doubting but thEmperour, of his grete wisedome and prudence, for manyfolde notable effectes that herof may ensue as wel to the perticuler causes of His Majeste and the Kinges Grace, as for the universal repose quiet and tranquillite of Christendome depending therupon, wol substancially and profoundely considre and regarde thise matiers accordingly.

Over this ye shal signifie unto thEmperour that Sir John Russel concluded and agrede with the Duke of Burbon, and mutuel othes takyn on either partie for perfourmance of articles[2] bitwene the Kinges Grace and hym to the same effect as was conteyned in a bil therof, whiche I heretofore sent unto you, except only the article towching the said Dukes recognision of the Kinges Grace as his Soverain Lord was cowched to be referred unto thEmperour; whiche the Kinges Highnes and I take to be as wel for the Kinges purpose as can be devised. And by the next post I shal with diligence sende unto you commyssion for conclusion capitulacion and perfiting of the treatie betweene thEmperour, the Kinges Grace, the Infant Archiduke, and the said Duke of Burbon, with instruccion howe to ordre your selfes therin accordingly.

Fynally, the Kinges Grace, geving you grete thankes for your good endevours used in his causes there, willeth you to have special respect and

[1] See Vol. IV. pp. 49. & seqq.

[2] See pp. 174, 175.

regarde

regarde that His Highnes and I may have more often knowlege and advertisement from you of the successes in those parties; for surely the lak therof is as grete an empechement prejudice and hinderance unto the common entreprises, as may be imagined or divised; and therefore His Highnes trusteth that ye wol substancially loke therunto according to the special trust and confidence that His Grace hathe in you. And fare ye hartely well. At my place besides Westminster, the 6th day of November.

Post scripta. Arrived letters from Doctour Knyght[1] the Kinges Ambassadour with the Lady Mergarett Archiduches, shewing that by relacion of Marnix, sent unto hym from the Archiduces, he was advertised that the Frenche armye in Italye hathe had an overthrowe, with the losse of 22000 men; whiche newes, if they be true, be of right grete consequence; and also that the Swices had condescended to geve unto the Frenche King 6000 of them to attende uppon Him for the saulf garde of his parson.

Besides that, howe the Duke of Burbon, not mynding to violate the newtralite of the Frenche Countie, was departed from Bizanson unto Lure in the Countie of Feretre, and that the lanceknygtes being not past with the Countie Felix 7000 pays, wer at Porte Sus la Sone, with whom the said Duke, wel pourveyed of a goodly bande of horsemen, intende with diligence to joyne, and so to merche towardes the enemys.

Over that, aswel by realacion of the said Marnix, as by letters from Rome, it appeareth that the Cardinalles entred the Conclave the first day of October, and that the 6th day of the same arrived there the Cardinalles of Aux, Loreyn, and Vandosme, who, boted and spored, without tarying, entred the said Conclave, whose commyng is like to make somwhat longer tract in the eleccion. And, forasmoche as by my last letters ye wer largely advertised of the Kinges mynde and pleasur touchyng suche overtures, as on the behalf of His Grace ye shuld make unto thEmperour concernyng those maters, I therfore, trusting that His Majeste hathe by your good solicitacion set forthe that affaire with all effect long before this tyme, shal make no newer rehersal therof unto you with thise presentes. And fare ye hertily wel. At Westminster, the 6th day of November.

(*Signed*) Yo lovyng frende,
T. Carlis Ebor.

(*Superscribed*)
To my loving frende, Mr Richard Sampson, Dean of the Kinges Chapel, and Sir Richard Jarnyngham Knight, the Kinges Ambassadours to thEmperour.

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[1] See Knighte's letter to Wolsey, dated at Mechlin, the last day of October. Galba, B. VIII. l. 82.

LXVII. Clerk, &c. *to* Wolsey.[1]

After our most humble recommendation unto your G[*race. For*] all manner of occurrentes chauncyd here in the Courte of [*Rome*] sythens the first day of Octobir, when the Cardinalles first e[*ntered the*] Conclave, your Grace hath ben at large advertised by soche [*of our*] former letters as were sent hens the 24^{ti} of the last moneth u[*nto*] that daye. From the whiche day unto this, ther is nothing innovatyd within the Conclave, but bothe factions styll do contynue ther partynacie; that is to say, the Cardinall of Medices with 16 [*or*] 17 with hym sett and bent to make a Pope at ther pleasure, [*or*] elles to suffre extrema, and the rest is as extremely bent to the contrary. And as farr as any man can perceive, for no practise ne labour that they have made there amongst themselfes, ther is neither of the parties that yet have any thyng enclyned to the other, but at this hower more brokyn amongst thaymselfes, and further from any good purpose, then thei wer the houre they entred the Conclave. It is to be fearyd that they shall long contynue there, and that in conclusion the parte, that shall not be habill to contynow ne abyde ther within, shall departe, and chose some Pope elles where at ther pleasure, and the parte the[*r*] remaynyng shall chose a nother at ther pleasure; and so shall we have a detestable scysme with 2 Popis; he of thayme lyke to have most auctoritie, unto whom Princes with the sworde can gett most obedience; to the extreme ruyne of Crystondome, if G[*od*] sett not to his honde. The Frenche faction, and soche other as be agaynst the Cardynall de Medices, made meanys to have causyd the Romaynes to have come to the Conclave dore, and there to have made protestations and exclamacions, with facyng crakyng and mynatorie wordes agaynst the Cardynalles for prolongyng so long this election; specially agaynst the Cardynalles de Medices and Sodoryn, and soche other as seemyd in this thyng more to regard ther particuler affayres then the commune weale. Notwithstondyng, by soche fryndes as the Cardynall de Medices hath here, soche exclamations wer stoppyd, to the great discontentation of the contrarye parte. The 5th of this moneth ther came tydinges from the Duke of Mylan, how that a capitayn, under the conduct of the Lord Johannyn de Medices and 30 moo of his felows had conspiryd to ghether and covenauntyd with the Frenche men, to delyver thaym a gaate and a bowlwarke within the said citie

[1] From the Museum, Vitellius, B. V. leaf 216, slightly burnt at the top. See Wolsey's remarks on this despatch, Vol. I. p. 146.

of

of Mylan, and so to have delyvered unto thaym the citie by treason, by nyght. Whiche treason was discoveryd the self same nyght the feat shold have been done; lauded and thankyd be the Almyghty God therfor, for doughtles the Frenche mennys demour abowt Mylan hetherto, and besydes that this long tarryeng of the Frenche faction in the Conclave, and ther pride and obstynacie, hath been only upon hope of that or some other like entreprise. For, if the Frenchemen had had the over hand in Mylan, they se consequently that it sholde be necessarye for the Cardynall de Medices to yeld up his hold in the Conclave, and to take hede to the defence of his estate in Florence, whiche shold then be in great joperdye. It was supposyd that the Frenche armye abowt Mylan had hetherto taryed only in hope of the pryvye treatie aforsaid, and that, frustrate of ther intent in that behalf, they wold totally have forsaken the entreprise, not only by cause ther lyeng here was to ther losse, but also bycause they have ynough to do at home. Not withstonding, here is yet no tydynges come of ther removing. The Viceroy of Naples reparith thether with spede, and hath with hym 400 sperys and 4000 fotemen. The Marques of Mantua with his company is all redy in Pavia. The Venetians been come near, and as they say entend to joyn with thaym in Mylan. If thies powars meet, the Frenchemen be not hable to meet with thaym, if they were half as many moo as they be, for the Venetians alone call thaymselfes 900 sperys and 10000 fotemen. Thus the Almyghty God preserve your Grace. From Rome, this 7th day of Novembre.

Your Grace is most humbyll
servantes and chapleyns,
(*Signed*) Jo. Clerk, Prist.
(*Signed*) Ri. Pace.
(*Signed*) Tho : Hañibal.

LXVIII. Sampson, &c. *to* King Henry VIII.[1]

Please it Your Highnesse. The Emperour cam to Pampilon in the countre off Navarra 10 leages from Seinct Jhon Petreporte, the which is the entree in to Guyen, the 12 day off Octobre; and the 18 day His Majestie sent 2 gentyllmen for us, and at our fyrst commyng seyd that He was, be his feyth, schamyd to speke with us, be cause He had so brokyn his appoinctementes.

[1] Written by Sampson. Letters to King and Council, Vol. V. No. 30. The contemporaneous letter to Wolsey is in the Museum, Vespasian, C. II. leaf 206.

But,

But, Sir, He assuryd us ther was no faulte in his good wyll, the which, os we may conjectour, we beleve right well, for He hath not Castilla yet at his pleasour and obeysant commaundement; the which He expressely confessyd to us, saying, that now He hath beyn much deceyvid be som personages, the which in tyme convenient He wold not fayle to remembre. Morovyr seying, that wher os He belevyd to have now here in a ridinesse above 10000 fotemen or 12, Castillians, at the moustre he hath eskarsely fownde 5000. The rest hath receyvid wages, os they sey, and be retornid in to ther countrees, seying, that for tym past, thEmperour owith to them yet more. Wherfor the 19 day His Majestie hath sent the Viceroy off Arrogone from hens with spede to levie and bring 5 or 6000 Arragonoys fotemen, the which the Viceroy schewid us within 10 days afftyr his departing schuld be here. His Majestie seyd allso that He wold appoincte no mo days with us. And, Syr, when this armie schalbe in ony ridinesse, God knowith; and when it schalbe in os full a ridinesse os they intende to have, what good or honerable exploycte may insue this tym off the yere, Yowr Highnesse much bettyr can esteme then we. And off this we have, Sir, writtin more at leinth to my Lord Cardinall, to avoyde long tedios writting to Yowr Grace. But, Sir, os we may undyrstonde, they purpos to entree, iff they schalbe able to make ony entree, be the countrees off Mounsr dAlberette, so to marche to Tolose, iff famyne and hard wyntyr wethir wyll suffre it; but be all that we may perceyve, the oon or both thes 2 thinges be force schall dysapoincte them off ther purpos. All thartilarie yet is here in Pampilon; and, Syr, thow it so be, that for the tym off the yere ther is litle trust off ony good exploycte to folow, and allso, os we have seyd, they intende to entre in such parties, wher os nothing schuld aryse to Your Highnesse swarving from thapoinctmente off Guyen; yet I, Richard Jarnegan, have preparyd my sellff with horsys, harnesse, tendis, pavilions, and othir thinges, necessarie for me and my poor companie, God willing, to marche with them according to Your Graces commaundement, ther to remayne tyll I schall forther know yowr gracios pleasour.

Tharchbuysschop off Barrie is allso com hithir with a boke from the Frence King, signid with his hande, off certeine overtures off peace or treues, wheroff, Syr, we have both writtin at leinth to my Lord Cardinall, and allso sent a copie off the sam booke. And in this matyr, to the best off our litle discretions, we have observid your gratios commaundement and pleasour, according to owr instructions.

It hath beyn seyd here, Syr, 20 dayes past, that Your Grace hath now Boloyne. They sey allso that capitaine Bayard is slayne in Italie be the Marquis off Mantua, with a good nombre of Frencemen, not off the worst men

men off armis; for os he had revytaylid the castell of Cremona, and afftyr attemptyd allso the recoverie off the town, the seyd Marquis com to the rescue off the town with 4000 Italians.

The Frence men hath allso Alexandria and Novarra, for they discendyd with incredible diligence, preventing thestimation off all the Italians; os they sey, in 14 dayes they past the mountains, and taking thes in ther wey, com before Milaine, and sodeynly gave oon assault, trusting that ther intelligence within the towne schuld have gevyn them ther enterprise; but the day before enteryd 4000 Allmains, so that they with the Spaniardes ischewid owght, and not oonly put the Frence men from thassaulte, but allso they lost, os they sey, 3 or 4000 men, so that 8 days aftyr ther was no more attemptyd be the Frence men; and what hath syns chaunsyd we have yet no worde. And thes be allso newis off the seyd Archbuysshop, oonly be the report off the Frence men. And morovyr he seith that not oonly the Pope schuld be deade the 14 of Septembre, but allso that the Viceroy off Naples with the Cardinall de Medices hath provyded such assistence, that ther is no feare of the Frence faction, notwithstonding that the Frence King with all diligence hath sent to Rome all such Cardinalls as he belevith his favorars. We dowgth not, Sir, but long before this tym Yowr Highnesse hathe certeine knowleg off all thes thinges, but thes be the newes currant here.

At all tyms, Syr, that we com to thEmperour, He both confesseth his faulte now off this armie, and allso schewith it very displeasant to Hym; neverthelesse He assurith us that Your Majestie may well trust, thow that agenst his wyll this hath not well chaunsyd, He nevyr schall fayle Yow, nor lesse be desyros to advaunce your honour then his own. And, Syr, thow that thEmperour hath a good portion off money promysyd to Hym, os well be all the ordres off thes Crossyd Knightis in Spayne, the Crusado, the Clargie, the Towns, and othirwyse, yet it is not browght in to Hym so spedylie, or with such diligence, os it might be, for now we know that they begynne to bring it; so that iff thEmperour had not takyn such golde os was now browght hithir from the Indias, the which was belonging to many personages, and, in respecte off the rest, but a litle to Hym, we think yet He schuld have beyn nothing able to advaunce this armie. And yet thEmperour is very desyros to passe in Person, os we think iff it possible He wyll doo, iff Mouns^{r}. de Burbon may prosperosly com in to thes parties; for we perceyve very great desyr off them both to this meting.

Thartilarie departyd from hens the 3 day off Novembre. The Conestable of Castilla Generall Capitaine off tharmie, who os we think owith his service to Your Grace, departyd allso from hens to tharmie the 6 day of Novembre,

so that, os they sey, God willing, they purpos to entre the enemies grownd the 9 day. The Prince de Orenge is capitaine off the footemen Spaniardes, and Monsr. de Rokyndollff off thAllmains; but off the Lord Marschall we here nothing. The seying is, ther schalbe noon othir then the Conestable, be cause thEmperour schortly intendith to be in Person; but then we think he schalbe appoinctyd.

And be cause that now, Sir, mo fotemen are com owght off Castilla, then war thowght wold have doon, thArragonoys remaynith in ther countre, with othir, os they sey, to passe with thEmperours Person.

The fyrst, 3rd, and 4th day off Novembre thEmperour had lettirs from Rome, Jeane, and Milaine, signifying the Popis deth, and many ovirthrowis in dyvers places ther off the Frence men, expressing Memorancie oon off the Marschalls and Brion espetially; and that the Swyschirs ware retornid in to ther countree. The 4th day allso, both be espies and a lettir from oon in Bayon, it was seyd that thAdmirall at Novarre was ovirthrown with all the rest off the Frence armie.

It is allso seyd that Monsr. de Seyntpoull is now with Monsr. de Burbon, and allso for feare onlesse he wold the sam, the Frence King deteynith with Hym Monsr. de Vandom. The clere intent, Syr, off this armie is to entree in the countree off Berne, and iff they may not to Tolose, then to entree Langadokke, whethir, os we may perceyve, the trust is that Monsr. de Burbon schall com, and ther mete with thEmperour. The entree is thowght now very easy and facille be the ovyrthrow off the Frence armie in Italie, iff it be all trewith.

Ther ware now lately uppon this coste, os they sey, 17 Frence schippis takyn, ladyn with wyne, wheroff, Syr, 3 or 4 ware great schippis, and yet that we know ther is not oon schippe in the sees towardes Britane off thEmperours charge. Monsr. de Bewrein seith that a great personage here in the mountains uppon the frontiers callyd Monsr. de Luxie hath renderyd hym sellff to thEmperours service, and all the peoble off the contree there offerith vitalls and all othir necessaries.

Newis, Sir, be sent owght off Italie hither, that Your Graces armie schuld have Montrell, with Abevelde, and so be passyd befor Ambias, intending allso to joyne with Monsr. de Burbon in Champaine.

The 10th day, Syr, off this moneth we ware with thEmperours Majestie, most espetially be cause that I, Richard Jarnegan, was myndyd the next day to departe from hens, to know iff his pleasour ware to commaund me ony othir service. He aunsword, that so schortly He was clerely determinid to goo allso in his own Person, that I schuld passe with Hym. And, Syr, we think

think it schalbe within few days that His Majestie wyll marche with this armie that now is in a rydinesse, and tharmie schall daly be reinforsyd with such os wyll resort from everie partie off Spaine, afftyr they schall know his person in the fylde, os they sey. But what nombre, Sir, is now in a ridinesse here owthir off horsemen or fotemen, be cause we have no sure knowleg, from the fylde with diligence I, Richard Jarnegan, schall advertise Yowr Highnesse.

And, Syr, in thes feates off warre in the fylde He is content with me, Richard Jarnegan, having espetiall commission for the sam: wherffor his pleasour was that I, Richard Sampson, schuld retorn ageine to Burgos, wher os remainith the Quene off Portugale with all the Counseyll of Castilla, ther to make myn abode tyll othirwise his pleasour ware known. And, Syr, be this means, God willing, Yowr Highnesse schall os well have knowleg from tharmie, os off othir thinges that may be known in the countree of Castilla in thEmperours absence.

We send allso, Syr, the copie off thEmperours aunswor to my Lord Cardinall to the Frence Kinges articles.

This day, Syr, we have newis that now the countre off Berne begynnith to appoincte with thEmperours armie; os at more leinth we have writtin to my Lord Cardinall. Os knowith Allmighty God, who preserve Yowr Highnesse in most royall astate. At Pampilon, the 12 day off Novembre.

Your most humble subjectes
and servantes,

(*Signed*) RICHARD SAMPSON. RYCHARD JARNEGAN.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Kinges Highnesse.

LXIX. CLERK, &c. *to* WOLSEY.[1]

AFTER our most humble recommendation. The 19th day of [*the last*] moneth we certified your Grace of the newe election, that d[*aye made*] and published, of your singuler and especiall lover and frynde, my Lord the Cardinall de Medices; the forme and maner wherof, as we have been sithens enfourmed,

[1] From the Museum, Vitellius, B. V. leaf 229. The despatch, referred to, of the 19th of November appears not to be extant. It must have reached Wolsey before his letter to the King of the 7th of December, Fiddes, Coll. p. 82.

was under this fascyon. As we wrote unto your Grace sede vacante, ther was in the Conclave 39^{ti} Cardinalles, albeit at ther entre thei were but 35^{ti}: ther came in to thaym afturward the 3 Frenche Cardinalles, and the Cardynall of Invrea[1], a Savoyan, the whiche made up the full nombre of 39^{ti}, whiche were devided in many sectes and factions, but princypally in twayne, that is to say, the Cardinall de Medices with 17 or 18 mo, for hymself or suche as he shold thynke best, all the rest styfly bent to the contrary, that nother he, ne none of his, shuld be preferryd to that rome. And of this part was the Cardinall Columpna, and 2 or 3 mo, whom he had gottyn and won to hymself and to do as he wold. This contrary parte ware for the most parte all of the Frenche faction, parte of thaym Frenchemen borne and subjectes, and had in speciall commaundement upon ther livis never to consent but into one of ther faction. Parte of thaym wer Mylanyses, of the contrary faction to hym that is now Duke; parte of thaym beneficyd in Fraunce, and parte by the reason of the faction of ther famylies, as the Ursyns here in Rome, many of thaym particulari odio in Cardinalem de Medicis, as Sodoryn, and dyvers other: so that of all the contrary faction, they that wer subjectes to the Frenche King and naturally borne in Fraunce, seemyd to have least cause of contradiction. Thies men were so conjoyned, and so combynyd to gether with pactions and with othes, that the Cardinall de Medices was half in desperation of any good successe; notwithstondyng, stack stifly to it, for he well perceyved that without hymself, and some of his, ther cowde be none election; and therfor, beyng assuryd of his own company, and having hope that in processe some of his adversaries (whom he knewe not to be all so constant) myght, eyther by intreaty, or elles by tediousnes of ther long there abyding, condescende to some reasonable wayes, with a mervelous pacience bare of. The Cardinall Columpna, albeit by his famylie and natural profession shold have ben mere imperiall, yet, as before is wrytton, he then conjoyned hymself with the Frenche faction, and made them fermely beleve that he wold do for thaym, against Medices, as moche as he cowde. And so in deade in all ther affaires there, aswell scrutynes as other, he with his helpyd and fortheryd the said Frenche parte against Medices, all that he cowde; the whiche Cardinall Columpnais dealynges was but all craft, for he knew well ynough how stedfast the Cardinall de Medices was against all the Frenche factions purposes, and how that the Cardinall de Medices, seyng that his estate in Florence, his honour, and his liffe, lay upon it, wold never, to dye for it, condescende into none that shold be mere of the Frenche faction. He

[1] Boniface Ferrero, Bishop of Ivrea, a native of Vercelli, in Piedmont.

knewe

knewe also that without the said Cardinalles consent, ther cowde be none election, the whiche thing made hym the bolder to leane to the Frenche faction, for he knewe well ynough, that by his so doyng ther cowde unto thaym aryse no benefite therby, seyng that the Cardinall de Medices was never lyke to condescend unto the same. The said Cardinall Columpnais intent was, by his doyng for the Frenche faction, to alleur thaym, per caas they cowde do nothing for thaymselfes (as he ever was assuryd [*they could*] not), to do for hym and for suche as he wold preferre [*to that*] rome. And so in deade the said Frenche faction had pro[*mysed*] oftyn tymes the said Cardinall Columpna, that they wold [*do*], to entretayne hym styll on ther syde, then that they dyd greatly intend any suche purpose; as at length it apperyd; for after long tarryeng and many scrutynes, wherin the Cardinall Columpna had advaunced the Frenche faction all that he myght, nothyng succeding to ther purpose, the said Cardinall Columpna desired thaym to be favorable to a frynde of his, sayng that if they wold do for hym, as he had deservyd and they promysed, ther shold be no doubt but that they shold have a good Pope shortly; and so proponyd unto thaym the Cardinall Jacobatius, a good and a great lernyd man of the Colonyse faction and imperiall; sayeng unto the said Frenche faction that if they, beyng 21 or 22 in nomber, wold give hym ther voices, he dyd putt no doubt but he wold gett out of the Cardinall de Medices bande as many as wold suffice to make up the nombre requisyt, that is to say, 26. After many requisitions the Frenche Cardinalles made a congregacion amongst thaymselfes, where the Frenche Cardinalles said playnly, that they durst not for ther lyvis consent therunto, bycause he was imperiall, and besides, that ther were dyvers Cardinalles, Romaynes, and of the Ursyns faction, whiche, to dye for it, wold never consent to the Cardinall Columpna, ne to no frynde of hys. Notwithstonding, thei fynally concludyd amongst thaym to make large promesse to the said Cardinall Columpna, for the Cardinall Jacobatius. How be it, in veray deade, whan they cam to the poynt, ther shold lack 2 or 3 voyces, wherby the election shold quayle; sayeng amongst thaymselfes that to help ther purposes the said Cardinall Columpna cowde never bring thaym past 2 or 3 voices, and that if for the recompence of thies 3 he had of thaym 17 or 18 to the helpyng of his purpose, he had no great cause to complayne. The Cardinall Columpna, thynking hymself assured of all this Frenche parte, went unto the Cardinall de Medices, and demaundyd of hym what he ment, and whether he entendyd to tarrye ever styll in that pryson, or no. The said Cardinall answeryd, prayeng hym to hold hym excusyd, and that he wold rather dye in that pryson, and in a worse, than to condescende to his capitall ennemyes of the Frenche faction. The Cardinall Columpna said agayn, " If

" the

" the fault be not in yourself, we shall have now a good Pope and an imperiall, " and one whom ye yourself shall not denye to be meet for that rome," named unto hym the Cardinall Jacobatius; shewyd furthermore, howe that the Frenche faction, nemine discrepante, wold favour hym, so that he was assuryd all redy of 22 voices, so that he lacked but 4 voices, whiche if the said Cardinall de Medices wold supplie of his bande, the said Cardinall Jacobacius shold be Pope. The said Cardinall de Medices, albeit he had no great mynde to the said Cardinall Jacobatius, as to a man beyng tomoche of the said Cardinall Columpnais affinitye; yet for the tyme he shewid hymself to be right well contentyd, and desiryd respicte, that he myght communycat the matter with his fryndes. And in the meane tyme the Cardinall de Medices, marveling right sore that the said Cardinall Columpna shold make hymself so assuryd of the Frenche [*men*], whereof he knewe right well that ther were dyvers Cardinalles, aswell Romaynes and of the Ursyns faction, as other th[*at, to*] dye for it, wold never consent to the said Cardinall Columpna, ne to none so nygh a frynde of his as the said Cardinall Jacobatius was, made diligent inquirie, and by prive and secret intelligence whiche he had amongst the Frenche faction, was fully enfourmed of the said Frenche factions determynat mynde, whiche was, that albe it thei had all promysed hoolly to favour Jacobatius, yet ther shold lack 2 or 3 voices of them, so that the matter shold quayle. Of the whiche ther determynat mynde the said Cardinall de Medices beyng right well assuryd, at the next metyng with the said Cardinall Columpna, demaundyd of hym, percaas he shold gyve unto Jacobacius 4 voices of his bande, whiche he required, what he wold [*gyve*] for hym agayn, percaas the election for the Cardinall Jacobacius shold not take effect. The said Cardinall Columpna, thynking hymself sure of the contrary faction, and consequently trustyng fermely that with 4 mo voices to thaym the said election for Jacobatius shold take effect, promysed the Cardinall de Medices that, percaas the said election by any maner of wayes did not take effect, he wold fynde the meanys to gyve the Cardinall de Medices as many voices to any his purpose for hymself or for any frynde of his. Wherupon the Cardinall de Medices, takyng of hym a substanciall promyse of this his offre, promysed hym that, if Jacobacius at the next scrutyny cowde gett so many voices as he spake of, he wold fulfyll the nombre and gyve hym 4 voices per access[*um*], and shewyd hymself to be veray well myndyd that the election shold take effect, and to be sory that he cowde not inclyne no more of his companye to that wayes. The Frenche faction perceyved anon, that the Cardinall Columpna had been with the Cardinall de Medices, and assuryd hymself certayne voices to the purpose above rehersed; and albe it that the Cardinall Columpna dyd shewe

shewe unto thayme that he had gottyn promyse but for 4 voices, as in deade he had not, for thei wer sufficient with the Frenche and his own particuler faction, per caas they dyd all concurre to gether, as they had promysed that they wold; yet the Frenche faction, supposyng fraude and gile, and fearyng circumvention, thought verayly that he had gottyn mo voyces then 4, so that the withdrawing of 2 or 3 voyces by thaym, of those they had promysed, should not be sufficient to make the matter quayle, for assurance of as many moo voyces whiche myght have been obtayned out of the Cardinall de Medices nombre; and so, to make the matter the more suerar, when it came to the poynt of the scrutyny, in quo vota dabantur secrete quoad nomina eligentium (ita enim convenerat in omnibus scrutinijs), post publicationem votorum quoad numerum, Jacobacius had but 18 expresse voices, whiche with the accesse of Medices 4 voices (wherin was no lack) cowde make but 22; so that it apperid manyfestly that the Frenche faction had withdrawen 4 voyces of ther nombre, contrary to ther promyse. The Cardinall Columpna beyng therwith not a litle moved, namely for they cowde nott shewe no reasonable cause, why they shold so delude hym, saving that the Cardinalles of the Frenche nation, in whom the rest of the Frenche faction layde all the faulte, and who in this matter consideryd more ther suertye, then wysdome or honestye, excusyd thaymselfes, sayeng that they had soche commaundement of the Frenche King ther master, that th[*ey durst not*], for ther lyvis, consent in to any other then soche as shold [*be to the*] Kinges ther masteres purpose; addyng that " le Cardinal Jaco[*bat*] estoit homme de bien, et serroit bon Pape, mais il " non serroit [*ung*] bon Pape pour le Roy nostre maistre." Wherunto the Cardinall Columpna answeryd, " Bien, je vous en feray ung bon Pape pour " le Roy vostre maistre," and immediatly went to the Cardinall de Medices, and thankyd hym that he had so faithfully and substancially kept promyse with hym, accusyng greatly the infidelitie and doublenes of the contrary faction, and fynally said that he wolde kepe promyse with hym, and that he wold have no Pope butt only the Cardinall de Medices. And so, post multa, concludyd the matter betwixt thayme. The Cardinall de Medices had ever 19 assuryd voices unto hym, whiche publice et privatim never swarvyd from hym. Columpna brought hymself, the Cardinall Jacobacius, and 2 Venecian Cardinalles Cornar and Pisanus; they wan by secret practise 3 out of the contrary faction, so that veray shortly they made up the nombre requisite of 26, alijs quodammodo inscijs, et de nulla re minus cogitantibus, for thei thought that Columpna had so sorely irritatyd and discontentyd the Cardinall de Medyces at sondry tymes duryng ther beyng in the Conclave, and takyn

so

so his vages against the said Cardinall de Medyces jurgijs convicijs et alijs injurijs et contumelijs, that the said Columpna dorst never have trustyd, ne put hymself aftir in the desperat handes of the Cardinall de Medices. This conclusion between thies Cardinalles for the Cardinall de Medices, was made the 17th of the last moneth 4 howers within night, where it was concludyd that the next mornyng they shold have scrutyne, and there fynnyshe the matter, alijs initis et contradicentibus, for the nombre was sufficient without thaym. Whiche thing was anon divulgyd in the Conclave, and comyn to the Frenche factions knowlaige, and for the impeche and lett therof many thynges wer attemptyd, specially by the Cardinall Soderino and those of the Frenche nacion; sed omnia frustra, it was shewyd unto thayme playnely, that it myght and sholde be done without thaym, and how that better it shold be for thaym to consent, and not to contrary that thyng that they cowde nott lett, then to resiste frustratly to ther distruction. And by cause it was thought that at length they wold yeld, and better it shold be, if the election did passe by all ther consentes, then otherwise in discention and discorde, they forbare the scrutyne appoynted the next day, and spent all that daye in entreatyng and practisyng those other Cardynalles; wherin they had not a litle to doo, tam vehemens erat odium, specially for old rancor between the Cardinall de Medices and the Cardinall Soderino. How be it in conclusion by good and polytique handeling and wise mediacion, at the last they began to enclyne, and all old sorys well helyd, remaynyng only one difficultie, whiche was expressed juratum by a great multitude of thayme, expresse prestitum de nunquam consentiendo in Cardinalem de Medicis, for relaxation wherof the went all to gether into a litle chapple by the waye of congregation, and there, aftur long debatement of all maner of matters, relaxarunt sibi invicem jurata, and sent for the Cardinall de Medices, and when he came they mett hym at the chappell dore, et adoraverunt eum omnes tanquam Papam. The night folowing, good watche was made, fearyng variation and newe practises, [*untill the*] next day in the mornyng, whiche was the 19th daye [*of the*] last moneth, quinquagesimo die ab introitu Conclav[*is post*] missam Spiritus Sancti, celebrato scrutinio, the said Cardinall de Medices was chosyn Pope ab omnibus, nemine discrepante, and so had down into Saincte Peters churche in pontificalibus. This is the hole processe of the election. It is trouth that duryng the discorde and discention amongst thaym, your Graces fryndes did attempt, and made at sondry tymes mocions effectually for your preferrement, *set semper parum feliciter, for the multitude of thaym wold ne*[*ver*] *inclyne therunto, ne here of it; quin immo convicijs quodammodo insecuti sunt Dominacionis vestre Reverendissime*

dissime amicos, quod de ea re sermonem facerent[1], and for none other cause, but only propter absentiam et odium preteriti Pontificatus. Thus the Almyghty God preserve your Grace. From Rome, this second of Decembre.[2]

Your Grace is most faithfull servantis,

(*Signed*) Jo. Clerk, Priste.
(*Signed*) Ri. Pace.
(*Signed*) Tho : Hañibal.

LXX. Wolsey *to* Sampson, &c.[3]

Master Sampson and Master Jernyngham, I commende me unto you in my right herty maner. Sens my last letters to you addressed, sent by the handes of Chatel, Secretary to the Lorde Beawrayn, diverse alteracions chaunges and contrarities have, to the Kinges grete mycontentement regrete and displeasure, happened and ensued in the common affaires and enterprises, the circumstaunces wherof, ye, in avoiding al sinistre and fayned reaportes whiche myght be raised or contrived, shall plainely shewe and declare to the Emperour and his Counsail at lenght in maner and fourme folowing.

First, where as the Duke of Suffolk and Countie de Buren with the common armye, after Ancre taken by dedicion, the toun and passage of Bray by force, were determyned to have fortified the seid Bray, there to have established their staple of vitailes, and so to have marched the right way

[1] In cypher in the original.

[2] There are in the same Volume two other letters of the same date to Wolsey. One (leaf 225) from Clerk, Pace, and Hannibal details an interview with the new Pope, in which, after congratulating him on his election, they urged him immediately to confirm and enter the league against France: the other (leaves 234, 224) from Clerk only, is a private letter, and has the following passage relative to the delay that had taken place in his consecration as Bishop of Bath and Wells: "I intend by the grace of God this next weke to be consecratyd. I pray God send me "grace to behave myself hensforth accordingly in this high and holy order, whereunto most "unworthyly I have been callyd only by your Grace. My trust is that, as Pope Adrian hitherto "dispensid with me for the differring of the said consecratyon, so your Grace hath been contentyd "that I have enjoyed the fructs of my beneficis untyll Michaelmas last past."

[3] This despatch, which is here printed from the original, has been published by Galt (Appendix CXX.) with some inaccuracies, and with the omission of a whole paragraph in cypher, which is printed in Italics in pp. 206–208.

towardes Parys, trusting and supposyng by the way to have had som worde or knowlege from the Duke of Burbon; desiring the Kinges Grace therfore not oonly to sende unto them against the begynnyng of November newe furniture of money, but also in consideracion of the decreace and dymynucion of their nombres by reason of dethe and sikenes, to cause the armye to be enforced, aswel with a competent nombre of Englishe fotemen, as also with the supplement of the Burgonyons on thEmperours partie; in suche wise as they myght be the more able to encountre with thenemyes, when nede shulde be, and also to leve convenient garnysons in suche places, as they had taken, and shulde take, for defence of the same; promysing that they, who then were passed the river of Somme, wolde procede unto a grete open toun not ferre distant from thens called Lehon, there to abide the Kinges aunswer and resolucion in that behalf: so it was, that uppon knowlege of the premysses, the Kinges Highnes, being veray joyeous and glad of this good commencement, trusting verailly that after the long tracte of tyme and grete difficultie, whiche had ben in defaulte of their cariages and lymoners, they shulde nowe properously and commodiously passe to the annoyance of the common enemy, not oonly sent immediately unto the town of Calais sufficient furniture of money to have suffised the said armye til the begynnyng of January at the lest, directing letters to the said Duke of Suffolk to sende unto Calais conduyte for the same, but also with al possible diligence raised an armye of 7000 men to have passed with spede unto the seid Lehons, there to have joyned with the residue; and besides that His Grace immediately wrote unto the Lady Margaret and Countie de Buren, desiring and instantely requiring them that the Burgonyons, whiche then were evil paid, and in default therof daily stale away, myght from heusforthe be sufficiently furnished of their paymentes, and also suche nombre of them as lakked myght be fulfilled and supplied; to whiche purpose His Highnes furthermore instructed you by letters sent by the said Chatel to cal uppon thEmperour for commaundement and sure ordre to be geven in that behalf, and was utterly resolved and determyned that his said armye shulde have taryed in the enemyes countreys al this wynter, the Burgonyons doing the semblable; like as by letters sent unto the said Duke of Suffolk, Countie de Buren, and also to the Lady Margaret, His Highnes signyfied unto them at lenght. Neverthelas, the Kinges letters so passed, the money also arrived at Calais, and ther remaynyng for lak of conduyte, and the said enforcement being on the way to Dovour, there to have taken shippyng, sodeynely came newe letters from the seid Duke of Suffolk and Countie de Buren, shewyng howe that Bray was not, ne coude be, made in shorte space strong or tenyble, and

and that aswel for more commodious having of vitailes, as for conveyance of money to the Burgonyons, and the better joyning with the Duke of Burbon, they, dischargyng the garnysons of Ancre and Bray, and throwing downe the walles gates and bulwerkes of them bothe, distroying also the strenght of the said passage, wer fully mynded and determyned to marche towardes a place in the confynes of Champyne, ferre distant from the said Bray, called Lan in Lannoys, trustyng there or by the way to have som knowlege from the said Duke of Burbon where they myght best joyn with hym; makyng in those letters neither mencion of money or renforcement, but oonly that for the space of twelve dais they coude neither sende ne receyve any letters to or from the Kinges Grace, shewing howe they had countermaunded their vitailes, grete ordenaunce, and al other thinges whiche was commyng towardes theym from Seint Omers; geving ordre that aswell the same, as letters and other requisites to be sent unto them, shulde be conveyed unto Valencianes. Of whiche newes and sodeyn alteracion, semyng to procede of the Burgonyons, the Kinges Highnes not a litle merveiled; trusting neverthelas that uppon receipt of his former letters, whiche were eftsones renewed with moo addicions requisite to the purpose, the said Duke and Countie wolde have chaunged this their newe deliberacion and intent. Howe be it the Kinges hoope and expectacion therin was totally frustrate, for they had so secluded stopped and broken the passages behynde them, that not oonly in twelve dais but in 16, no worde messenger or letter did or coude arrive or be sent from the oon to the other. In whiche tyme sundry brutes and reaportes wer raised of diverse grete exploites done by the said armye, wherof no certeinte coulde be had, wherby the Kinges Grace was stil in good hoope, avauncing and setting forward the renforcement with al other thinges requisite for contynuance of his armye, except only that uppon this newe knowlege the renforcement was stayed at the see side, til advertisement myght be had to what place they shuld be sent. In this season letters were brought from the Lady Margaret, declaryng resolutely that she coude not ne myght make any maner provision for contynuance of the seid Burgonyons, desiring the Kinge therfor to furnish the same, or at the lest til the first day of January next ensuyng; of whiche tidinges, His Grace, who then had an armye of 60000 men against the Duke of Albany and Scottes, besides his armyes on the see, to His Graces extreme charge, was right hevy and sory. Wherunto, after the said 16 dais expired, was added newe discomfortable matier, when His Grace, by letters of the said Duke off Suffolk and Countie de Buren, understode that they in this mean season had taken Mounttidier, on of the strongest townes of Fraunce, scituate 6 myles beyonde the river of Somme, right mete for the Duke of

Burbon, if nede had ben to have layn in this winter, and that after a right good feate done upon Pountremy and a certain band of Frenche horsmen, wherof 60 at the lest wer taken, and amonges them som good personages, and as many slayn; they had also defeated the strengthes of the seid Mountdidier, takyn and pilled Roy, abandonned them bothe, and were again retourned on this side the river of Somme; affermyng that, onles they shulde so have don, the money of the Burgonyons, whiche as they said was then at Valencians, coude not in suertie comme unto them; saying neverthelas that after the same and also the Kinges said money being at Calais (for the whiche they had then sent) receyved, they wer in as good place to folowe their former journey towardys Lan in Lannoys, as they were on the other side of the said river, and the said Duke of Suffolk promysing that having contynuance of the Burgonyons he wolde not faile to observe and accomplishe the same. Of whiche newes concerning this the said Dukes ferme intent, the Kinges Grace toke right good comforte; and shulde have taken moche more, if His Highnes had not ben advertised, aswel of the seid answer and expresse refusaile made by the Lady Margaret, as also that the 10000 lanceknyghtes, whiche were under the leding of the Countie Felix, after their wages paid by the Kinges Grace, and a grete botie taken, the rest of 100000 crounes for the Kinges parte also ther arrived with the Duke of Burbon, were totally skaled, retired, and gone home; and the said Duke utterly resolved to passe with diligence by the way of Jeanes unto the Emperour. Whiche newes all accompted to gidre, shewed in maner a mere impossibilite that the Kinges armye coude contynue the wynter, specyally lakking their horsemen, without whome they myght do no good: and being nowe no tyme to make provision of newe in this Realme or elliswhere, consideryng also that the Duke of Burbon, who at the lest, with the horsemen whiche he had levied, myght have joyned with the Kinges armye, thoughe he lakked his lanceknyghtes, had also discharged them; all whiche thinges did put the Kinges Grace in som discomfort, abiding dailly more knowlege of the certeintie; neverthelas the said Duke of Suffolk and Countie de Buren, understanding by that tyme from the Lady Margaret and otherwise, that she coude not ne myght furnysshe to the further entertaynement of the said Burgonyons; perceyving also howe their horses and people of bothe companyes daily and nyghtely dyed in grete nombres for colde, and that, if the same shulde so contynue, they coude not be able to convey their ordenaunce from the place where it then was, being within thenemyes countreys, without any knowlege consent or commaundement of the Kinges Grace, after a stronge place called Boyhon taken, whiche His Highnes is mynded to kepe with a good garnyson, repaired

and

and retired hooly and entierly unto Valencians; where the Kinges armye stil remayneth, abiding knowlege of the Kinges pleasure; albeit the Burgonyons be, a good season passed, departed and skaled, every oon to his oun dwelling house. Wheruppon the Kinges Grace, having knowlege herof, and considering in what state be the present affaires of Italy, thEmperour being also, as it is here supposed, in the felde in Parson, hathe geven ordre and commaundement unto his said Lieutenant and armye that, if in any wise they can have contynuance of the said Burgonyons, either for the hoole wynter or at the lest for a season, they shal endevour them selfes by redubbing of their lymoners and otherwise, in any wise to remayn, proceding ageyn to the enterprises as long as may be possible, and at the lest to reasorte agayne to the places on this side the river of Somme, taking Dorlance and Corbye if it may be, and to establishe garnysons in the same; in suche wyse, as it may evidently appere unto the Frenche King, that the Kinges Grace is not mynded to leve his enterprises, ne that his armye shalbe discharged from those parties, if in any wise the same may be contynued by garnyson or otherwise, and that the Burgonyons wol joyne with them again for that purpose; of whome ne also of their complement of cariages promysed by the Lady Margaret to have ben provided, they coude never be fully furnished by a grete deale, whiche, besides the long retardement of the Kinges armye at Calais, the Burgonyons also then not being redy, hathe ben a mervelous hinderance unto the common affaires, that elles had ben moche further avaunced in the commodious tyme of the yere, and percace thenemye by this tyme have ben brought thereby unto right basse and lowe state. Al whiche premyses ye shal at lenght shew and declare unto thEmperour, being the veray trouthe and playnes of the matier, lest that percace the Lady Margaret, knowing by reaport of the Countie of Buren and other Burgonyons, that the Duke of Suffolk consented to retire on this side the river of Somme, and so to Valencians (bifore answere receyved from the Kinges Grace touching entertaynement of the said Burgonyons, or bifore knowlege there had of skaling of the said lanceknyghtes) shal, for her justificacion to thEmperour, make demonstracion unto His Majeste, that there was ne shuld have ben any lak in the entertaynement of the Burgonyons, in cace the Kinges armye wold have taried. And for that cause I sende unto you herewith not oonly the copies of certen clauses writen at sundry tymes by the Duke of Suffolk, shewing and declaring the grete lak of payment of the seid Burgonyons, whiche caused them to falle unto spoille, besides the dymynucion of their nombres, but also copies aswel of the Countie of Burens letters wryten to the Kynges Grace and to me, wherein he shewed the nonlikelihode of their said entertaynement, whiche

whiche was the total cause of the first entended way from Bray abandonned and forsaken, as also of the Lady Margarettes letters writen to the Emperours Ambassadour here resydent, mencyonyng howe she coude not ne myght furnishe money for contynuance of the Burgonyons as is aforesaid; whiche thinges, plainely notified unto thEmperour, shal put His Majeste oute of any doubte that the dissolving of the said armye was not in the Kinges defaulte, or by his wil or consent, but is, I assure you, as highly to the displeasure and myscontentacion of His Highnes, as can be possibly divised or imagined. Neverthelas, sens there is nowe no remedy, His Grace wol aswel by keping garnyson in the said Boyhon, if it be tenyble, and also if it be possible in the seid townes on this side the river of Somme, as by al other meanes, plainely shew and profe his assured and perfite mynde and intent not to desist from his enterprises in Fraunce, but effectuelly to contynue the same according to thEmperours desire and contemplacion. For the better perfourmance wherof, His Grace hathe sent in post after the Duke of Burbon, desiring him, if he be not to farre past on his journey, to passe by this the Kinges Realme, aswel for his more suretie commoditie and brief expedicion, as also to the intent that uppon communicacion and divice to be had bytwene the Kinges Highnes and hym of suche further thinges as be nowe to be don and enterprised towching the commen affaires, the Emperour may, at his commyng and repaire unto Hym, be the more perfitely ryped therin, and the same more directly, by mutuel understanding and knowlege from the on to the other, be put in execution, then shuld be, if the said Duke passed by Jeanes first in to Spayn, and then hither, as he affermeth he is mynded to do. Howe be it, by suche knowlege as is had from Sir John Russel, who lyeth at Besancon with the Kinges money last sent for payment of the said lanceknyghtes, it shulde seme that the said Duke is alredy veray ferre on his journey towardes Jeanes, so as it is thought it shalbe to late to sende any knowlege to hym of the Kinges said mynde and desire; and moche it is to be fered lest his passage by that way shalbe veray daungerous. Wherfore if he shall happen savely to arryve by that way with thEmperour, the mater must be taken as it nowe may be, and the more spedy diligence is to be used for advertisement to be geven unto the Kinges Highnes of every thing accordingly; *wherin dyverse thynges be by you to be substancyally to be noted. Fyrst, the King and his Counsail can not a lytel merveyl of thes sodeyn reatourne of the lanceknyghtes, and deliberacion taken by the Duke of Burbon to repayre into Spayn; seing that with good endevor it is verayly thought he myght have contynued them, and percace have ben redy, leng before the tyme of ther skaling, to have joyned with them with suche nomber of horsmen as he had levyed for that purpose. And whyther any*

communicacyon

communicacyon have ben had bytwene the Frenche Kyng and hym concernyng appoyntment to be taken with the Emperour or not, it is doubteful, for asmuch as by his oune affermacyon the Frenche King offred hym his pardon, and to come unto the sayd Duke upon his oune assurance in parson, accompanyed only with syx gentylmen, with lycence to mary the Emperours syster, to serve the Emperour or the King, and to be more in Spaine, Fraunce, Englande, or elleswhere at his plesure; having nevertheles the hole revenues of his landes in Fraunce, without holding of them, or yelding any subjeccion, of or unto the French King; and besides this that, if he wold, he shulde be the mediator and conditer of a peace betweene the Emperour, the King, and the said Frenche King: which offre is suche, as the lyke hathe not ben seen or herd to be offred by any Prynce unto his subject, and myght parcace be by the said Duke so admytted and myght intende to interpone his helpe to the conducing therof, whiche, if there be none other circumvencion or fraude, coude not be gretly prejudyciall to be set furth, and directly put in experience. Besides, the Kings Highnes hathe ben by sundry ways advertised, that the Frenche King, who deteyned the Archbishop of Barri, late Nuncio to the Pope deceaced, as prisoner, sent lately for him to be brought unto his presence; and after certain introduccions, with complaining the infortune, that in the werres betwene the Emperour and Him the oon sought the meane to destroy the other, committed unto him certeyn charge to be declared unto the said Emperour concerning overture of peax, and that more was upon refusale of the said Archbishop to enterprise any suche charge, onles certeyn prisoners wrongfully deteyned by the French King wer delivered, He afferming that He kept the said prisoners unto hope to have redemyd by them Don Pedro de Navarra, was neverthelas contented to deliver them, and so depeched the said Archebishop with the charge aforesaid. Thirdely, as wel by your letters lately sent, as by other letters of the Emperour to his Ambassadour here resydent apperith sundry overtures and practises of appoyntment with the Emperour to have ben set furthe by the meanes of the Duke of Savoy, and in al this tyme no mocyon or overture hathe ben made or moche spoken of concerning the King. Fourthely, it is thought unto the King and his Council, that the Emperour being, as tis reaported, avaunced in his oune Parson, having nowe the sworde in his hande, and with Him the most parte of the nobilitie of Spayne, shall right hardly, of a grete season after this journey passed, be able to set furthe any new puissant army against Fraunce, whiche may be an occasyon moche the rather to cause Hym to consent unto appointment, if it be offred, fering lest He shal not an other tyme come to the attayning of so good condicions, as He nowe may do. Whereunto He may percace be the more inclynable, for the doubte, which He shuld be

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in by reason of the Frenche armye nowe being in the Duchye of Mylaine, the Kinges armye and the Duke of Burbons on this side being retired and skaled. These and other grete and urgent causes and respectes, the Kinges plesure is, that ye in any wise have a vygylant iee, making dilygent serche and inquirie, by al the politique ways to you possible, what overtures or practises of peax trieux or other appointmentes be there set furthe, and of what disposicion and inclynacion the Emperour and his Council be towardys werre or peax, with the likelihode and apparance that ye can fynde, howe He may be able to maynteyn his werres, and in what parte He and his said Council do take this proceding and successe of the affayres on this syde, with their further intente and purpose eyther to molest and poursue thenemye or otherwise. And what ye shal perceyve knowe and thynke therin, so the Kinges pleasure is, that ye, sparing nor no cost or labour, do advertise His Highnesse and me, aswell by original letters in cyfers, as by duplycates of the same for the more suretie, in al spede and dilygence possible, with al other newes and occurrantes worthy advertysement that may come unto your knowlege, to the intente that the King, upon notice therof, may ordre and trayne his matyers and affayres accordingly.

Over this ye shal shewe unto thEmperour, howe that, after the greate preparacions bragges and bostes made by the Duke of Albany with his Frenchemen and Scottes to invade this the Kinges Realme, and the nombre of 80000 Scottes at the lest assembled and raised for that purpose, he, marching with them towardes this the Kinges said Realme, furnished right plenteously of ordenaunces vitailes and other necessaryes, did set furthe an trieux or peax to have ben treated and commoned of by the mean of the Kinges suster the Quene of Scottes, with comprehension of Fraunce; whereunto, besides his hope, answer was made that aslong as he and his Frenchemen were in the realme of Scotland, or the Scottes geven to the partie of the Frenche King, they shuld never have peax trieux or other appointment, with many other clauses mencioned in letters of the Erle of Surrey, the Kinges Lieutenant for the tyme in the Northe parties of this Realme, to the reproche and prikking furthe of the said Duke: wheruppon he, after long demoryng and lyngeryng upon the Borders, bruting that he wold come unto Berwicke, Carlile, Norham, or some other strong place, which all were sufficiently furnished for his resistence, came at the last before a poure castel, not yet fully bilded and finished, called Werke, wherin were only 100 souldeours, with a capitain named Sir Wyllyam Lysle, unto whiche place he bent, and two hole dais shot al his grete ordenaunce right fiersly, being right wel manfully and valiantly defended; the 3de day erly in the mornyng he set over the river unto this Englishe side, where

where the basse courte of the castel was, 3000 Frenchemen and 1500 Scottes, to geve the assault on this side, while the batry endured on the other; who, being the basse courte over large to be with al the rest defended by 100 persones, in processe entred the same, geving the assault to the inner warde so egrely, that, partely by sufferance of the capitain and souldeours, they also entered the same, being slayne with fightting at hand strokes as fast as they cam in, in suche wise that, after the capitain of the Frenche fotemen with twenty of his company there slayn, the rest wer dryven oute of the inner warde, and by the capitain and Englishemen so fresshely poursued, that they with above 1500 fotemen Frenche and Scottes then being in the basse courte were totally dryven and expelled out of the same, and with losse of above 9 score of them, compelled to flee again over the water, where not a fewe were drowned for hast. The castel being thus for that tyme delivered from the daungier of that assault, the capitain gave knowlege of the premysses to the Kinges said Lieutenant, who with his armye was in sundry places in and nere unto Berwicke, loged in the countrey in thre wardes and sundry winges, as commoditie of vitailes wolde suffer; and, incontinently after his armye assembled, marched towardes Werke, whereof the said Duke being by his espial advertised, immediately levied his siege, and in the nyght with all celeritie retourned, as ferre as for the tyme he myght, in to Scotland, logyng himself and hole armye at an abby called Eccles. Howe be it being advertised that the Kinges said Lieutenant was arrived at Warke, and passing the river with his ordenaunce and armye, intendyng to poursue the said Duke, he the nyght following at mydnyght, causing the retreate to be sowned, in despite of all the Scottishe Borderers who exhorted hym to tarry and to revenge the displeasures done unto them, shamfully and cowardly fled and ran away, merching continually with smal pawses and restes til he came to Edinbrugh, where, after his armye to his perpetual reproche skaled, he called a counsail, and sens that tyme hathe made newe overtures of peax or trieux, whiche be answered as the former were. Wheruppon the Kinges Grace, inasmoche as for the inseasonablenes of the tyme, sterilite bareynes and softnes of the grounde there, no mayne invasion can as yet be made in to Scotland, hathe established grete garnysons on those Bordres, who do and shal make continual excourses and rodes in to that lande, devastyng and destroying the same, til suche tyme as the commodious tyme of the yere shal come for further annoyance to be done unto them. Of whiche good successes, without losse of any Englishemen or hurt of on mayle don to this Realme, albe it the said Duke by this journey in maner hathe destroyed Scotland for many yeres, the Kinges Grace doubteth not but that thEmperour wol be veray joyeows

and glad; trusting in Almyghty God that by contynuance of the werres this spring of the yere and the sommer commyng, the Scottes shalbe compelled to knowe them selfes, and either abandonne the said Duke and faccion of France, or elles be of litle abilitie to do any annoyance unto this the Kinges Realme, in presence or absence of His Grace, of a long tyme to comme.

Finally, I sende unto you herin closed copies of the Kinges and my letters to the Duke of Burbon[1] sent by his servaunt berer herof; after whose arrival to thEmperour, ye shal on the Kinges and my behalf salute him with cordial recommendacions, rehersing unto him by mowthe, howe displeasaunt it was to the Kinges Highnes and me to here and understande the retire of the said lanceknyghtes, by whose contynuance after the said Duke ons joyned with them, the Kinges armye, who, ensuyng thEmperours and the said Dukes avice and counsail, left al sieges, marching in to the bowelles of France, and of travers of the same, only to joyn or be nere unto the said Duke, and he with his horsemen and lanceknyghtes were like to have utterly caused a clere mutacion in Fraunce, to the highe renoune of thEmperour, the Kinges Grace, and the said Duke; whereas by the seid retire the matiers be nowe gretely hindred and chaunged. And neverthelas, if the said Duke, after the lancknyghtes departed, had yet drawen with his horsemen towardes the Kinges armye, they shuld have ben puissant inoughe to have kept the felde; and at the lest the said Duke myght have kept Mountdidier, strengthing the same for his abode there this wynter, whiche wolde have ben a notable countenance against the common enemye. Howe be it, sens there is nowe herin no remedy, ye shal say unto hym that the Kinges Grace and I shal thinke long to here of suche further wayes, as be to be devised for the redubbing therof, and the further poursuyng of the common enterprises, wherin neither with the rest of the 100000 crounes, ne with any other thing that may be done on the Kinges partie for the honour and weale of the said Duke, shalbe any lakke or defaulte on this side; with suche other good wordes, as ye may perceyve shal sounde to the confirmacion of the thinges mencioned in the said copies: saying furthermore bothe unto thEmperour and unto hym that upon knowlege of their myndes, what way shall nowe further be taken as afore, the Kinges Grace wol sende unto you commyssion for conclusion of al matiers with the said Duke accordingly. And of his answer herin I praye you to advertise me with diligence, semblably aswel of all suche thinges as ye do can or shal knowe towching the intente of thEmperour, and

[1] These letters have not been found.

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of the said matiers concernyng *practyses for peax or apoyntement*[1] and other the premysses, as also of the good newes successes and spede of thEmperours armye, wherof to here the Kinges Grace thynketh veray long; and also of all suche occurrantes as shal happen there from tyme to tyme. Signyfying unto you, Sir Richard Jernyngham, that the Kinges Highnes, in consideracion of your travailes and paynes susteyned there, hathe appointed you to be his Vice Chamberlain, and the same office dothe kepe and reserve for you purposely til your commyng and retourne. Praying you bothe not to be slak in often advertisementes, considering howe moche dammage and hinderance the lak therof dothe unto the common causes and affaires, whiche His Highnes and I bothe trust ye wol pondre and considre; supplying herafter the ferre distaunce of the places by your diligent depeches and wrytinges, wherein ye shal administre unto His Grace veray thankeful and acceptable service, to be considered and remembred accordingly. And fare ye hertely well. At my place besides Westminster, the 4th day of Decembre.[2]

(*Signed*) Yo͠ lovyng frende,

T. Carlis Eb̃or.

(*Superscribed*)
To my loving frendes, Master Richard Sampson, Doctour of the Lawe and Deane of the Kinges Chapel, and Sir Richard Jernyngham Knyght, the Kinges Counsaillours and Ambassadours to the Emperour.

LXXI. Sampson, &c. *to* Wolsey.[3]

Pleas it your Grace. Off the receyte off your Graces lettirs here the 23 day off Novembre, bearing the date off the 4 day off Octobre[4], concerning the deth off the Pope, with thaffayre off the sam, and thEmperours good wyll towardes your Grace, we wrot in our othir late formar lettirs[4]; morovyr advertysing your Grace now, that oonly for the sam purpos His Majestie

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[1] This passage was originally written in the same handwriting with the rest of the letter, but afterwards obliterated, and words in cypher substituted.

[2] On the next day Wolsey wrote to Sampson alone a letter, respecting his pensions assigned on the Bishopricks of Palentia and Palentino, and sent a proxy for John L'Alemand to receive them.

[3] Holograph by Sampson, with a postscript in cypher. From the Museum, Vespasian, C. II. leaf 228.

[4] These do not appear to be extant.

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dispachid a post from hens to Rome the 27 day; and othir lettirs allso had written 3 wekes before, signid then with his hande, for the same intente, the which immediatly He wold have sent, but that it was thowght much to late, because the fyrst sure newis off the Popis deth here ware be thos lettirs, that reportyd allso the Cardinalls to have enteryd the Conclave; so that before tharryvall off thes lettirs it was more lyke the election to be past, then othirwyse. Notwithstanding now His Majestie wold omitte no diligence to accomplis your pleasour.

The fyrst day off Decembre com hithir both a gentyllman from Monsr. de Burbon, abowght be Jeanes and so be watyr, and allso a post from Italie with lettirs from Rome, but off an old date. And the 4 day the Lord Chauncelier sent for us to communicate certein newis and othir charges to us be thEmperours commaundement.

Fyrst, he schewid us that be a lettir, not from Rome, but from a nothir abowght Jeanes, they had newis that Medices was Pope, chosyn the 19 day off Novembre, and that the Frence Kinges Ambassadour was a fortherare off the sam election. They had allso newis off the Kinges lettirs arryvid there at Rome, with my Lady Margaretes, in your Graces favour, and that thEmperours Ambassadour there omittyd no diligence for the sam; wherof he reportith hym to the Kinges Ambassadours. But he seyd that the peoble off Rome with great threates advysyd the Cardinalls to make noon election off any that schuld be absente.

Morovyr he schewid us that notwithstonding all the newis before, oswell be espyall os allso lettirs, that the Frence armie was destrussyd and ovyrthrown in Italie, os at lenth in our formar lettirs[1] we have writtin to your Grace, yet now they be advertysid that tyll the 14 day off Novembre the siege remaynid before Milain, and the sam 14 day tharmie withdrew from the siege, and 10000 Swysschirs with them. He seith allso that before there departing the Frence men requiryd to spekke, and so mette with Commissionars from the Duke, and Prospero de Columna 2 or 3 tymis, and oonly the Frence men requiryd treves for 5 or 6 monethis; but it was aunswerd that, withowgth thEmperours knowleg and consent, no such thing might be grauntyd: and so the Frence men departyd, and, the Lord Chauncelier seith, passid the ryvier of Ticine. But be othir lettirs from Italie it is reportid, that yet the 20 day they remayned betwix the seyd ryvier and Milaine: the ryvier is abowght 6 leages from Milaine. And 3 or 4 days before the levying off the

[1] Of the 12th of November, Vespasian, C. II. leaf 206.

siege,

siege, ther fell great and much snow, the which was the cause off ther removing, os it is supposyd, and noon othir thing. But what is doon syns, yet here is no knowleg.

Allso he schewid us that thAllmains, be a mutinerie, os the Lord Chauncelier seith, reysid be the treason off the Counte off Furstenbarge, hath lefft the Duke of Burbon; but we harde before that 4000 off thos, that ware appointctyd to be with the seyd Duke, ware sent to the rescue off Mylaine. Wherffor ther may be som othir cause off ther departing, then this. But he seith that the Duke is determynid to come hithir be watyr from Jeane. The Lord Chauncelier made allso an ovarture that the seyd Duke, be a commune charge off thEmperour and the King, might have a puissant armie in Italie, and be that wey entre in to Marsells and Provence, and so ther schuld nede noon othir armie. To this we aunsword, partely perceyving theffecte off this overture, that, iff the Kinges our maistre wold owthir make oon hole armie or a parte off an armie, we thowght that rathir He wold have them off his own subjectes then othir.

Thes thinges so paste, the Lord Chauncelier enteryd in to the communication off a peace or treves; and afftyr certein reasons for that matyr to schew it convenient and profitable, he requiryd to have our advyse. And, Sir, be cause now off late, os in other our lettirs we have writtin, os well be thEmperour, the Lord Chauncelier allso, os othir off the Counseyll, we have perceyved them here not oonly enclynid, but allso much desyros owthir off a peace or treves, we aunsword that the Kinges Highnesse begon this warre oonly for thEmperour. Wherfor, iff the King our mastre might know thEmperour determinid to a peace or treves, handeling it to both ther honours, we thowght His Majestie schuld not fynde the Kinges Highnesse onwilling to accomplis his desyr. And then, off the means off the peace the Lord Chauncelier had many wordes; schewing hym sellff desyros to the sam; and seyd that he wold communicate thes thinges to thEmperour, and so gyve us more knowleg. At this communication was allso Monsr. de la Roche and John Allmaine the Secretarie. And thus for that day we departyd.

The 5 day off Decembre ware newis here that thEmperours armie on this syde was marchid to a castell 3 leages from Seinct John Petreport, callyd Malleon de Sola; and there ware in the town, the which is a vyllage abowght 300 howsys, 500 fotemen, and a few horsemen; the which lefft the towne and fledde. In the castell ware abowght 200 fotemen: they renderyd be such appointctement, that they went in ther schyrtes with stykkes in ther handes. This castell is a thing off no force agenst ony artilarie, but it is

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the chyff holde off that lordschyp callyd Sola: wherffor it bearith the name Malleon de Sola. And this was the fyrst marching off this armie, for yet they have not all ther artilarie. Passing the mountaine this tyme off the yere hath destroyde many off the bestes, the which ware but mulettes, very yll and feoble bestes for the drawght; but here are noon othir. It is seyd that now they goo to Salvatierra, 2 leages from the seyd castell, in the countre off Berne, the which they sey nevyr was estemyd off streinth, but that now within thes 3 or 4 monethis the Lord dAlberette hath fortifyid it. The town is but small, off abowght 600 howsoldes, but it stondith uppon a ryvier, so that it schalbe good for the passage. Notwithstonding, they sey ther be yn it 3 or 4000 men, determynid, with the eyde off Monsr. de Lotrykke, to defende that town.

The 6 day off Decembre, be cause it was Sonday, we ware, according to our formar costume, with thEmperour, to accompanie Hym to the chirche; and then it pleasyd His Majestie to talke with us; wher os we most humbly thankyd Hym for the seyd participation off newis be the Lord Chauncelier. Then His Majestie demaundyd, how that we lykyd the overture off peace or treves. We sayd, Sir, that syns the overture made be the Pope Adrean, we know nothing off the Kinges pleasour and yours; but syns it was so movyd be His Majestie, most humbly we besechid to know his mynde and full intente, clerely and pleynly, that theroff we might advertise the King our mastre and your Grace. His Majestie seyd that, os a christyn Prince, He was right well myndyd to a peace or treves, but os anothir man, to accomplis his appetite, He was much rathir willing to warre. But yn effecte He seyd that He was determynid to peace, iff it schuld so please the King his brodyr, withowght whos full mynde and consent for ony means or profers, He nevyr wold enclyne or gyve hering to owther peace or treves; wheroff He assuryd us, with os affectuose wordes os He might speke. His Majestie seyd morovyr, that He was myndyd to send thArchbuysshop off Barre ageine in to Fraunce, os the seyd Archbuysshop hath and doth daly solicite; that be hym, iff it schall so be the Kinges pleasour and yowrs, ther may be oon appoinctement off som diete neare uppon thes bordurs, for the Commissionars off all parties to mete, and see what towardnesse schalbe fownde in the commune enemie, and yet nevyrthelesse to omitte nothing off the warre; and allso that passage may be throw the realme off Fraunce, for the more expedition, iff it please God ther may be ony towardnesse off peace or els treves.

To this, Sir, we aunsword, that commission or yet instructions for this intente we had noon; but, iff it schuld please His Majestie to advertyse the Kinges

Kinges Highnesse and your Grace off his pleasour, we knew well right schortly He schuld know the Kinges pleasour and yours in this behallff, espetially iff passage may be throw Fraunce.

Before the 10 day we perceyvid so much, that we thinke ther myndes chonged from the sending off thArchbuysshop in to France.

The 10 day we ware, before dynar, with thEmperours Majestie be his commaundment, and in few wordes He schewid us that He was determynid with diligence to send Monsr. de Beureyn in to Italie, espetially that Monsr. de Burbon, who els intendith to com hithir from Jean be watyr, schuld remayne ther in Italie, there with the Viceroy off Naples and all othir thEmperours power to joyne with the potentates and all ther powers off Italie, agenst the Frence armie, to expelle them ought off Italie, and afftyr doo os for the commune affayris it schalbe thowght best. And His Majestie wyllid us to resort to his Chauncelier, who more at leinth schuld make us pryvie to all thinges.

At the sam tym ther ware allso thAmbassadours off Venece, Mantua, Jeanis, Milaine, and Florence; but they harde not thEmperours wordes to us: but immediatly He spakke with all them joinctely aparte; os we thinke, that they might writ thes comfortes to their dominions.

Afftyr dynar the sam day we ware with the Lord Chauncelier, who schewid us in effecte thEmperours wordes, adding more clerely that Monsr. de Beureyn schuld have 3 dyvers charges concerning the Duke off Burbon. Oon, iff that the Duke ware arryvid in thes parties of Spayne before his imbarking, then Monsr. de Beureyn schall retorn to accompanie the Duke to the Courte hithir; and iff he schall com in to Italie before the departing of the Duke from thens, then he schall have large instructions for the Duke, the Viceroy off Naples, and hym sellff, to conclude in what maner thaffayris best may be doon, with most diligence, to joyne, os is before seyd, with all the othir powers off Italie. And the Duke schalbe there thEmperours Lieutenant, with os much power os thow He ware present in Person. And iff it so be that uppon the sees Monsr. de Beureyn so eskape the Duke, that he schall passe in to Italie and the Duke arryve here, then the Duke schall com hithir to the Courte, and with diligence be dispachid to retorn ageyn in to Italie, for the intente aforseyd; and in the mean tym schall Monsr. de Beureyn, with the Viceroy, addresse and ordre every thing in os much a redinesse os may be possible.

Monsr. de Beureyn schall have allso duble instructions to Rome; iff that Medices be Pope, in oon maner; iff it be a nothir, in othir maner: but thes maniers he disclosyd not to us. Monsr. de Beureyn schewid us allso that,

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in case att his commyng to Rome yet ther schalbe no election past, then to solicite be all means for your Grace he hath espetiall charge and commission.

The Lord Chauncelier seyd allso that thEmperours trust is, that it schall please the King to continw the enterteynance off the Duke, not oonly for the 100000 crownis, but he thowght this affayre off Italie off such weyte for the commune matirs, that, iff it schalbe nedefull, it schall allso pleas the King to contribute with thEmperour in a greatar sum. To this we seyd that we coude gyve noon aunswor, but we wold advertise the Kinges Highnesse and yowr Grace of thes thinges.

He schewid us allso that the Frence King hath requiryd the Duke to be a mean and solicitour off peace; and for this matir allso Monsr. de Beureyn schall have both large commission and instructions, that the Duke, the Viceroy, and he, or oon off them joynid with the Duke, may treate in thes matirs, so that the King have his Commissionars there allso to joyne with them, having commission and instructions for the sam. And off all commissions, instructions, and othir writtinges, concerning all thes mattirs, copies now schalbe sent to thEmperours Ambassadour, os the Lord Chauncelier seith, to communicate them to the King and your Grace.

The Conestable off Navarre hath schewid us that his grand pere, undyr the King, was kepar of this castell Malleon, that was now takyn, with the countre abowght it belonging to the sam, and that his ancetours ware allweys servantes to the Kinges off Englond, enduring Guyen in ther handes.

They now schew them sellff here to have despeyre, that ther armie schuld be able to doo any feate notable; the which we know be the Lord Chauncelier and othir: wherfore they have sent to the Conestable Capitaine Generall[1] to have his advyse, what he schall think best in this behallff; and rathir, os we may perceyve, we think it schalbe brokyn, saving oon certein nombre to be lefte abowght Fountrabbie to have a siege volant, then othirwyse. Now this 14 day off Decembre they be abowght Salvatierra, os they sey, fyrst to have that, because it stondith uppon a rivier, and so schall gyve good passage.

The 14 day off Decembre Monsr. de Beureyn departid from hens towardes Italie.

We thinke the breking off this armie rysith uppon thes newis off thaffayris off Italie, for ther is no wynde so chongable, os that besinesse makith all othir matirs here, iff tharmie schalbe brokyn withowght ony good feate doon, os is most lyke.

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[1] The Constable of Castille.

Syns

Syns penult Augusti we have receyvid no lettirs from your Grace, except thes off the 4 day off Octobre, off the Popis deth, and that affayre.

The 15 day off Decembre Salvatierra was renderyd, before ony siege leyde, so that the men off warre departyd with bagge and bagages, and the town remaynith hole, os they say, withowght departing owthir off person or stuffe. The 16 day worde was browght hithir, and the 17 day we ware with thEmperour ad gratulandum felicitati. And be cause that I, Richard Jarnegan, have differryd my going to tharmie all this tym, be his commaundment to have passyd with His Majestie, most humbly now I besowght His Majestie to have licence that I might departe thithir, for so much that I thowght His Majestie wold not marche in Person. He willyd us to retorn ageyn the next day, for in the mean tyme He wold so determyne the proceding forthermore off this armie, that we schuld know his pleasour.

They sey allso that the Viceroy off Arrogon hath on that sydde enteryd with 4000 men, and passith throw the countree, wynning before hym, to joyne with this armie, and now is at a town 5 or 6 leages from Salvatierra.

The 18 day, Sir, we ware ageyne with His Majestie, and then He schewid us that, be thadvyse both off Spaniardes off othir, He was now determinid to retorn his armie uppon Fountrabbie, and for his more reputation tharmie schall passe throw the countree be Bayon, and in casse they schuld perceyve ony advantage, then to take it, or els to passe throw; the which oonly we perceyve is ther intente, and nothing to attempt owthir Bayon or ony othir place. And off this determination, because that in thes lettirs before we have writtin the causes and lyklyode off the sam, os now it is concludyd, we schall not repete it ageyne to your Grace.

And, aftyr that we knew this determination, I, Richard Jarnegan, most humbly besechid His Majestie to have licence that now I might departe to tharmie; but His Majestie willyd me for nothing to goo, tyll now they schuld be at a siege before Fountrabbie, thow that I both humbly besechid His Majestie, and allso leyd the Kinges commaundement, with othir reasons for the same, espetially that the Kinges commaundement was that no lesse I schuld serve His Majestie then His Grace. Notwithstonding, I schall, with Goddes grace, see tharmie and the ordre off the same, to report the trewith, and not the reporte. Os knoweth Our Lord, who preserve your Grace in most prosperos helth and honour. At Pampilon, the 18 day off Decembre.

Your most bownden with all our service,

(*Signed*) Richard Sampson. Rychard Jarnegan.

God sende the Kinges Highnes on that syd good chaunce, for here we perceyve them not muche willing to recovre any thyng of the Kyngys enherytance. Wherfore we thynk rathyr they wold have me, Rychard Jarnegan, absent then there, thow that in the Emperour we bileve ther wantyht no good wyll.[1]

(*Superscribed*)
To my Lord Legates Grace.
En Engletierra.

LXXII. King Henry VIII. *to* Pope Clement VII.[2]

Beatissime Pater, post humillimam commendationem et devotissima pedum oscula beatorum. Non potuimus Vestræ Sanctitatis Predecessoris obitum, partim ex Christiani Principis officio, partim vero quod universali quieti in tutum collocande nil magis adversum potuerit accidere, non summopere et publice et privatim indolere. Sed nostram hanc animi consternationem protinus omnem sustulit salutaris de Vestræ Beatitudinis ad excelsum sublimemque solium electione nuncius; qui non Nobis solum, sed et huic nostro Regno ejus celeberrimi nominis observantissimo, tantum solidi gaudij atque letitiæ peperit in universum, quantum ulla ut lubet ingens humana felicitas prestare queat. Ex hac enim faustissima electione nulli non sane mentis apertissime constat Deum Optimum Maximum sedulam sui gregis curam gerere, quod

[1] The Postscript is in cypher. By a letter from Sampson of the 19th (Vespasian, C. II. leaf 236.) it appears that on the previous evening a Secretary of the Archbishop of Barry arrived from France with the answer to the French King's Articles, signed with his own hand, concerning peace or truce; but the Emperor would do nothing therein without the King his brother's knowledge and express consent. In the same letter is mentioned that Jernigam was then ready to go in post to the army, and on the 14th of January following Jernigam wrote to Wolsey from Vittoria (ibid. leaf 254.), detailing at considerable length his own progress, and the transactions of the Imperial army from the 18th of December. He first arrived at St. John Pied de Port, the staple of victuals and munitions for the army, and on the evening of the 19th he reached the camp of the Prince of Orange, the chief captain of the Spanish footmen. He then describes the taking of Salvatierra, which was but of little service to the Emperor; the approach to Vidach, which was presently taken; the wish of the principal officers of the army to proceed to Bayonne, to which the Constable of Castille would not agree; and the taking of the castle of Mauleon in Guyenne. Jernigam then returned to the Emperor to press Him to direct that Bayonne should be besieged, Who answered that He had sent to the Constable to do what might be done in the same. He then enumerates the Emperor's army, states the army of Arragon to be broken up and returned home, which was conjectured to be in consequence of the alteration in the Duke of Bourbon's affairs; and that at the date of the letter the army was lying at the siege of Fuentarabia: and returns thanks for being appointed Vice Chamberlain.

[2] Copy from the Vatican.

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huic Vestram Sanctitatem prefecerit, que innata sua prudentia firmissimoque presidio eum ab iniquo quolibet insultu innoxium illesumque semper servare studuerit. Fulgentissimum itaque ac sacrum istud, quod Divina Majestas supremum in terris dignitatis fastigium haberi voluit, Vestræ Beatitudini toto corde gratulamur; perpetuumque precamur jure id optimo a nobis fieri, nil ambigentes, tum ob inveteratam ipsius erga Nos benignitatem, nostramque itidem in se cordatissimam observantiam, tum vero quod optima ejusdem de Christiana Republica merita compluraque in Romanæ Ecclesiæ decus et splendorem, non minus feliciter ac prospere quam consulte ac provide, sepius præstita officia brevi futurum pollicentur, ut turbulentissimis tenebrosisque his temporibus, non absque publica exultatione, sol succedat lucidissimus. Porro nec Nos noster affectus seu judicium fefellit, quod de singulari Vestræ Sanctitatis providentia, summa probitate spectataque anteactæ vitæ innocentia, feceramus, cum Sacrosancti istius Collegij decreto, unanimi consensu, lætissimoque omnium applausu pulcherrime confirmatum videamus, dictaque Vestra Sanctitas non ex fortune obsequio, ullave rerum vicissitudine, sed divino potius nutu, ad apostolatus apicem adscita evectaque idcirco censeatur, ut quam multum in commune prosit, in Domini Dei Nostri vinea laborantes a rabidissimo luporum laniatu tueatur, religionem nostram quam latissime propaget, pacis perturbatores in ordinem cogat, immanissimosque fidei nostræ hostes a Christi finibus procul arceat et amoveat, quos accepta Vestræ Beatitudinis electione animo jam cecedisse minime dubitandum est, utpote qui rem cum eo Pontifice futuram non ignorant. Cujus consilia et cogitatus in venenata eorum Christiani sanguinis extirpanda siti, effrenataque dominandi libidine cohercenda assidue versentur. Optimum proinde hunc animum divina clementia Vestræ Beatitudini secundet, foveat, et augeat, quem Nos sic toto pectore observabimus, sanissimisque ejusdem consilijs sic in omne tempus adsistemus, communique voto in omnibus cum ea concurremus, ut Catholici Principis officium nullum pretermisuri simus. Et felicissime valeat Vestra Sanctitas, quam Deus Altissimus ad Sui nominis laudem Christianeque reipublicæ conservationem longevam conservet. Ex regia nostra Wyndsore, die 20 Decembris, 1523.

Excellentissime Vestræ Sanctitatis
devotissimus atque obsequentissimus
filius, Dei Gratia, Rex Angliæ et Franciæ,
Fidei Defensor, ac Dominus Hiberniæ,
HENRICUS.

(*Superscribitur*)
Sanctissimo Clementissimoque Domino
Nostro Papæ.

LXXIII. Wolsey *to* Pope Clement VII.[1]

Beatissime Pater, deosculatis Sanctissimis Vestre Beatitudinis pedibus, et humillima commendatione premissa. Compertum habeo quam multos extitisse mortales, qui partim innato quodam suo in Christianam rempublicam studio adducti, partim vero maximis antiquijsque Vestre Sanctitatis beneficijs liberalissime affecti, ex ejus ad summum Apostolice Celsitudinis fastigium electione maximum in modum gavisi fuerint; quorum ego utcumque immensam animi exultationem jure optimo, et adequare, et in majus excedere mihi videor, non solum quod ob singularem dicte Vestre Sanctitatis erga me benignitatem non obscuro testimonio sepius comprobatam addictissimus deditissimusque semper illi fui, esseque me fateor et agnosco; verumetiam quod, si unquam antea, nunc maxime sperandum (Vestra Sanctitate duce et authore) Christiane Reipublice summam haud multo labore componi posse, ad tutissimum portum perduci, facillimumque erit sancte quietis perturbatores in ordinem redigere. Optime itaque in Vestre Beatitudinis electione, universe Italie totiusque Italie tutele procul dubio consultum est; unde sit, ut ex hoc publico bono, quam possum humillimas Omnipotenti Deo, tanti muneris datori, gratias habeam, publicoque nomine excelsam hanc felicitatem eidem Vestre Sanctitati gratuler, perpetuamque servari cupiam. Neminem enim video, qui tanta prudentia probitate industria ac virtute fulgentissimum istud munus, quam Vestra Sanctitas, dignius obire potuisset, vel ex quo plus seu tantum adjumenti Christiana moles miserandum in modum undique assumpta sibi putaverit accessum. Hujus autem electionis nuncius tanto gratior mihi fuit, quanto magis ex animo ab invictissima hac Regia Majestate diu noctuque votis omnibus expectabatur, quod nunc post variam consultationem, quum cesserit ex sententia, totque Reverendissimorum Patruum acerrima gravissimaque judicia in Vestra Sanctitate eligenda convenerint, non humane, sed divine dispositionis id fuisse constat. Supremam igitur hanc dignitatem iterum atque iterum ipsi gratulor, ex qua longe plus gaudij ac letitie concepi, quam si collata in me fuisset. Eandem igitur Vestram Sanctitatem summa fide, pari studio, ac veneratione observabo, quam humillime obsecro ut inter deditissimos devinctissimosque suos ministros nulli me secundum extimare velit, ipsique me

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[1] Copy from the Vatican.

totum,

totum, quantoluscumque sum, ejus mandatis offero, ac dedo, paratissimum. Londini, ex meis edibus, die 22 Decembris, 1523.

Excellentissime Vestre Sanctitatis

Humillimus ac devotissimus servulus,

T. Cardinalis Eboraceñ.

LXXIV. Wolsey *to* Clerk, Pace, *and* Hannibal.[1]

My Lorde of Bathe, Master Secretarye, and Master Hanybal, I commende me unto you in my right herty maner. Sens my last writing unto you I have at sundry tymes receyved your letters of the of October, the and 19th of November[2]; wherin, to the Kinges and my ful good contentacion, ye right diligently have advertysed me of suche thinges commen to your knowlege, as have succeded in those parties, aswel concerning the Cardinalles then being in the Conclave, as otherwise; and howe, after long altercacions and sundry contrarietes, whiche semed to be amonges the said Cardinalles, at the last by grace and inspiracion of the Holy Gost they agrede and condescended uppon my Lorde Cardinal de Medices, whom the said 19th day they elected chase and published Poope, taking unto Hym the name of Clement the VIIth; with other matiers mencioned and comprised in your seid letters more at large: for the whiche your substancial good and spedy advertisementes, by me alwais shewed and declared unto the Kinges Highnes, His Grace and I bothe geve unto you special and herty thankes, namely for the desired newes of the said eleccion, whiche I assure you be asmoche to the Kinges and my rejoyse consolacion and gladnes, as possibly may be divised or imagyned. For whiche cause His Highnes and I, in signe token and comprobacion of the singuler comforte whiche we take in the same, not abyding or tarrying for any intymacion to be made therof either by the Poopes Holynes nowe elect, or by the College of Cardinalles, thought convenient and requisite with diligence to spede unto you letters congratulatories,

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[1] Incorrectly published by Fiddes, Collections, p. 88. who probably printed from Harleian, No. 6260. fol. 18. There is a better copy in Vitellius, B. V. leaf 240. The text is printed from a contemporary one in the State Paper Office.

[2] The two first are probably those of the 24th of October and the 7th of November, printed in pp. 178. and 190. The despatch of the 19th of November is not to be found.

directed

directed unto the Poopes said Holynes, wherby the same may perceyve the entier love and most cordial affeccion that His Grace and I contynually do bere unto Hym. Whiche letters congratulatories being herwith, theffect wherof ye shal perceyve by copies of the same here inclosed, the Kinges mynde and pleasure is, that ye, taking a convenient tyme for that purpose, shal in due requisite and most loving maner present and delyver unto the Poopes Holynes, that is to say, first the Kinges letters, and afterwardes myne, making suche humble herty filial and obedient recommendacions on the behalf of His Grace, and of me aparte, as to the most entier affection and devoute mynde, whiche we bere unto His Holynes, ye do knowe to be for either of us mete convenient and concordant. After the redyng wherof, ye shal with chereful and gladd countenaunce shewe and declare unto His Holynes at lenght, what rejoise comforte and gladnes it is bothe to the Kinges Highnes and me to perceyve and understonde, that oons in our lif it hathe pleased Almyghtty God of his infynite goodnes to provyde and send suche a pastour hed and governour unto his Churche, as His Grace and I have longe and inwardely desired; whom for his vertue wisedome experience and other highe and notable qualities merites and desertes, we have alwais reputed the most worthy able and mete person in this worlde to aspire and be called unto that dignite. And for my parte I have in this behalfe attayned that thing, whiche I have entierly and cordially long desired, having the same parson Poope, whom I, above all spiritual persones living, have in myne herte moste loved and ben affectionate unto; assuring you that I cannot with my tong or penne exprime the inwarde jöye, whiche I have taken and do take to see hym, whom I have so long and so moche lovid honoured and ben so entierly dedicate unto, thus called by God to the supreme place and governance of Cristes religion, being, as I take God to recorde, ferre more joyful therof, then if it had happened uppon myne oune person. For surely, besides the manyfold perticuler causes moving the Kinges Highnes and me most specially to desire the exaltation weale and comforte of so grete, so feithful, constant, and perfite a frende, as His Holynes hath hitherto ben unto us, having ferme and undoubted hope that the sincere love and stedfast affeccion, heretofore surely established roted and knyt, is and shalbe forever most assuredly permanent and indissoluble on either partie; His Grace and I also considre the present calamities troubles discencions warres variaunces and discordes, wherwith Christendome is sore and overal vexed afflict and inquyeted, besides many other enormyties perilles daungieres and myserys, wherby the state therof is gretely and piteously compelled to declyne; for the socour of whiche infyrmytes none so apte so propice and so convenient a medecyne or remedy coude have ben exhibited in this

this stormy season, as by the provision of God to have a Poope and hed, whiche bothe may can and wol endevour Hymself to repaire and restore the same unto the due perfeccion, whose assumpcion is undoubtedly worthy to be reputed a don and gift of God only, and an acte moste fortunate gracious and chaunced in most covenable tyme and season; for the whiche the Kinges Grace and I have geven and do geve unto Allmyghtty God as grete lovinges and thankes as can be. And ye may assure His Holynes that the Kinges Highnes, like an obedient and most loving son, and as a most cristend and vertuous Prince, wol not faile effectuelly fermely and constantely to joyne and concurre with Hym in all thinges, whiche may sounde to his honour weale and suretie, the tranquilite quiete and repose of Cristendome; offering His Graces auctorite puissance realme and bloode for the furtherance therof to the uttermost. Like as I also, as a moste devoute and assured membre of his, shal not faile to employe my wit study person substance and life to do unto His Holynes al the servyce and pleasure to me possible, as by the continual experience the same shal assuredly prove from tyme to tyme, whensover and as often as the cace shall require. All whiche matiers ye shal extende with the best most herty and loving wordes and demonstracions that ye can devise, in suche wise as His Holynes may therby evidently perceyve the assured mynde and cordiall affeccion, whiche the Kinges Grace and I do bere unto the same.

Over this ye shal shewe unto the Poopes Holynes that, albeit the Kinges Highnes was resolutely resolved and determyned that his armye being in France, having there right good successe with honourably victory, shulde have remayned there al this wynter, having made open their way and entre in to the bowelles of the countrey withoute resistence, the towne of Ancre nere to the ryver of Somme taken by dedition, and the walles and castel thereof throwen downe; the toune of Bray scituate uppon the said ryver wonne by force and strenght, rased also and destroyed; the passage of the said river, myghttely fortefyed and by thennemyes defended, valiantly by strenght goten and adquyred; and the same enemyes with their losse profligate; the stronge towne of Mountididier, 6 leges beyonde the seid river, after approches and fiers batry made therunto, wherin were Pontremy and diverse noble men, with 3000 fotemen and 500 speres furnished by them, after a conflict made wherein were taken Monsr. de Nevile and two other grete men, besides 60 men of armes and fifty fotemen taken, and as many slayn, to the Kinges Lieutenaunt to thuse of the Kinges Highnes as parcel of his enheritance of his Realme of Fraunce, rendred and delyvered; the townes of Roy and Lehons with diverse other townes and castelles also taken; and the said armye being uppon their way

of

of traverse of the realme of Fraunce towardes a towne called Lan in Lannoys, where they shold be in convenient redynes bothe to procede streight unto Paris, and also to joyne with the Duke of Burbon and suche as with the 10000 lanceknyghts being at the Kinges charge he had with hym, for whiche purpose also the nombre of 8000 freshe horsemen and fotemen were prepayred for their renforcement, and passed on their way unto Dover and other places on the see cost, redy to take passage; the Kinges armye also being sufficiently and amply furnished of money for their contynuance, and the som of 100000 crounes sent unto Bisanson for payment of the said lanceknyghttes from moneth to moneth; so as on the Kinges parte nothing was left or pretermytted, whiche ought and conveniently myght have ben done for contynuance of this wynter warre, whereby thenemye, disturber of the quiete in Christendome, myght the rather have ben inforced to knowe and refourme hymself, or elles suffre so largely that his temeritie shuld therby be mytigate and repressed: yet neverthelas suche fervent and extreme coldes rayned att that tyme with many and diverse other incommodious weders, that first the lanceknyghttes being under the leding of the Countie Felix, redy to have joyned with the Duke of Burbon, partely by meane therof, and partely, as it is said, by corrupcion, abandonned the feld, and aftre a grete boty taken retyred in to their countreys, and that armye therby clerely for this tyme broken and dissolved. The Duke of Burbon also proceded and passed towardes Spayn by the way of Italy. And over that, the horses and bestes, whiche drewe the Kinges and thEmperours artillary and other cariages, died daily and nyghtly in suche nombre, that unnethe there remayned inowe in drye weder to remove the same; and contynuyng 2 or 3 dayes longer, they shulde have ben fayne to leve the said artillary for lak of carriage, which then coude not of a longe season be redoubbed. Men also passing by the way, aswel Englishemen as Burgonyons, perished for colde in suche gret nombres, that pitie it was to see. And finally there was suche lak and defaulte in payment of the Burgonyons, that for that and the other considerations bifore specified the Duke of Suffolke and Countie de Buren, leders of the common armye for the King and thEmperour, coude see none other remedy, but for the tyme to withdrawe them self in to som sure place in townes for relief and socours of their men and bestes, or elles utterly to lose the same, leve their artillary, and put the common affaires in extreme hazard and ruyne; like as they by common consent and accorde retyred unto Valencians; takyng neverthelas in their way certain castelles and places as Boyhon and Beawrevoyr; which, being delivered by the Duke of Suffolke to the Burgonyons to be kept to the Kinges use, were sithens by the same Burgonyons abandonned and forsaken. And fynding the

tyme

tyme of the yere clerely unseasonable of newe to procede and incontinently to retourne in to thenemys countreyes, they by mutuel concorde agrede to discharge their said armyes, til the begynnyng of this next spring of the yere, leving every thing in suche state and ordre, as they may then right spedily be redy to procede again unto their enterprises.

And, forasmoche as in this tyme of contynuance of the said armye beyonde the see, chaunced the deceace of Pope Adrian, and the eleccion of the Poopes Holynes nowe being unto that dignitie; by mean wherof it is nowe incertain what further direccion shalbe taken by His Holynes and the States of Italy for the yere nowe commyng and ensuying, specially thaffaires of the Duchie of Milayn being in better trayne then they wer; it is thought by the Kinges Highnes and his Counsail necessarily requisite, that ye, shewing unto the Poopes Holynes the said successes, with the ferme and constant mynde whiche the Kinges Grace is of to prosecute and folowe these good commencementes and victories with effect, in cace other Princes and Potentates, to whom aswel for their particuler causes as for the tranquilite and benefite of al Cristendome it aperteynith, wol do the semblable, shal desire His Holynes to ascertayn the Kinges Highnes of his determynate mynde and pleasure in thys behalf; shewyng and rehersing unto Hym, not only the grete honourable and vertuous groundes, why this common enterprises be attempted against Hym, Who by his inordinate and insaciable ambicion dothe annoye infect and disturbe all Cristendome, and howe moche repressing of Hym shall sounde to the pleasur of God, the weale of Cristes churche, the suretie of the Poopes Holynes and of all Italy; whyche have ben the principal causes moving the Kinges Grace to expone his labour travail payne subgettes and substance for reformacion and redressing therof, but also suche thinges as for this present tyme be thought right good and profitable commodities to prosecute werres against the said common enemye, whiche be these: First, the honourable and necessary groundes moving thEmperour and the Kinges Grace nowe last unto thise warres with France: Secondely, the ferme conjunccion and aliance whiche is contracted bitwene thEmperour and the King, with whom the werres be a common cause and matier: Thirdely, the bace state wherunto the Frenche King is brought, being exhaust of money, and his subgettes not able to contribute more unto Hym: Fourthely, his horesemen gretely dymynished and decayed, withoute likelihode howe He may repare them: Fyvethly, the revolting from Him of the Duke of Burbon, having 500 gentilmen in France sworne unto his parte: Sixthly, the universal hatred that the Frenche King hathe amonges al his commons; the feare that He is in by mystrust of his Lordes, not knowing whiche of them is his frende or his

 enemye;

enemye; the doubte lest that the Frenche King, not being preced, may respire, gader treasour, and frendes, and fortefie places nowe weyke, whiche afterward percace maye be imprenable; the dishonour whiche the Frenche King hathe taken in Italy; the confederacion betwene the States of Italy; the abandonnyng of the Frenche Kyng by the Venycians and their commyng unto thEmperours partie, whiche Venecyans by reason of the nowe elect Poope shal declare themselves more sincerely for thEmperour and the Kinges Grace, then afore; the waye and meanes founde on this side for entryng the bowelles of Fraunce without beseiging any strong places; the example of smal resistence against the Duke of Suffolke, and semblably againste thEmperours on that side of Spayn, and facultie to wynne the peoples favours; the discorage of the French Kinge by disapoyntment of the Scotisshe invasion, and fleing of the Duke of Albany; the annoyance done alredy to the Scottes, not being mynded or able to contynue their werres; the redynes wherin thEmperours and the Kinges shippes artillarye and ordinaunce is in; the goodly sommes of money graunted to thEmperour and the Kinges Grace by their Lordes and commons; the likelihode that the Frenche King, ons crnestly preced, shal not be able of long season to be again thus insolent, wherby an ende shalbe of the werres in Cristendome for many a day; and finally, the grete incerteinte whiche is to be rekynde in observance of any conventions to be made by the Frenche King concerning the peax or trieux, whiche He wol no longer observe then shalbe to his oune benefite: thise thinges wel and substancially considered, the Kinges special trust is, that the Poopes Holynes, who alwais hathe had fervent inclinacion to thise matiers, as to a vertuous Cardinal and honourable membre of Cristes churche aperteyned, wol nowe that it hathe pleased Allmyghtty God to constitute and ordeyne Hym to be hed of the same, no les tendre the weale restfulnes and quyete of Cristendome, then He hathe hitherto ben most studious and desirous therof, whiche shalbe the highest merite lawde and honour, that in this his begynnyng His Holynes may or can attayne. Wherfore the Kinges instant desire ys to knowe assuredly and perfitely, wherunto His Grace may trust; and what expectacion His Highnes may have of perfite favour aide and effectuel assistence from those parties, withoute any other outewarde demonstracion to be made therin, then shalbe entierly and sincerely accomplished. For as yet hitherto the Kinges Grace, for the inwarde zeale whiche He hathe unto the weale of Cristendome, hathe in maner supported and bourne the most and weighttiest burdon of thise warres, and most effectuelly hathe proceded unto the same, observing al promyses withoute variaunce delay or alteracion, where as other have ben more slak and remysse then shal nowe be convenient or nedeful to reherse. And hitherto no profite hathe commen

unto

unto His Highnes, but only honourable renoume for his gracious and vertuous mynde and intent, thoughe other be in state and condicion more mete to their purpose, to herken percase unto a perticuler peax, whiche in processe shalbe but a colour and shadowe of goodnes, then to that thing, wherof may comme and ensue a perfite and general establisshement of rest and peax in al Cristendome. The premysses wel and substancially considered, it shalbe not oonly a vertuous and meritorious, but also a feithful and honourable acte, for the Poopes Holynes plainely to declare his ful mynde resolution and intent herin to the Kinges Grace, to thintente that His Highnes, Who alwais hathe ben inclyned to do unto the holy Churche, and perticulerly to the Poope nowe being, asmoche honour as hathe ben in the facultie and power of His Grace, may by suche loving knowlege, as shalbe geven unto Hym from the Poopes said Holynes, ordre and trayne his grete and weightty causes and matiers accordingly. For His Highnes, after so many his gratitudes unto the holy See Apostolique, heretofore most largely extended, is nowe desirous and mynded to experyment and see, what correspondence shalbe shewed again unto His Grace for recovery of suche portions, as belong to his most title and enheritance, deteyned and witholden by the common enemye, like as to policye wisedom and good reason dothe apertayne. And, to the intent that semblable knowlege may be had of the myndes intentes and dispositions aswel of the Venecians as of the Duke of Milayn, howe they wol concurre for annoyance of the common enemye, the Kinges pleasure is, that either by your special letters to be sent unto Venece, or by suche other good meanes as ye shal thinke convenient, ye do enserche knowe and undrestande the inclynacion mynde and resolucion of the said Venecians; whiche had, the Kinges Highnes is contented that ye, M^r^. Secretary and M^r^. Hanybal, in consideracion of your long demores in those parties, shal retourne home, passing by the Duke of Mylayn for knowlege of his intent and mynde in the premisses. To whiche purpose, letters of credence addressed unto the said Duke with copies of the same, be sent unto you herwith, whiche copies with thise my letters shalbe a sufficient distruccion for you in suche thinges as shalbe nedeful to be commoned at this tyme.

Furthermore, ye shal on the Kinges behalf shewe unto the Poopes Holynes that, if the same be mynded to establishe and further unyversal peax in Cristendome, none so good and convenyent way or meane can be divised to compelle the common enemye to comme unto honourable and reasonable condicions, as nowe at this tyme to prece Hym ernestly and by al wais possible. Wherfor amonges other annoyances to be don unto Hym, aswel on that side as by the countreys of Spayn and on this partie, it shalbe in any wise requisite and expedient that the Duke of Burbon, where soever he be at this present

tyme either in Italy Spayn or elliswhere, shall with all possible and convenient diligence repaire streight hither unto the Kinges Grace, with whom His Highnes is mynded to conclude, on thEmperours behalf and his oun, suche notable thinges for the annoyance of the said enemye, as, God willing, shal be to the highe furtherance of the common causes and affaires. And for that cause ye shall desire His Holynes to put his hande and helpe that in any wise the said Duke of Burbon may repayre hither as is aforesaid, and semblably, if he remayne yet in those parties, ye may conferre with hym aswel uppon his spedy commyng, as also to assure hym that the Kinges Highnes wol be very joyeows and glad to see hym within this his Realme, being mynded to accept and entertayn hym in most loving kynde and frendely maner, and to suche waye with hym, by thEmperours consent concurrance and agreement, for thenterprises to be accheved and done nowe in all diligence, as shalbe to his most suertie honour and weale; where as, if he shulde refuse to comme unto the Kinges Grace for ordre to be taken in the present affaires, His Highnes is not mynded further to charge Hymself, then He hathe don, for any assistence to be geven unto the said Duke. And, thus, by al the good meanes to you possible, ye shal avaunce and solicite, aswel with the Poopes Holynes as otherwise, that no tract or delay be used herin, but that in avoiding losse of tyme, whiche can not be recovered, the said Duke may accelerate his commyng in to this Realme, and in cais, after the thinges perfited with the Kinges Grace, he shulde thinke good to passe in to Spayn, yet the most requisite way for the substanciall conduyting of al the common affaires were to passe by the Kinges Grace, if he be not passed already oute of Italy. Ascertaynyng you that the Kinges Highnes hathe semblably writen unto thEmperour, that if bifore the arrival of thise letters with you, the said Duke shal fortune to have taken the see towardes Spayne, thEmperour shall uppon his commyng unto Hym cause hym to use all possible diligence in his commyng thither, like as I am sure thEmperour, knowing the importance of the matier, wol do accordingly.

Albeit that in the begynnyng of this letter it is mencioned that the Kinges Grace, not abiding or tarying any intymacion to be made by the Poopes Holynes of his eleccion, dothe sende nowe his letters congratulatories as is aforesaid, yet neverthelas I advertise you, to be kept unto your self, that I have receyved in convenient diligence at several tymes not oonly your letters of the 3^{d} day of December, but also of the 18th of the same.[1] In the first was conteyned matier of right good effect, wherof the Kinges Highnes and

[1] Vitellius, B. V. leaf 237.

I toke

I toke singuler rejoyse and comforte to here and perceyve that the Poopes Holynes was of so good mynde and inclinacion towardes thEmperours and the Kinges affaires, mynding either to concurre with Them effectually, in cace He may be advertised that they intende to contynue and prosecute the werres after this wynter, or elles if thEmperour be not able so to do, His Holynes, doing secretley asmoche as He shulde be bounde to do, if He as Pope did entre the liege, wolde kepe Hymself in suche state, as He myght be mediatour that the Frenche King shulde offre suche peax unto them bothe, as shuld stonde with their honours, wherin His Holynes then, as ye affermed, had grete hope; with other good matiers conteyned in your said former letters. Howe be it, the last seme to be of an other sorte, considering that as ye write, His Holynes geveth somwhat to moche herkenyng unto the Frenche Cardinalles, with other matiers therin conteyned, sounding rather to an apparance of overmoche inclinacion to the Frenche partie, and their practises and abuses, then to his ferme adhering unto the King and thEmperour. Wherfor the Kinges Highnes and I can not a little mervaile; having neverthelas our special trust and confidence that, uppon your declaracion to Hym of the Kinges mynde and intent, with the grete reasons and urgent consideracions specified before in other letters, why the common enemy shuld nowe be ernestly preced, withoute whiche He wol never be induced to any reasonable point; His Holynes, ensuyng that whiche ye wrote in your said former letters, wol effectually concurre with the King and thEmperour, either declaring Hymself to accept the liege, if thEmperour and the King wol contynue the werres, and making also som newe liege with the Kinges Grace and thEmperour as your said letters purporte, or elles if thEmperour shal not be furnyshed for the said contynuance, to conduce by his wisedome and policie an honourable and profitable peax as is aforesaid. For ye may say unto His Holynes, that of al persons living, whiche myght have aspyred unto this dignitie, the Kinges and my entier confidence is that no man coude or wolde be more favourable unto thEmperours and the Kinges causes, then He; and it wer not honourable that His Holynes, who, being Cardinal, was the principal conductour and avauncer of the liege, with other thinges sounding to the empechement of the common enemye, shulde nowe, being Poope, fynde default or excepcion at the same. And sure may He be, that what soever practise the Frenche men shal set forthe with Hym, He shal fynde them but abuses, wherin His Holynes hathe had experience in tyme past; knowyng right wel, that they neither wol observe or kepe any their convencions and promyses lenger then shal stonde with their oune commodite and profite. Besides this, His Holynes not adhering and concurring effectuelly with the King and thEmperour, it shuld

shuld be an occasion for Them to thinke no smal ingratitude in the same, and therby their causes and affaires shuld be gretely hyndred, and the reputacion of thenemy moche furthered and avaunced, who by that meanes shuld be further from any good or reasonable way to be taken, then he is nowe; and consequently, thenemy prospering in Italy, and thEmperour and the King despaired of the Poopes entier favour, what dangier the state aswel of His Holynes as of al Italy were in, as facile and easy to be considred. The Frenche Kinge also, being at suche fordele, wolde thinke to have al his pleasures and commandementes of the Poope, whiche had or refused, He then having so grete a fote, wold and myght use His Holynes as a chaplain; and fynally the Poope, not then so wel assured of the Kinges and thEmperours assistence as He nowe is, shuld experyment what it wer to cast away suche two frendes, whiche be able and mynded to maynteyn conserve and defende his astate to the uttermost. The sect also of Luther myght by meanes therof the rather be accepted by diverse subgettes of thEmperours, aswel in Almayn as elliswhere, whiche shulde here of the Poopes ingratitude, and percace myght spred so ferre bothe in Fraunce Spayne and Italie, that the dignite of Cristes Churche myght therby be in brief tyme suppressed, and had in smal estymacion. All whiche daungiers, with many moo that myght ensue for lak of the Poopes effectuel joynyng at this tyme with the King and thEmperour, either for werre or conducing of peax as is aforesaid, ye shal most instantely beseche His Holynes vertuously and discretely to pondre and remembre; shewing unto the same that for knowlege, what thEmperour is mynded and able to do this somer for annoyance of thennemye, the Kinges Highnes hathe before this tyme depeched his special letters bothe to His Majeste and also to the Kinges Ambassadours there resident, with intymacion of the Kinges mynde, being right wel able, and thinking best that thenemye be ernestly preced on al sides, if thEmperour shalbe furnished to do the semblable. For lak wherof, yet there may be suche an entreprise attempted, and is devised to be don by the Duke of Burbon, with thassistence that he shal have from the King and thEmperour, withoute excessive charges, and percace shal asmoche or more abashe the Frenche King, then if the Kinges Grace and thEmperour invaded Fraunce in their oune Personnes with their armyes royal. To whiche purpose the Kinges Highnes hathe not oonly amply instructed his Ambassadours resident with thEmperour, loking right shortely for aunswere and knowlege of thEmperours resolucion herin, with repairing hither of the Duke of Burbon, but also hathe writen to the Lady Mergaret, desiring her to cal a Counsail general, like as the Kinges Highnes dothe here the semblable, to knowe and understonde what they wol contribute, or what she and the

Lordes

Lordes and other of thEmperours Lowe Countreys be mynded and able to do in this behalf. Wherfore ye shal exhorte the Poopes Holynes in any wise to leve and forbere any demonstracion of favour and inclinacion towardes the French partie; shewing Hymself ferme and constant in his love and affection towardes thEmperour and the Kinges cause, whiche shalbe the next meane and waye to cause the Frenche King to make overture and offre of reasonable condicions; and moche the rather, if His Holynes wol declare Hymself in the liege: where as by the contrary He shal bring thenemye in to suche elacion, that using first crafty practises and subornacions with the Poopes Holynes, against Whom undoubtedly He bereth in his herte an olde roted secrete and hid malice, and setting the lesse by thEmperour and the Kinges Grace, He shal at the last, fynding tyme and oportunite, evome and discover his pestiferous intent and purpose, to the utter ruyne slaunder and oppression aswel of the dignite of the churche of Rome, as also of the state of Italy for ever. And therfore, if the Poopes Holynes be mynded to be the auctour of a good peax and unite in Cristendome, and wol regarde his oune welthe honour and suretie, He must effectuelly adhere unto thEmperour and the King, levyng his famyliarite with the French Cardinalles, and herkenyng to the practises of that faccion, whiche shalbe the immediate way to cause the common enemye to knowe himself, and either to comme to reasonable and honourable condicions, or elles by the ferme concurrance to gider of the Poope the Emperour and the Kinges Grace with the Venecians and other states of Italy, and other their frendes, to be brought unto suche basse and lowe state as He shal not be able to do annoyance displeasure or hurt unto them hereafter. And of the Poopes answer and towardnes herin, with al other matiers worthy knowlege, ye shal advertise me by your letters in diligence; to the intente the Kinges Grace may trayne his matiers accordingly, and at the commyng hither of M^{r}. Melchior from the Poope, who is not yet arrived, ne any knowlege had of hym but by your said letters, to make unto hym suche answer as shal apertayn.[1]

[1] The date of this letter is uncertain, but clearly later than the 24th of December, which is ascribed to it in the Cottonian Catalogue. It was probably answered by the Orators at Rome in their letter of the 23d of February, which is not to be found, but is mentioned in their further letter of the next day, post, p. 254, and in Wolsey's of the 25th of March, post, p. 278.

LXXV. Pope Clement VII. *to* Wolsey.[1]

Clemens $\overline{PP}$ VII.

Dilecte Fili noster, Salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem. Ad eam benevolentiam animorumque conjunctionem, inter Nos in minoribus existentes et Circumspectionem tuam, multis et justis rationibus, tuisque presertim erga Nos officijs constitutam, auctamque potius hac nostra dignitate quam diminutam, non parum adjecit sua sedulitate atque officio dilectus filius Thomas Annibalis, Regius Orator; siquidem toto eo tempore, quo legationis munere functus est, nihil omisit quod ad confirmandam erga istum inclytum Regem observantiam, erga te vero benivolentiam nostram pertineret. Egit fide, egit prudentia, egitque industria, ut Nos, qui antea eidem Majestati tueque Circumspectioni plurimum debebamus, deinceps tanto plus deberemus, quanto illius erga Nos, vestro quidem jussu prestita, verum non mediocriter ejus solertia atque animi promptitudine exornata, officia promerebantur. Atque hoc quidem ille tempore tantum una cum ceteris Oratoribus Regijs ad promovendum hanc dignitatem nostram, quam Dei munere sumus adepti, pie ardenterque laboravit, ut cum ad nostri animi nexum erga vos nihil addi posse putaremus, magnum ejusdem Thome opera ac diligentia cumulum adjectum esse sentiamus. Quem Nos quidem cum ob virtutes ejus plurimas diligamus, etiam eo pronius ac libentius diligimus, quod tue Circumspectioni carum et probatum, tibique deditissimum, agnovimus. Est enim nostri officij, cum tot et tanta a Circumspectione tua beneficia olim receperimus, non eam solum, sed ejus causa omnes illi additos, peculiari amore propriaque benivolentia complecti. Quo magis doluimus nuper ipsum Thomam statim post assumptionem nostram ab ista Majestate ad se fuisse revocatum; quem, sicut in dignitate hac nostra vestro nomine juvanda, laboris et sollicitudinis, ita gaudij et jocunditatis participem, esse decebat. Quare, ac ne etiam vir, corpore et jam annis gravis, itinerum incommodis per hyemem se committeret, eum, quanquam parendi et ad vos veniendi cupidum, jamque ad iter accinctum, sumpta de vobis fiducia, retinuimus. Quem quidem vere proximo, ne sine aliquo nostri amoris pignore ad vos veniat, cum Rosa Aurea isti Regi nostro nomine deferenda, dimittemus. Interim has ad Circumspectionem tuam, atque alias ad istam Majestatem, super hoc literas dare voluimus, tum ut moram hanc dicti Thome apud Nos bimestrem Nobis tribui

[1] Record Office.

et

et condonari peteremus, tum ut gratularemur tibi, quod talium virorum patrocinio delecteris, gratiasque ageremus quod frui Nos talibus permiseris. Datum Rome, apud Sanctum Petrum, sub annulo Piscatoris, die 13 Januarij 1524, Pontificatus nostri anno primo.

(*Signatur*) Be. El. Cremoneñ.

(*Superscribitur*)
Dilecto Filio nostro Thome, tituli Sancte Cecilie Presbitero Cardinali Eboracensi, in Regno Anglie nostro, et Sedis Apostolice, de Latere Legato.

LXXVI. Wolsey *to* Sampson, &c.[1]

Master Sampson and Master Jernyngham, I commende me unto you in my right herty maner. By Lurcy, servaunt to the Duke of Burbon, I wrote unto you my last letters, and in the same advertised you the cause maner and forme, why the commyn armye, whiche was under the leding of the Duke of Suffolk and the Countie Buren in Fraunce cam and repaired unto Valencians, with the intencion and mynde that the Kinges Grace was of to cause the said armye, for his parte, to retorne and remayn this wynter in thenemyes countreys, in cace the Countie de Buren with thEmperours folkes wolde do the semblable. Nevertheles, forasmoche as the season of the yere was so fervent in extreme coldes, and other sore wedders, that neither men ne beestes coulde lenger endure marching in the felde, but died dailly and nightly on bothe parties in great nombers for colde, and diverse other lost thair fyngers handes and fete, being frosen and dede upon thair bodyes, and sens dailly cut of; being also no maner likelihode, or in maner posibilite, that newe lymoners and horses for drawghtes and cariages coude be recovered in les space than 6 weekes at the lest, without whiche it was not possible to marche or drawe forthe the artillarye; and yet, after the same drawghtes recovered, the armyes being so ferre oute of the herte of thenemyes countreys, whan wete wedre shulde come, the great ordenaunce coude in no wise be caried; remembring also that the Duke of Burbons armye was than totally skaled, withoute hope of any frute to ensue of his enterprise at this tyme: for these respectes and consideracions, by common

[1] Printed from the original. It is published incorrectly, and as two letters, by Fiddes, Collections, pp. 139, 140. There are three copies in the Museum, Vespasian, C. II. leaf 247; Harleian, No. 297. fol. 195, and No. 6345. fol. 762; of which the last is the best.

consent of the said Duke of Suffolke and Countie de Buren, who by reason of these impedimentes were of necessite forced so to do, the said common armye was clerely dissolved and discharged; and, bifore knowlaige geven unto the Kinges Grace of the same, not oonly the Burgonyons and launceknyghtes retorned home to thair dwelling places, but also the lymoners and cariages were paied and likewise discharged, the Kinges folkes also by litle and [*litle*[1]] passing from Valencians unto Bruges, and thera[*boutes, have*[1]] kept theym self holy to gedre, til advertisment geven hereof to the Kinges Highnes, and his pleasure knowen upon the same; whiche matier at the beginning, forasmoche as the Kinges Grace was not than so plainely advertised of the said impedimentes and incommodities, as sithens, was greatly to His Graces displeasure and miscontentation, being a goodly renforcement than redy to have been sent oute of England to the said armye; as in my last letters I wrote unto you at lengthe. Wherupon commaundment was geven by the Kinges Highnes to the Duke of Suffolk, that in cace the said Countie de Buren Burgonyons and launceknyghtes wolde retorne unto thenemyes countreyes, contynuing thair werre invasive for al this wynter or a good part therof, he with the Kinges armye provyding and redubbing his lymoners, shulde do the semblable. Howebeit in conclusion it was answered bothe by the Lady Margaret and Countie de Buren, whiche thair answer undoubtedly appereth to be true, that it was not possible for this tyme to redubbe the said lymoners, and gadre again the Burgonyons and launceknyghtes under the space of 6 wekes, ne that any exployte invasion or marching, otherwise than by lying in garnyson, coude further be done this tyme of the yere; with many large reasons and demonstracions, justifying confermyng and approving the same: so as the Kinges Grace was fayn to accept and take the said dissolving in somwhat better parte, tracting nevertheles the tyme so long, to experyment whether any other good exploite might be studied or divised, and for other causes hereafter mencioned, that unto this daye the hole armye is not retourned on this side [*soe farre*[1]], but aswell a great part of theym, as also the Duke [*of Suffo*]lk[1], and principall lordes counsaillours and capytains[2], shall fynde in the said Duke of Burbon, with al other thinges requisite and worthy knowlaige: so as the Kinges Highnes, being by you bifore the spring and convenable tyme of the

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[1] The original is torn here; these words are supplied from the last-mentioned copy. Whether the words "soe farre" are correct is doubtful. In the other copies blanks are left.

[2] The first leaf of the original ends here, and there is no appearance of any having been abstracted; but all the copies, except Vespasian, C. II. leaf 247, leave a considerable blank after the word "capytains," and the sense denotes a chasm.

yere

yere advertised of the premisses, may in tyme trayn and order his matiers and affaires accordingly.

In declaration of the premisses unto the Emperour, ye must use good circumspeccion, to thentent ye may first perceyve and understonde the mynde and disposicion of Hym and his Counsail, aswel towardes the contynuance or not continuance of the werres, as also to do som effectuel and notable thing for the Kinges benefyte and avantaige, as is aforesaid; wherin percace it shall be expedient that, after this overture made unto His Majestye, He take som pawse to deliber with his Counsail, bifore He can make unto you perfyte and direct answer upon the same, though it is not to be thought but, that bifore the receipt of thise letters, they have ther divised or spoken of some enterprises, or other further annoyance to be done this yere folowing against the common enemye, onles than they sawe other apparance of an honerable and beneficial appointment, bothe for the King and the Emperour, than is here yet knowen. Wherfore the Kinges pleasure is, that ye discretly and substancially note marke and enserche, what divice or overture they of theym selfes upon your said declaration shal set forthe; to the intent that suche matier, as ye than shall move theym of, being hereafter mencioned, may percace the rather come partely of thair oune mocyon and desire; or peradventure some other thing may be by thEmperour offred to be done at this tyme, to the annoyance of the enemye and benefyte of the Kinges Grace, besides that whiche His Highnes wol demaunde. Wherefore ye must politiquely and discretely handle your selfes in the disclosing therof accordingly.

Ascertayning you that, whan the Kinges Highnes and I have groundely noted and considred the continewe of your last and penultyme letters, making mencion of the small apparance whiche ye see that the Emperour shalbe furnished of money and treasure to do any notable act, and having regarde on thother side howe ferre the enemyes overtures and offres be from any profitable or honerable appointment; thinking furthermore that it shalbe no small daunger and peril to the Kinges and Emperours affaires, in cace either for lak of money, on thEmperours parte or otherwise, to continewe the werres, they shuld seme and appere to be of force and necessite overmoche desirouse of peax or trieux; whereby thenemye, perceyving the same, shulde be gretely encoraged, and percace be more obstinate than afore, having commodite geven unto hym to gadre treasure puissance and frendes: for thise causes the Kinges Highnes and I, by good deliberacion, have had sundry divises and communications to gidre, to fynde and studye a mean waye, howe thenemye, without thEmperours excessive charge, may be contynually annoyed, compelled to spende his money, kept in besynes terrour and feare, and peraventure som good porcion

adquired and goten for the Kinges Grace; whereby in the ende the Frenche King may also be compelled to offre condicions of an other sorte than He hathe yet done; and in the meane tyme honour emolument and proffyte to arise also unto the Emperour; and fynally the Duke of Burbon, with other the Kinges and his frendes, conserved maynteyned holpen and defended. Whiche divice if it may take effect, the Emperour may saye He is not a litle bounden unto the Kinges Highnes, that, for conservation of the said Emperours honour, and salvacion of his charges, wol thus contynually take unto Hym self the greatter weight and burdon of the commyn causes and affaires.

First, it is not unknown unto the Emperour, that, aslong as the werres shall endure with Fraunce, the Kinges Grace, aswel for garding of the passage in the Cannale, as also for the suertie and defense of his merchantes and subjectes, and for annoyance of thenemye, must kepe a puissant armye on the see, whiche ariseth to no smale yerely charges and expences, besides that His Grace must also mayntain great garnisons and armyes aswell for defence of his Borders foranempst Scotland, and withstanding of Scottishe invasions, as to infest annoye and invade theym at tymes requisite, besides continewall crewes to be layde at Calaies Guisnes Hammes and other places of the Kinges Marches ther, for conservation suertie and defence of the same; all whiche charges amounting to right great and notable sommes the Kinges Highnes, for thEmperours sake, is contented still to support and beare, rather than to be driven to comme unto anny peax or trieux, that shuld not be unto bothe Princes honerable and prouffitable. And, to thintent that the good effectes bifore specified may be brought to passe, His Grace is also contented, if suche honorable and prouffitable condicions of peax or trieux be not offred, as may be commodiously accepted, over this to charge Hym self somwhat further towardes an honerable exploite and enterprise to be attempted against the said enemye; so that thEmperour, furnishing for his partye to his werres of Italy as aperteyneth, wolbe contributory to the same enterprise in maner and forme folowing; that is to saye: If the Duke of Burbon may with diligence transport hym self by this waye into Flaunders, and those thEmperours Lowe Countres, and that ordre be geven by thEmperour with all spede possible for an armye of 3000 Burgonyons horsemen at the Emperours charge only, and 10000 launceknyghtes fotemen, to be prepared at the commyn charges of thEmperour and the Kinges Grace, to whom also His Highnes woll be contented to sende oon thowsand archers at his ooune charge, with a convenient capitain, having his artillarye and ordenaunce in sufficient redines at Valencians; and that this armye, furnished of cariages and other requisites oute of Flaunders, may passe with the said Duke of Burbon by the waye of Ancre, or otherwise

as

as ther is sufficient open waye, into Normandy, or unto Parys; in whiche Normandye the said Duke of Burbon hathe right great love intelligence and acquayntance; ther to recover som townes and places to the Kinges use, whiche shalbe more facile for the said Duke of Burbon to do, than any other person; and the waye ones made open, or an entre had, the Kynges Grace, fynding good oportunitie, may percace either in Person or by a Lieutenant avaunce thidre an armye, whiche shall discende in Normandie, for the better attaynyng of that countrey; it is thought by the Kinges Highnes and his Counsail, that thise effectes folowing may therof ensue; first, the Frenche King shall by thise meanes be contynually put into besines charges and expences; the frendes and lovers of the Duke of Burbon, seing hym entred with suche a puissance, shall therbye take corage, and be the bolder to declare theym selfes on his partye; diverse townes and strong places shall facilly be rendred and revolte unto hym; the rest of the 200000 crounes, promised by thEmperour and the Kinges Grace to the said Duke of Burbon, may be converted towardes the charges of that enterprise; the same Duke shall thus be enterteynned countenaunced and aided, without putting thEmperour and the King to double charges; thEmperour shall not nede for that yere to charge Hym self with any other puissant armye to entre into Fraunce, but only with the contribucion towardes the charges of the said armye, as is aforesaid, whiche besides the rest of the said 200000 crounes wolbe no suche excessive somme, as shall moche greve Hym; more displeasure and terrour shall ensue hereof unto the Frenche King, having not only strangers entered into his domynyons, but also his ounc subjectes against Hym, wherbye He shalbe in contynual feare to exacte money or do other feate for gadring therof, than if sundry puissant armyes of strange Princes only shulde entre his countreys, whose partes none of his Lordes or Commons wolde so facile inclyne unto, as to the said Duke of Burbon; the Frenche King shalbe so extremely attenuate, and his realme brought herbye into suche division, that He shall not be able to mayntayn enforce or contynue his army in Italy, but of necessitie must abandonne the same for savegarde of his ooune state and Person, wherby the Duchy of Mylayn shalbe clerely delivered from all daungier of the Frenchemen, and established in good suertie for the tyme to come. The Duke of Burbon, thus notably aided, and being so moche estemed and beloved in Fraunce, shalbe in great apparance to make a clere and newe revolucion thorough all that realme to the Kinges, thEmperours, and his, great honour and proffyte; thEmperours Lowe Parties and Countreys on this side shalbe in good suertye, by reason that the Frenche King so occupyed by his oune subjectes with the helpe of the said armye, shall not be of habilitie

habilitie to attempt any thing against the same Lowe Countreys; thenemye shalbe compelled to submytte hym self unto reasonable profitable and honorable condicions for the King thEmperour and the said Duke. And finally Thair bothe Majesties, not highly charged herby with expenses, may gadre money and treasour, whiche shalbe an increace of terrour unto the Frenche King, and having suche treasour, They may than be able (thenemy exhaust of money) to do further, as the cace shall require. This divice, if it be duely and spedely executed, semeth to be of so great a consequence, bothe for the conservation of thEmperours honour and reputacion, the avoiding of superfluous charges, the ernest precing of thenemye, theffectuel assistence and releve of the Duke of Burbon, and the demonstracion of gratitude on the Emperours behalf towardes the Kinges Grace, that with suche other small annoyances as may be done, without great charge, aswell by thEmperour on the parties towardes Spayne, as also on this side, and on the see by the Kinges Grace, with some enterprise or broylery to be also made in Britain by Mouns^{r}. de Pountiver, who is here with the Kinges Grace, non other better, or so beneficiall, a thing can nowe be divised studied or imagined for avaunccment of the commyn affaires. Wherfore ye shall desire thEmperour, on the Kinges behalf, not only to condescende unto the premisses for his partie, but also to exhorte move and persuade the Duke of Burbon, whither he be in Italye or in Spayne, incontinently and with all possible diligence to transporte hym self into this Realme; to the intent that, upon commission to be geven by thEmperour unto his Ambassadour here resident, or other, to common treate and conclude the premisses, suche divice communicacion and resolucion may be taken with the said Duke of Burbon for accheving of this enterprise, as on all parties shalbe thought requisite and convenient; with ordre to be geven by thEmperour for due execucion and faithfull performance of the same by his folkes on this side, without using suche remisse maner delay and difficultye therin by colourable excuses, and for lak of furniture of money, as hathe been don bifore tyme; for doubteles the Kinges Grace is not mynded further to charge Hym self for assistence of the said Duke of Burbon, than He hathe done, onles he woll attempt his enterprise on this side, where is more apparance that he shall do good in revenging hymself against the Frenche King, and recovering of his astate, with better, than in any other place; like as ye may also shewe unto the said Duke, if he be there, having communication with hym at length in this matier. For ye may say sua res agitur, and for thEmperours and his sake the King dothe move this affaire, mynding effectuelly to assist hym, if he woll entre by thise parties, as is aforesaid, and comme and speke with the Kinges Grace for deliberacion and perfyte knowlaige to be had

had what substanciall waye and direccion is to be taken in the present besines; whom His Highnes wolde not only be joyeows and glad to see within this his Realme, but also he might be well assured to be in most frendely and loving maner accepted used and entertayned duering his abode in the same. Thus ye shall instantly and effectually solicite procure and avaunce the spedy commyng hither of the said Duke, with sufficient commission and instruccion to be sent by the Emperour, aswell to his Ambassadour here resident, for conclusion of the said maters with the King and the Duke of Burbon, as to the Lady Margaret, and other to whom it shall appertain, for preparacion of the horsemen fotemen and other requisites as is aforesaid, so as no tyme be lost, but the spring of this yere taken, wherby commodyous season may be to accheve and performe the enterprises intented with honnour and proffyte; desiring thEmperour in any wise to geve substanciall ordre for furniture of money on his partie, and that the Burgonyons, leving thair accustumable delays and colours to be alwaies nere unto thair oune borders, do proceede with effect to the execution of the enterprises, as the same shalbe intented concluded and divised. Thus hertily fare ye wel. At my manour of Hampton-courte, the 14th day of January.

(*Signed*) Yo͠ lovyng frende,

T. Carlis Ebor̃.

LXXVII. Pope Clement VII. *to* King Henry VIII.[1]

A
Clemens PP VII.

Carissime in Christo Fili noster, Salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem. Quum dilectum filium nostrum Tibi Nobisque merito carissimum Cardinalem Campegium, Legatum nostrum in Germaniam ad eam fluctibus hereticorum tumultuantem pacandam, præsertim ad Conventum Norimbergensem qui nunc habetur, mittere nuper decrevissemus, eumque essemus propediem expedituri ac dimissuri, oportune lætanterque accepimus, eo et Majestatem Tuam suos

[1] From the Record Office, where there is also a letter of the 21st of September 1524 from the Pope to Wolsey, soliciting the Bishoprick of Salisbury for Campeggio, who was appointed to it in the following December.

oratores

oratores destinasse. Nam quum tantam inter Te et Nos sanctæque memoriæ Leonem Papam X., prædecessorem nostrum, animorum conjunctionem Deus esse voluerit, quanta inter parentes et filium optari potest, gaudemus eundem Te hoc tempore Nobiscum pietate certasse, parique studio ad tuendum sanctam fidem incubuisse. Scilicet idem Dominus, qui piam dexteram Tuæ Majestatis olim ad scribendum impulit, nunc mentem ad legationem contra hereticos mittendam immisit, ut tua eos hic autoritate, sicut ibi stilo confodias, atque uberiorem et ampliorem fidei defensæ titulum merearis. Verum de tua in Deum ardentissima pietate quum plurima hactenus eademque permagna Nobis testimonia dederis, assidueque des, minus quidem ea mirari ob frequentiam, laudare tamen cogimur ob magnitudinem. Perge vero, Fili Carissime, nec ullam quod facis dilabi occasionem sinas cœli promerendi, quod Tibi regnum post terrestre hoc amplum et illustre pro tua hac tanta pietate repromittitur. Quod autem nunc instat, ipsum Legatum nostrum Tuæ Majestatis observantissimum consilia cum tuis illic [*doc*]toribus universa consociare jussimus. Qui sane ut est studiosus atque amantissimus nominis tui, et ibi et quoquo terrarum Apostolica eum jussio deducet, semper Tibi se devotum ac benivolum exhibebit. Quo magis ille se a Nobis abstrahi ægre tulit, apud quos tuis commodis procurandis, negotijsque prudentissime pertractandis majori se usui Tuæ Majestati fore arbitrabatur. Verum adactus nostro jussu, oravit Nos summopere, ut præter nostram in Te paternam dilectionem, tuæque autoritatis apud Nos f dus et meritum, etiam aliquid in tuis rebus et negotijs confovendis illius absentis et gratiæ et memoriæ dare velimus. Quod sane facturos Nos recepimus, facturique ubertim sumus, tum Majestatis Tuæ causa, tum sua, ne ei noceat quod a tuorum apud Nos pro ratione negociorum nostra causa abstrahitur. Itaque siquid esse ultra potest amoris et caritatis in Te nostræ quam quod est, id totum illi viro, quem et Nos et Tu jure semper magnifecimus, communiter referemus acceptum. Tuæ autem erit benignitatis et regiæ celsitudinis respondere ei in hac tanta benivolentia, aut potius pietate erga Te, quum presertim eo veniat, quo et Tu ob eandem causam Oratores mittas, proximior Tibi loco futurus, et sanctam fidem, cujus titulo illustraris, cum tuis oratoribus defensurus. Te itaque quo studio possumus hortamur et rogamus, ut ejusdem Cardinalis adultam apud Te optimis suis officijs gratiam, tuamque erga se regiam benignitatem nihil imminutam velis ex hac absentia, quam et nostra et tua, immo Dei ipsius, causa suscipit. Nos enim dare operam annitemur, ut, quanquam vix videamur ad spontaneam in Te nostri animi promptitudinem aliquid ob aliquem adjicere posse, tamen istius dignissimi Cardinalis de Te ac Nobis optime meriti, seu potius nostræ qui illum misimus

gratiæ

gratiæ non parum tribuisse judicemur. Datum Romæ, apud Sanctum Petrum, sub annulo Piscatoris, die 17 Januarij, 1524, Pontificatus nostri anno primo.

(*Signatur*) BE. EL. CREMONEÑ.

(*Superscribitur*)
Carissimo in Christo filio nostro, Henrico
Angliæ Regi Illustri, Fidei Defensori.

LXXVIII. THE DUKE OF BOURBON *to* KING HENRY VIII.[1]

. . . . . acyon que savez de pye sa, et atandant tenps propice pour achever mon voyage, est survenu mon Cousin le Sieur de Beaurayns, qui ma aporte letres et creance avec commyssion de lEnpereur pour demourer par deca son Lyeutenant General. Monsieur, combyen que laffeccyon me solicitoit fort daler veoyr la bonne et gracyeuse compaignye de par della, ce neanmoyns, voyand les afayres qui sont ycy, desirent de tout mon pouvoyr fayre servyce a mondit Seigneur lEnpereur et a Vous, qui est la chouse du monde que plus je desyre, ay voulontyers acepte ladite charge, me confyand, Monsieur, que de vostre part feres marcher vostre armee, quil sera cause de fayre venyr nostre annemy a la rayson, soyt par amour ou par force, comme jay escript a mondyt Seigneur lEnpereur; qui, comme je me fye, ne fauldra fayre le sanblable de son couste; et de ma part, a layde de Dyeu et des gans de byen qui sont ycy, je mestray poyne dan fayre mon devoyr, aynsi que je y suis tenu, veu les bons proupos que jay anplement antandus par mondit cousin De Beaurayn, auquelz jay toutelle fianse.

Monsieur, apres le plus treshumblement quil mest possible estre recommande a vostre bonne grace, vois pryer Nostre Seigneur Vous vouloyr donner tresbonne vye et longue. Escript a Gennes, le 18e de Janvyer[2], et de la mayn de

Vrẽ treshumble et treshoubeissant
Serviteur e Cousin,
CHARLES.

(*Suscrit*)
Au Roy dAngleterre,
mon tresredoute Seigneur.

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[1] Holograph. From the British Museum, Vitellius, B. VII. leaf 26 b., burnt at the top.

[2] The same day Bourbon informed the Count de Penthiêvre of his appointment (Nero, B. VI. leaf 52), which was also notified to Wolsey by the Ambassadors at Rome by their despatch of the 1st of February, Vitellius, B. VI. leaf 1.

LXXIX. WOLSEY *to* SAMPSON, &c.[1]

AFTER the writing and perfiting of myn other letters to you directed, whiche ye shall receyve herewith, forasmoche as the ferre distance betwene Spayne and this Realme, with the incertaintye of commodious wyndes and weders, causeth suche great tract and delaye in the commyn affaires, that therbye the same be merveilously hindred and dammaged, it was therfore thought unto the Kings Highnes and his Counsail expedient, bifore the depeche of this post, to have a mature and groundly consultacion, by deliberate advice, for the more perfite instruccion to be geven unto you in al suche thinges as may occurre and chaunce touching the said commyn matiers; so as ye, knoweing the Kinges full mynde and pleasure therin, may the more substancially and spedely ordre your self in conducing the same to the beest and most desired ende and purpose; wherunto the Kinges Highnes requireth you, according to the great trust whiche ye be put in, to have speciall regarde; for, as ye may well perceyve and understonde, upon a good resolucion nowe to be taken dependeth in maner the hole importance of the Kinges great and weightye causes.

Ascertaynyng you that, like as is specifyed in my said former letters, the Kinges Highnes and his Counsail do moche note and marke your advertisement, mencyonyng the small apparance which ye fynde that thEmperour shall or may be furnished of money to mayntain and continewe his werres, with in maner the imposibilite that ye finde and do thinke in the same. And whan the Kinges Highnes and I and other of his Counsail do remember, that as yet thEmperour hathe not totally reduced those his countreys of Spayne unto the most perfyte obeisance, being his matiers of Italye also not in suche assured trayn, as percace at the writing of your last letters was thought and bruted in those parties, forasmoche as neither the Frenchemen have had so great losse ther as was spoken of, ne also be retorned into thair countrey, but remayn in the confynes of the Duchye of Mylain, abiding newe renforcementes, whiche the Frenche King prepareth to sende unto theym, and percace to passe the mountaynes in his oune person; considering furthermore the remys and slak demeanour of the Burgonyons in thise thEmperours Lowe Countres to put in effectuel execution his directions commaundementes and pleasures, with the smale power and abilite whiche they shewe theymself to be of, unnethe to defende thair oune confynes, albeit the Kinges Highnes at all tymes hitherto

[1] Printed from the original. There are three copies in the British Museum.

hathe

hathe been, and nowe also is, redy and glad for thEmperours sake to expone his treasour substance studye and power to the mayntaynyng and contynuance of the werres, yf thEmperour for his parte be mynded and able to concurre effectuelly with His Grace for that purpose. And for that cause ye be amply instructed by my said former letters to inquire of his Majestye, what He is able and woll do for the Kinges Highnes at this tyme; yet neverthelas His Grace, like a most loving and tendre fadre and good broder, dothe not ne woll ceace alwaies to thinke regarde and loke specially unto all suche thinges as may be to the beest weale and benefite of the said Emperours causes, being mynded rather to forbeire his oune particuler proffyct and avauntaige, wherunto of good congruence thEmperour shulde nowe have som regarde, than to prece the said Emperour to any thing not being conveniently in his power to furnishe or performe. And, to be playn with you, if His Grace shulde otherwise do, determynyng upon any promyses or faire ostentacions, which might be made to commence newe enterprises by commyn concorde, and than thEmperour not able in the ende to performe the same, but to disapoint the matiers as they have ben hitherto; it were but losse of money tyme and labour, with reproche and extreme detryment to ensue unto His Grace and Realme by the same. Wherfore, the premisses considered, inasmoche as ye shewe in your said letters, that upon the overtures of thArchbishop of Barry thEmperour, amonges other thinges, answered that He wolde make the Kinges Grace pryvey of the same; for knowlaige of his mynde, whither His Grace coude be contented to herken unto good and honorable condicions of peax for bothe parties or not, it was thought unto the Kinges Highnes and his Counsail expedient to make answer also unto you at this tyme touching those matiers; to thentent that, after ye shal have opened and declared unto thEmperour the contentes of my former letters, for knowlaige what He woll nowe do for the Kinges Grace as is aforesaid, leving yet the overture concernyng the enterprise of the Duke of Burbon, if either ye do or shall perceyve His Majeste inclined unto peax, or that He shall not be able really and effectuelly to concurre with the Kinges Highnes for mayntenaunce of the werres under suche forme as may be to som great and notable purpose, ye may knowe howe to ordre your self in the residue. In whiche poynt ye shall understonde that aswell for the consideracions above-specified, as for diverse other, and specially for that ther is no good werre commenced or contynued, but oonly to thentent to conduce and bring ones a good peax, the Kinges Highnes, for thEmperours sake, and for furtherance of his said affaires, semyng nowe to be not clerely oute of daunger, if the werres shulde continewe, and He not able to furnishe the same, can be

contented to forbeire the proffyte, whiche by effectuall concurrance His Grace loketh shulde nowe growe unto Hym by the werres, and accept with the Emperour, if He so desire, sortem pacis, as He hathe for his sake only taken sortem belli: so that the same be in suche wise conveyed, as may be to thair bothe honours and proffyttes, that is to saye, that first hit be offred and required by the commyn enemye, or by mediacion and meanes at his poursute; and secondly that overtures may be made either directely or indirectely by some personage to be sent unto the Kinges Grace from the Frenche King of suche condicions as with honour and raison may be accepted in the differences depending bitweene the Kinges Highnes and Hym, like as other overtures be or shalbe made unto thEmperour for his partie. For in cace it shall come unto the communication of a peax, it may well be thought and considred by thEmperour and his Counsail that, like as being bitweene the same Emperour and the Frenche King many differences, wherin the Kinges Grace and his Counsail can not be so riped, as for the debating of that matier were necessary, His Highnes coude not ne myght here with thEmperours consent well and conveniently allege suche specialties as shulde be necessary for concluding and componyng of thEmperours causes; so were it impossible that by any instruccion or otherwise thEmperour and his Counsail, or you the Kinges Ambassadours, coude be so ryped, as were requisite for the debating and concluding of the Kinges particuler matiers. And therfore, if ther be or shall be peax offred by the Frenche King, or by his meanes, as is aforesaid, though in the overtures of the said Archbishop smale and right strange mencion was made of the Kinges Grace, against whom the Frenche King semeth to beire his principal malice, arrecting the breche of the peax bitweene the Emperour and Hym to have proceded by the Kinges procuring and meanes; whiche thing howe fals and untrue it is, thEmperour can beest remember and dothe knowe; there must be wayes and meanes founde, by suche answers as thEmperour and his Counsail shall make, that poursute and mocion may be made unto the Kinges Grace; in suche wise as the matiers depending bitweene His Highnes and the Frenche King may be here debated treated and spoken of, and in non other place: and semblably thEmperours particuler affaires to be treated in his oune Court and presence and by his oune Counsaillours, wher the same be best knowen, without any conclusion or agrement to be taken, either by thEmperour ther, or by the Kinges Grace here, for any of thair said particuler causes, til suche tyme as they shal have geven mutuel advertisement either to other therof, and that they bothe be agreed contented and condescended unto the same; whiche matiers so particulerly first reasoned and debated, and the myndes

myndes of either Prince fully knowen to the other, commission and instruction may be geven for the perfiting and final conclusion of the said peax, to the contentacion of al parties here or there, as the cace shall require. Wherfore ye, fynding the matiers in trayn and disposicion more mete for the causes above-said to comme unto peax, than for contynuance of the werres to any notable pourpose, shall so handle your self in your communications and answers to be made unto thEmperour and his Counsail, that in any wise, if peax shalbe treated, the said overtures for the Kinges partye may be made here as is afore-said; wherin the Emperour of good congruence hathe more cause to speke, forasmoche as He perceyveth that for his sake the Kinges Highnes hathe the default and blame of breche of the peax arrected unto His Grace by the Frenche King, whiche the said Emperour knoweth to be done untruely and wrongfully. In this matier ye must use great dexterite and circumspeccion. For peradventure thEmperour, fynding his affaires of Italy in some perplexite and daungier, thinking that by avauncyng of an armye on this syde the same may be releved, shal rather labour and intende to put the Kinges Grace to excessive charges and costes, promysing to concurre with His Grace, and do thinges whiche He is not ne shalbe able to performe, than to leane and inclyne unto overtures and mocyons of peax. For whiche cause ye must substancially note and enserche, by all the waies and apparances to you possible, the abilite whiche the said Emperour may be of; and, if ye shall perceyve or see that His Majestye can not be furnished for the ernest and effectuel contynuance of his werres, ther is smale grounde to be taken upon any promises whiche He shal make in that behalf. In whiche cace the daungiers and inconvenientes be playnely to be shewed and declared unto Hym, making alwaies suche introduction therof, that He may perceyve the Kinges Grace propense and redy to concurre with Hym assurydly in the werres, and most desirous to contynue the same for conducing of the better peax according to the tenour of my former letters, if the said Emperour may and woll perfitely and sincerely do the semblable, and that the Kinges conformable mynde to herken unto peax, if it be offred, is but oonly for the Emperours sake; lest that His Majestye not being furnished for the infynyte charges that must be susteyned in sundry partes, if the werres contynue, shulde take dishonour losse or dammage, considering the Kinges Grace is not able ne may supporte and beire the hole burdon upon Hymself without assured concurrance of thEmperour; whiche lakking or not entierly performed, the common affaires by contynuance of the werre shulde be brought into worse state and ferre more daungier than they nowe be. And thus, if ye see apparance or likelihode

likelihode that honerable peax be or may be offred, and therof overture to be made unto the Kinges Grace as is aforesaid, it is the most sure and substanciall waye of all other; and, all thinges considered, shalbe, I may saye to you, most beneficiall and expedient for the Kinges Highnes and this his Realme, wherunto, after suche maner and forme as is bifore specified, His Highnes is most disposed and mynded; that is to saye, if it be offered by the Frenche King, a personage sent hither as afore, and that either thEmperour be inclined therunto, or that ye upon your other former overtures shall perceyve Hym in no wise able to contynewe his werres. Howe be it, in all your communications relacion must be made to thEmperour and his Counsail, as it is in dede that the Kinges Grace dothe it only for thEmperours sake, and for the benefyte of his particuler affaires in Italy and elleswhere. Unto whiche maner of proceding in your overtures I pray you to have speciall regarde, in suche wise as thEmperour shall not have cause to thinke that mocion of peax dothe procede of the Kinges Highnes; but that, lakking thEmperours concurrance, or a good peax being offred, His Grace for the better suertye of thEmperours affaires, forbeiring his oune fordele and profyte, dothe, like a loving fadre, conforme Hym self to herken therunto. Nowe ye be well and sufficiently instructed, howe to order your self, in cace upon the overtures mencyoned in my former letters touching knowlaige to be had what the Emperour wol do for the Kinges Grace, making yet no mencion of the Duke of Burbons enterprise, ye shall perceyve thEmperour either inclined to peax, and overtures therof made, or not able to continewe his werres; wherin bothe the Kinges Highnes and I have our ferme trust ye woll discretely and substancially order your self; remaynyng and contynuyng in the communicacion and divising of this matier, aslong as nede shalbe, and to abide the uttermost therof by often metinges and repaires unto the Emperour and his Counsail; making also demonstracion that with his answer in the premisses ye wol or have depeched the post, bifore ye come or procede into any other overtures or divises. Neverthelas, if ye, after long stikking unto thise matiers, shall perceyve that ther is no waye or meanes, howe the peax may be brought aboute in maner and forme before mencyoned; and that percace ther is, either by the mediacion of the Popes Holynes or otherwise, practise made for a trieux, to thentent that therof may ensue a communicacion for peax; ye, seing non other remedy, shall then enserche and understonde the condicions maner and forme of the said trieux. And, if ye shall perceyve that it be spoken of to endure for any long season, than ye may shewe unto thEmperour and his Counsail, that first, upon trust therof thenemye shall have litle regarde or mynde to sue for a final peax; and secondly, He having

having moche laisor geven unto Hym may respire, gadre money and frendes, fortifye his townes holdes and places, make practises for pulling the Kinges and thEmperours frendes from Theym; and fynally may percace be therbye so elated, that He shall than be further from good condicions of peax, than nowe. Semblably, if ye shall perceyve the trieux to be mocyoned for a verray small tyme, ye may saye, that harde shall it be bifore thexpiring therof to common treate and conclude upon a final peax, considring the ferre distance, whiche is bitween thEmperour and the Kinges Grace, and likewise from Theym bothe to the Frenche King; and over that, the Emperour, before the tyme of the same expiring, shal not have commodite to furnishe Hym self for renewing of his werres to be done with any notable effect and contynuance for the ernest precing of thenemye, if peax in the mean tyme shulde not succeede. Wherfore, if it must nedes come unto a trieux, a mete and raisonable tyme and space were to take the same unto Maye come twelmonthe, in whiche season convenient metinges and communicacions may be had, and personages sent bothe to thEmperour and the Kinges Grace for componyng of the differences variances and pretences dependyng bitwene Theym and the said Frenche King as is aforesaid. In the same tyme also it may be seen and knowen more assurydly, what the Popes Holynes, the Venecyans, and other States of Italy, wol and be able to do for the King and thEmperour, if peax shulde not ensue. Besides this, thEmperour and the Kinges Highnes may by that season gadre moche greatter treasour for maintenaunce of the werres, the terrour and drede wherof shall cause the Frenche King to offre the more reasonable conditions of peax, dreding to aventure the fortune of the newe werres. Unto whiche thinges ye may saye the Kinges Highnes trusteth that His Majestye woll have speciall regarde, and neither to condiscende either to a verray long or a verray shorte trieux, for the causes beforesaid. And, to thentent ye may be instructed of the forme and maner, howe the Kinges Grace is mynded to passe the said trieux, I sende you herewith a note and mynute divised of the same, moche conformable unto that whiche was herctofore sent hither by thEmperour; Who being pleased therwith, ye must move His Majestye, puttyng him in remembrance for passing of the article sent by you, Sir Richard Jernyngham, concerning the Kinges indempnite, a double wherof ye shall also receive at this tyme, without whiche the Kinges Grace woll not ne may in any wise condescende unto any trieux or abstinence with Fraunce, as in your former instructions that matier was largely inogh towched and mencyoned; wherfore ye must stik substancially therunto accordingly. Lating you witt, that upon suche overture of trieux, and the article so by thEmperour passed, forasmoche

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as by sending hither for further knowlaige of the Kinges pleasour ther shulde be great losse of tyme, His Highnes is mynded and contented that, if the same trieux be required and solicited ther by any personages from the Frenche King, and that thEmperour be contented with the forme of the same to you nowe sent, as is aforesaid, ye, after the article of indempnite passed, do advertise the Kinges Grace therof, causing suche meanes to be founde that some personage may be sent hither from the Frenche King to conclude the same, and that the Emperours commission may also be sent to his Ambassadour here for that purpose accordingly. And, if it be procured by the Popes meanes, and shalbe concluded at Rome, ye, after the said article of indempnite passed, shal advertise the Bishop of Bathe therof by your letters; unto whom in the mean tyme commission and instruction shalbe sent, that upon suche advertisement from you he shall ther mow conclude the said trieux for the Kinges partye, as shall apertain. Thus ye be amply instructed, howe, in defaulte of honorable peax offred, ye shall ordre your self touching a trieux, if any suche be required and desired either by the Frenche King, or by the Popes Holynes, or otherwise, at the Frenche Kinges mediacion; wherein ye shall determyn you to see the extremyte that may be done therunto, after suche maner as is before mencyoned in the matier of peax, not making any countenance or demonstracion, that ye have other or further instruccion than is aforesaid; and therupon to depeche, or dissymul the depeching of your post, for answer to be made unto the Kinges Highnes accordingly.

Howe be it, if ye shal see no way or meanes that either honerable peax shalbe offred by the Frenche King, with sending of personages unto the Kinges Highnes for debating of the perticuler matiers concernyng His Grace, as is aforesaid, or also that the said trieux with the article of indempnite may take effect, as is before divised; but that the Frenche King, persisting in his obstinacy, shal contynue and be mynded to remayne in termes of hostilite; ye shal then make overture unto thEmperour as foloweth, that is to say: it is thought unto the Kinges Highnes, that for the ernest precing of the Frenche King, and for the withdrawing of his power oute of Italye; first, thEmperour furnyshing and providing wel for his affaires in the Duchie of Mylayn, and establishing his folkes and frendes, aswel for resistence of the Frenchemen, as for poursuyng and folowing them on this side the mountayns, if they retourn, shuld prepare and set forthe under a Lieutenant a good and puissant armye, suche as wer sufficient, if His Majeste were present in Person, wel instructe and appointed of ordenaunces, and al other abylementes for the same, by the myddes of the moneth of May next ensuyng to entre in to the parties of Guyen,

Guyen, or other place ther aboute most propice and covenable; and that ye may wel and plainely see and perceyve that thEmperour is furnished of money for thair contynuance and entertaynement, and so to marche and procede actually for the wynnyng of suche places and countreys in those parties, as may be had and atteyned, remaynyng in the enemys countreys, til either som peax or other appointement be, uppon the enemyes poursute, taken by common concorde, or elles, failing therof, unto thende of October next ensuyng at the lest. And over this thEmperour, sending hither with al diligence the Duke of Burbon, and furnishing on this side an armye of 3000 Burgonyons horsemen, and 3000 lanceknyghtes fotemen, at his oune propre costes and charges, and contributing to the half expences of cariage and artillarye, or for lak of suche contribution, if ye can not attayn it, to lende unto the Kinges Grace suche peces of his artillarye as may be thought convenient; the Kinges Grace can be contented, for the said Emperours sake, He doing the premisses, besides his charges towardes Scotland and on the see, to avaunce for his partie an armye of 20000 horsemen and fotemen at the charges and expences of His Grace; the same and the seid Duke of Burbon, with the 3000 Burgonyons and 3000 lanceknighttes, to joyne to gider at Valencians, and being redy to merche from thens by the myddes of the moneth of June next ensuyng, to procede towardes Paris, in whiche waye is neither strong holde or river to empeche or let them, and so to contynue annoying the enemys by the best ways to them possible for the space abovesaid, if bifore that tyme peax or other appointement be not taken in maner and fourme as is bifore specifyed; trusting that by this meanes, if it be wel folowed and perfourmed on al sides, the Frenche King shal in brief tyme be brought to suche extremitye as shalbe to the Emperours and the Kinges grete honours and profites, and to the finyshing of the present warres and variances nowe reignyng in Cristendome, besides the restitution of the Duke of Burbon unto his former, or rather moche better, state. And thus doyng, the 100000 crounes promised by thEmperour to the said Duke of Burbon may be converted towardes the charges of thise his armyes, like as the rest of that, whiche the Kinges Highnes hathe semblably promysed, may comme to thuse and towarde the maynte-nance of the said armye to be avaunced for the Kinges parte; whiche divice, lakking peax or trieux, is the best and most beneficial thing, that the Kinges Highnes can imagyne divise or studie to bring an honerable and profitable ende unto the said warres; where as, if it be not folowed with suche effect, but with smal invasions as hathe ben hitherto, the enemye shal esteme the same none otherwise, then thexperience sheweth that he yet dothe; and consequently

the Emperour and the Kinges Highnes shal spende wast and consume tyme treasour and substance in vaine, withoute any notable effecte to ensue therof; wheras by this way they may be sure, God willing, to do the greatest feate that of many yeres hathe ben seen, to their perpetuel honour weale and suretie. And therefore, lakking the peax or trieux, ye shal in any wise most fermely and constantly stik unto this overture, labouring procuring and soliciting the same aswel to thEmperour as to his Counsail, with as many reasons and persuasions as ye can divise or make for inforcing therof; shewing unto His Majeste, and also to the Duke of Burbon, that, aswel for better attayning of vitailes for the said common armye by the favour whiche the people berith to the said Duke, being elles no convenyent waye howe to vitayle the same, as also for that the entre is made by the way of Valencians, and the Kinges ordenaunce left there, and al other ways by strong townes and places left upon the trust of the said Duke of Burbons joynyng with the common armye, it is necessarily requisite in any wise that the said Duke shal make his enterprises by this side; withoute whiche, being al the Kinges preparacions trayned for that purpose, His Grace can neither sende or avaunce any armye this yere in to Fraunce, ne also is mynded to charge Hymself further then He hathe done for any assistence to be geven unto the said Duke, if he should refuse to entre upon this side, being the most open redy and commodious way for hym to do grete feates to his oune weale and profite. And thus ye shal constantly persist in that mynde and opynyon, so that, what soever other matier shalbe mencyoned hereafter in this letter, ye as stifly remayne at this poynt, as thoughe ye had no maner other knowlege but only herof; shewing your self utterly mynded to depeche the post with thEmperors answere hereunto, and dryving the matier so ferre, that, before ye entre in to any other divises, ye shal, rather than faile, have had thEmperours letters or his post also depeched to the Kinges Grace for that purpose. Neverthelas, using your self by suche long stikkyng as is aforesaid, if ye at the last shal utterly fynde no hope or remedy to conduce thEmperour and his Counsail herunto, but that He in any wise shalbe mynded to have the Duke of Burbon to invade on that side; ye then, fayning your self to have received newe letters, or by some other good introduction, as ye can best divise, shal move Hym that neverthelas His Majestie, keping there the said Duke, wol avaunce his foresaid puissant armye on that side as is aforsaid, geving ordre for semblable setting forthe of the said 3000 Burgonyons and 3000 lanceknyghtes undre suche fourme and maner as in the article next before, the Duke of Burbons commyng hither only except, is towched and mencioned; persisting, aslong as ye shal thinke

thinke convenyent, in the labouring of that matier, whiche, or rather the former if ye can opteyn it, ye may capitulate and conclude in due and autentique forme, with all circumstaunces therunto requisite, as by your wisedomes and discretions ye shal knowe to be most expedient; forseing that in the same capitulacion there be an article for clere discharge of the Emperours and the Kinges personal invasion, appointed to be made the yere then next folowing. And it is not to be thought, but that the Emperour wol, and of good congruence must, be confourmable unto on of thise 2 wayes; and rather unto the former, then unto this, forasmoche as this way of Valencians is so open, and the citie of Paris so nere, that, the same ons had by dedicion or otherwise, not only merveilous grete benefite and profite may therof ensue unto thEmperour and the Kinges Grace, but also therby a total revolucion like to folowe in France; so as, using your selfes politiquely herin, ye can not faile, God wylling, to atteyn either the former or at the lest the latter of the said 2 ways; wherunto ye shal fermely stik, til ye shal see and perceive utter dispaire in the same. In which cace when ye shal see none other remedy, but that thEmperour peraventure shal allege that He is not able to furnishe unto his charges of his werres in Italy, avaunce a puissaunte armye by the parties of Spayn, and to provide for the mayntenance and contynuance of the said Burgonyons and lanceknyghtes on this side, ye shal then make unto the said Emperour and his Counsail overture in this maner; saying, that for the tender love and mynde, whiche the Kinges Highnes bereth unto Hym, being contented to susteyn asmoche payn and charge as conveniently may be, to do honour stede and pleasour unto His Majestie, His Grace having respect unto thEmperours present state, not being His Majestie best furnished of treasour, hathe divised this way for salvacion of the said Emperours charges: that is to say, that first His Majeste do geve substancial ordre that his armye in Italy may kepe the felde, and holde the Frenche King waking on that side, and in cace the Frenche King shulde withdrawe his power on this side the mountaynes, the Emperour to be bounden that his said armye of Italy sholde folowe and make actual warre and entre with contynuance in the realme of France; and, that substancially ordered, the said Emperour, forbearing at this tyme the avauncyng of any armye by the parties of Spayn, or putting Himself to extraordinarye charges and expences on that side, He do with al diligence sende hither the Duke of Burbon: and, where as there is in thEmperours ordinary wages 8000 Almayns in those parties, whiche must be employed to some good purpose, that He geve unto the said Duke 5000 of them, causing sufficient eskippage to be provided and furnyshed for transporting

of the said Duke of Burbon and Almayns by this way in to Flaundres, whiche wol be a sure and good conduyte for the same Duke and the said Almayns so procedyng undre the Duke of Burbon, and the Emperour furnishing the said 3000 Burgonyons horsemen and 3000 lanceknyghtes fotemen on this syde, and contributing to the half charges of cariages for the hoole armye, or at the lest, if ye can not attayn that, lending the King certein peces as is aforseid; the Kinges Grace woll be contented to furnishe for his parte the said nombre of 20000 horsemen and fotemen, so to passe al to gider by Valencians to the annoyance of thenemye in maner and fourme as is before specifyed; and thus thEmperour not highly charging Hymself may be the more able to supporte and maynteyn his werres in Italy: whiche duely folowed, and the said common armye with the Duke of Burbon entring on this side, where they have open way to passe unto Paris withoute river or strong place to let them, it is not to be doubted but that either within brief tyme there shal ensue a total revolucion in France, and the Frenche King, aswel on this syde the mountayns as beyonde, put unto grete extremytes and losses, or elles He shalbe compelled to submyt Hymself unto humble condicions of an other sorte then nowe coude be had or attayned. Wherfore, failing the peax trieux and the 2 other former divises before mencioned, ye shal constantly stik herunto; whiche thing if the Emperour refuse, it is not like that He can and wol concurre to any purpose with the Kinges Grace, seing that by this meanes over and above his ordinary, and his warres maynetened in Italy, He shalbe charged only with the said Burgonyons and lanceknyghtes, with suche thinges as be requisite for that armye, which wol be easaly supported and bourn. Neverthelas special regarde is to be had, that His Majeste do not trust totally to the contribucion of thise Lowe Countreys for their entertaynement, but besides their grauntes, to provide other furniture for them, what so ever lak or defaulte elles shal happen to chaunce or ensue.

This is the divice, whiche, failing of the residue, ye must fermely stik upon, using al suche policies as may be to the conducyng and spedy perfourmance therof, aswel by soliciting the acceleracion of the Duke of Burbons repaire hither with the said Almayns, and so from hens in to Flaundres, as also for conclusion and capitulacion of that matier, not omyttyng in the same the descent of thEmperours armye of Italye in to Fraunce, in cace the Frenche men shal fortune to retourne on this side the mountayns, with advertisement to my Lady Margaret of thEmperours resolucion in that behalf; wherin diligence is to be used, so as the common enemye have not overmoche laiser to attende his enterprises in Italy, ne the commodious tyme

of

of the yere be lost, as hathe ben hitherto, to the no litle hindrance of the present affaires.

Fynally, if it shulde so chaunce, as it is not to be beleved, that neither peax ne trieux can be had in suche maner as is before expressed, ne thEmperour able and contented to avaunce a puissant armye by the parties of Spayn, furnishing his armye in Italye, sending hither the Duke of Burbon, and setting forthe the 3000 Burgonyons and 3000 lanceknyghtes on this side, as is aforesaid, ne also, keping there the Duke of Burbon, make the said invasion on that side, geve ordre for his armye of Italy to kepe the felde, and to folowe the Frenchemen on this side the mountayns, setting furthe also the said Burgonyons and lanceknyghtes, ne fynally forbering any invasion by the parties of Spayn, geve the seid ordre for his armye in Italy, send hither the Duke of Burbon with 5000 Almayns, and avaunce the said Burgonyons and lanceknyghtes as is bifore mencioned; there is for the last refuge none other remedy, but to reasorte unto the enterprise of the Duke of Burbon, mencioned in my said former letters. For, if peax or trieux can not be had, and that thEmperour be neither able to avaunce an armye on that side, besides the Burgonyons and lanceknyghtes on this side, sending hither the Duke of Burbon, ne also do the same keping the said Duke there, ne also preparing the armye in the parties of Spayn to forbere 5000 of his Almayns, and furnish the said Burgonyons and lanceknyghtes, send hither the Duke of Burbon and geve ordre to his armye in Italye as is aforesaid, ne finally reserving his Almayns to Hym self, forbere the Duke of Burbon and avaunce his said horsemen and fotemen on this side; it is evydent and manyfest that the Kinges Grace can not alone susteyne and maynteyn the burdeyn of thise warres, ne the Frenche King, percevyng the same, shal ever inclyne unto any good way, but taking corage and pride therby, shal the more fiersly and with gretter puissance prosecute his enterprises of Italy to the total subvercion and distruccion of that countrey, and the utter perdicion of all the common causes and matiers. Wherfore, knowing nowe what the Kinges Grace is able and mynded to do for his partie, whiche is asmoche as any most loving Prince that ever was coude offre unto an other, ye shal by your dexterites wisedomes and policies conduce thise matiers to suche ende, as ye by the premysses may perceyve the Kinges Highnes most inclined unto, and for lak of the better, to reasorte unto the other in suche ordre and fourme as is bifore mencioned; by the discrete handeling wherof, and spedy advertisement to be geven of the same unto the Kinges Highnes and to me, you shal deserve singuler and special thankes. And for that purpose the Kinges pleasure is that ye, Sir Richard

Richard Jernyngham, make your demore there, til ye may bring with you thEmperours answer and final resolucion in all and every the premisses, wherwith the Kinges Grace prayeth you to make asmoche diligence as may be possible, as His Grace and I specially trust you. And thus hertily fare ye wel. At Grenewiche, the 24th day of January.

(*Signed*) Yoꝫ lovyng frende,
T. Carlis. Eboř.

(*Superscribed*)
To my loving frendes, Master Richard Sampson, Dean of the Kinges Chapell, and Sir Richard Jernyngham Knight, the Kinges Ambassadours to the Emperour.

LXXX. Clerk *and* Hannibal *to* Wolsey.[1]

Pleasith it Your Grace. After the sending furthe of our letters dated yesterdaye, wherof we sende nowe a duplicat, because they be of importance, we devised amongst our selfes to retorne to the Popes Holynes, and to reason with Hym in suche maner that we trusted to have some better answer of Hym than is comprised in our said letters. And first we desired His Holines, aswell for his oun honour as for our discharge, to remember the promyse made unto us in the fyrst communycacion we had with Hym after his creacion, and to folowe the same effectuelly, so that the King our Soverain Lord myght note nother mutacion of his good mynde, ne contrariete in our writinges. We moved also His Holynes to be contented to helpe with some convenient somme of money, demaunded by thEmperours Oratour, for to susteigne this armye in Italy against the Frenche King, alleging that though this warre made in Italy did more touche His Holynes the said Emperour and other, yet the Frenchemen were as great or greatter enemyes to the Kinges Grace than to theym; and that we thought verray convenient and reasonable that the King our master, Who had exspende so great treasour at diverse tymes for the defence of Italy and aide of this See, shuld have some aide here again against his enemyes. We added also that His Holynes, by geving suche aide, shulde bynde gretely the said Emperour to contynue his fast frende, and also be

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[1] From a contemporary copy in the State Paper Office, headed, "Copie of lr̃es sent by the "Kingꝰ ābassadꝰs at Rome to my Lorde Legate." Vitellius, B. VI. leaf 8. is an inferior copy. No trace has been found of the despatch of the preceding day. See before, p. 231.

participant

participant of the victorye, and do great pleasure to the King our master, when He shuld see that by His Holynes aide and succour other the Frenche armye were distroied here, or the Frenche King exhausted by the interteignyng of the same. His Holynes, as it appered, did accept thes our petitions in loving and benevolent maner, and made unto the first this answer; willing and commanding us to write to the King and your Grace, that He woll firmely observe and kepe his promise made unto us, and never forsake the King as long as He lyveth, though the Frenchemen shuld have power to dryve Hym oute of Rome; and desired us instantly that, notwithstanding the practises made with Hym by the Frenche King, we will ne suppose ne think that He hathe changed any parte of his mynde towardes the King our master, sithens his fyrst promyse made unto us, but that He dothe and will constantly persever in the same mynde, and aide His Grace to the best of his power, whiche He saithe in money is nothing, and therfore therin He wold not disseyve the King, making Hym self better and richer than He is. As touching suche mutacion of his mynde as we have marked lately, and written to your Grace of the same, He saithe, that whan He had knowlaige, shortely after his creacion, that the Kinges armye was departed oute of Fraunce, and that the Spanish armye also commyng towardes Langadoke was dissolved, He supposed that the Kinges Grace wold not contynue in the warre, but rather come to some peax or abstinence of warre by his mediacion; wherunto His Holynes woll never move Hym, but as shall stonde with his honnour: and whan His Holynes shall knowe His Graces mynde that, notwithstanding all difficulties, He woll persever in the warre against Fraunce, than He woll not faile according to his promise to folowe the same waye, and aide the King to the best of his power. As to our seconde peticion for to have aide of money of Hym for to susteign the armye here in Italy against the Frenchemen, His Holynes sayde He wolde studye som waye to helpe the beest He could; and He spake this in suche maner that though He did not expresse the somme, yet it appered that He woll somthing do. And we understonde also by thArchbishop of Capua, that His Holynes intendeth thus to do, whiche Archebishop hathe the cure and charge of all Princes matiers aboute the Pope, and we fynde hym verray loving and favourable to all our matiers, adeo ut ille solus resistit multis qui gallizant nimium. Thus the Almighty God preserve Your Grace. From Rome, 24° die Februarij.

LXXXI. Wolsey *to* Pope Clement VII.[1]

Beatissime Pater, deosculatis Sanctissimis Vestre Beatitudinis pedibus, et humillima commendatione premissa. Accepi mee legationis bullam, amantissimi animi syncerissimique erga me affectus significatione amplissimum firmissimumque in modum ad vitam meam a Vestra Beatitudine adaucte, et confirmate, quo sane preclarissimo rarissimoque mihi collato munere ad complurium suorum in me beneficiorum ingentem cumulum nunc tantum aperte accessum video, quod nec in meditanda, ne dum referenda gratia nullam mihi facultatem relictam sentiam. Pro viribus tamen omni studio ac fide enitar, ut gratissimi fidelissimique mancipij nullum in me quisquam desyderet officium, sicque industriam cogitatusque meos ad omnia Vestre Sanctitatis obeunda exequendaque mandata semper accommodabo, quod devotionem meam innatamque observantiam sibi jampridem adstrictam atque dicatam indies certius sit perspectura. Quam humillimas igitur et reverentissimas possum Vestre Beatitudini gratias habeo, vehementissimeque supplico, ut in rebus suis omnibus, quibus me usui esse posse duxerit, me toto fidentissime uti dignetur, qui nil vel optatius vel felicius mihi contingere posse puto, quam in devinctissime mee servitutis officijs die nocteque versari; nullam siquidem operam, diligentiam, oportunitatemve unquam pretermittam in negocijs his apud Serenissimum Dominum meum Regem assidue tractandis, que eidem Vestre Sanctitati grata placitaque esse cognovero, ad quod licet ipse suapte natura ejusque nutui ac voluntati sit undecumque obsequentissimus, quanto tamen plus authoritatis mihi impresentia accessum est, tanto impensius et ardentius ad sue filialis obedientie cumulum (si quid poterit) per me sedulo addetur. In legationis deinde exequendo munere sic me gesturum fidem Vestre Sanctitati adstringo meam, ut dignitatem splendorem ac decus istius Sacrosancte Apostoliceque Sedis, haud minori cura quam propriam salutem servatum a me fuisse, ab eadem Vestra Sanctitate perspectum iri non ambigam; que felicissime ac diutissime valeat, meque et mea omnia commendatissima habere dignabitur. Londini, ex meis edibus, die 24 Februarij, 1523.

Excellentissime Vestre Sanctitatis

Humillimus ac devotissimus Filius,

T. Cardinalis Eboraceñ.

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[1] Copy from the Vatican.

LXXXII. WOLSEY *to* PACE.[1]

M^R. SECRETARIE, I commend me unto you. By my other letters to my Lord of Bathe you and M^r. Hannyball[2], at this tyme directed, I have written unto you all at lengthe, aswell in the Kinges cawses as in myn owne. This shalbe only to advertyse you, that, albeyt I am right well assuryd, that ye have, to the uttermost and best of your power, endevored and employed your self to the obteyning of the Bull of Legacion now graunted to me by the Popes Holynes; yet nevertheles, to be plaine with you, as one in whome I have my singuler trust and confydence, I esteme somewhat more straungnes to be shewed unto me then my merytes requiere, in that there hath bene difficultie made to amplefie my faculties, per non familiares, and such other thinges as be conteyned in my enstructions given to my Lord of Bathe; supposing verily that ye, having famyliar and perfeict acquaintence with the Popes Holynes, may by your dexterytie and wisdome do so moche to the remedieng thereof, yf, as of your self, you alone at sometime do repayre unto His Holynes, putting the same, by good manner and entroduction, in remembraunce of my merytes and faythfull mynde towardes Him, aswell in minoribus as now; shewing furthermore how by Popes Leos graunte and by Popes Adryans, who passed my Legation with as large faculties as now I have, ad quinquennium, and so from 5 yere to 5 yeres, promysing by speciall breves to proroge the same de quinquennio in quinquennium during my lyfe, I know right well how, aswell for the prerogatives which the Kinges Highnes hath in this Realme, as for other causes, all the proffitts that may rise of my Legation, having allso all the amplication of the faculties aforesayd, will not be worth one thousand duccates by the yere, whatsoever reaporte may be made to His Holines to the contrary by suche as might suppose and thinke that great revenews might growe thereof. And ye may saye, thoughe that ye perceve that I repute and esteme the benevolence of His Holynes as muche and as highly as the same is worthie to be taken, yet nevertheles ye know me to be one that can well note and consider the qwalyties of the said Bull, and what emolument honnor and benefyt shall ensew unto me thereby, more then I had afore by the

[1] Printed from Harleian, No. 283. fo. 28 b. There are two other copies, but less correct, one in the State Paper Office, and the other Vitellius, B. VI. leaf 13. It is incorrectly printed by Fiddes, Collections, p. 96.

[2] There is no trace of the letters to Clerk, Pace, and Hannibal.

graunte of other Popes, to whome I was not so entierly dedicated as unto His Hollynes. Wherefore ye may say your oppynyon ys, as of your self, in signe and comprobation of a speciall grace and more large favor towardes me then to other generally, He shuld amplefy the sayd Bull of Legation with the said other faculties, or rather with more; which then shalbe a very demonstration and manyfest apparaunce, that His Holynes singulerly tenderyth and lovith me, whereof I may take suche rejoyce and comforte, as percase may be hereafter to the contentacion of His Holynes: and thus by such good manner to use your self in this mattier, without knowlege that yt proceadyth of me, that by your polletique handling not only the sayd faculties may be extended according to my desire, but allso the Popes Holynes to know thereby, what yt is that He hath done for me, and what of likelyhode is my expectation; in which your doing ye shall admynistre unto me singuler pleasure to be amonges other remembred accordingly. And hartely fare you well. At my place besydes Westminster, the 28 of Februarij.

Your loving frend,

Tho: Carlis Eboñ.

LXXXIII. Russell *to* King Henry VIII.[1]

Sir, pleaseth Your Highnes to understand that sence my last letters here is arrived a gentilman of Monsr. de Bourbons, whose name is Tausans, which is an aunciene gentilman, and on that Monsr. de Bourbon favors greatly; and he sayeth that La Faiette was sent to deseyve and betray Monsr. de Bourbon, for he tarried not in Lorrayne past 4 or 5 dayes. And he was cast in arrerages for the monney that he receyvid for the fortification of Bullen fyfty thowsande crownes, and condempned to pay the same, and the Frenche King forgave him al the forsaid some, to practise and attrapp Monsr. de Bourbon. And whan he saw that Monsr. de Bourbon toke his way in to Almayne, he retorned againe in to Fraunce; and sence that the Frenche King gave him charge, accompanyd with a hundreth horse, to persue and take the forsaid Tausans, with other whiche be frendes to Monsr. de Bourbon.

Item, whereas I wrote to Your Highnes before, that the Frenche King did levye 4 hundreth men of armes to passe the mountaines for the reforcing

[1] Letters to the King and Council, Vol. V. No. 20.

of

of his army there, of the whiche the Duke of Longville is capteyne; and of that nomber He cannot finde but 2 hundred that wol goo thidder, by cause that they that retourneth from thense raporteth of the evil entreatment which they have suffred there, saying that the horsemen and fotemen (Frenchemen) never receyvid no penny of wages sence they passed the mountaines.

Item there is 4 thowsande Suysez departed to passe the said mountaines for the reforcing of his said army there, (not at the commaundement of the Cauntons) but thei have geven them free elextion to goo asmany as wol; for the commynaulte of the Swisez, and also thei, that be not pencioners, murmereth, and is not contented that there men be lost daily and retourneth home so poorely.

Item the saying is here that the Frenche Quene is departed out of this world[1], and of treuth it is said that she hath ben long sike of the Frenche pockez.

Item, as toching the distruction of the corne in Fraunce, as is specified in my last letters, this gentilman raporteth the same to be of treuth. And further he sayeth that al the nobles of his realme, spirituall and temporall, with al the commynaultie, be greatly discontented with Him, and He is had in as greate indingnation and hatered, as ever Prince was amongist his subgietz; and He hath exacted them so sore that it wolbe harde for Him to levy any more of his subgietz; and yt is said that He was mynded to take of al his nobles the 5 part of ther revenues. Against that the gentlemen murmered muche; wherefore He durst not put yt in exècution. As knoweth our Lorde, who preserve Your Highnes, and send Your Highnes good lif and long. At Besaunson, the 11th day of Marche.[2]

(*Signed*) Your humble subget and servant,

J. RUSSELL.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Kinges Highnes.

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[1] Claude, Queen of Francis I., is said by Mézéray to have died in July 1523, by Serres and Rapin in the same month in 1524. The latter is probably correct. Her body appears not to have been interred till the autumn of 1526. See Clerk's letter to Wolsey, of the 27th of September, 1526, Caligula, D. IX. leaf 250.

[2] In the Museum, Vitellius, B. VI. leaf 15, is a letter of the same date from Russell to Wolsey, nearly the same, but with the following paragraphs in conclusion:

" Item, I have founde the meanes to gete the copie of the liege, that is made betwene the Frenche " King and the Suysez; wherein is mencioned that the Suysez, there aliez and bourgoisez, shuld " not parmit nor suffer none of the adversaires and ennemyes of the Frenche King to sojorne nor " to [*remaine*] in non of the townes and places that be aliez and confederate with the said " Suysez.

 " Item,

LXXXIV. King Henry VIII. *to* Pope Clement VII.[1]

Beatissime Pater, post humillimam commendationem, et devotissima pedum oscula beatorum. Etsi paternum Vestræ Sanctitatis erga Nos animum, voluntatemque fidelissimo affectu undique refertam, jampridem aperte cognoverimus, eam tamen constantissime ab ipsa servari, ut videmus, sic maximum in modum lætamur, nulla etenim in re, nullisve quantumlibet magnis officijs, expectationi desyderio votisque nostris poterat cumulatius respondere, quam prudentissimo suo singularissimique studij pleno Brevi 23ª die Februarij[2] ad Nos dato fecerit; atque id omni ex parte prestitit, quod ab indulgentissimo patre, ullo jure, obsequentissimus filius expectare poterat, rerum quippe presentium non solum statum ac modum, bellique gerendi summam, Nobis exactissime perscripsit, sed quid communi negocio expediat, obsitque, sincere simul ac ingenue Nos admonens, suorum consiliorum suique animi participes reddidit, usque adeo ut ob ingentem hanc dilectionem gratias Vestræ Sanctitati maximas habeamus, et majores quam his litteris possemus explicare ipsi debeamus; nil namque optatius Nobis nunciari potuit, tum ob inveterati sui erga Nos amoris uberem significationem, tum vero quod verissime declararit quo in statu res Italice versentur, quidque de ipsis sperandum Nobis sit, nec patiatur pro innata sua probitate Nos ignorare, quantum adjumenti vel subsidij in communi pertractando incepto queamus de Italie populis Nobis polliceri, nolitque amplissimis verbis concepte opinioni neutiquam responsuris Nos imposterum enutriri, seu mellitis dumtaxat demulceri fallique expectationibus, quod deinde Cesaree Majestatis et nostri Oratores apud Vestram Sanctitatem pro Se declaranda institerint. Nostris tunc rebus tunc exposcentibus accommoditissimum existimavimus; nunc vero advertentes eandem Vestram Sanctitatem longe aliter sentire, conducibiliusque esse, si communis omnium parentis personam induat, neutralemque Se prebeat, ne declarationis forsan nomine absque ullo nostro fructu hostes communes gravius exasperet, et ab æquitate ac justitia efficiat,

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" Item the French King hath written a letter lately to the cite of Besaunson, merveling that " they did receyve Monsr. de Bourbon in to their towne, being rebel to the realme of Fraunce; " and also in supporting and ayding of other his ennemys that is daily there being; in so muche " that myne host fereth the matter greatly, and sayeth that if any inconvenience doth fall con- " cernyng my charge, that ther is no fawlt in him, for he hath alwaiz advertised me of such " dangiers as might happe: as I have written to you from time to time."

[1] Copy from the Vatican. [2] This has not been found.

quam

quam nunc sint alienores, videaturque officij sueque pastoralis dignitatis penitus oblita, Nos quoque his singulisque alijs probe trutinatis, prudentissimum istud consilium laudandum summopere censuimus; presertim quum cetera omnia conjunctissimi animi officia Nobis promiserit adfutura, arbitreturque, si Se nunc declarare distulerit, posse decentius, in omnem eventum ac temporum exigentiam, integram suam authoritatem commodis ac votis nostris accommodare, hostiumque ambitionem in ordinem facilius redigere. Hac propterea in re Ejus prudentie et acerrimo judicio Nos remittimus, compertissimum certissimumque habentes, in sua erga Nos comprobata benivolentia, animique et cordis integritate, eandem Vestram Sanctitatem permansuram, nec minori studio ardore atque auxilio, quam hactenus, communibus rebus fauturam esse; quod ut sedulo faciat, ac quicquid nostris, immo totius Christianitatis, rebus expedire judicaverit, totis viribus amplecti, divinaque sua prudentia curare non gravetur, quam enixe possumus rogamus, Sibique omnino persuasum habeat cogitatus, actiones, opes, regnum, ipsumque nostrum sanguinem, si opus fuerit, sue Apostoliceque Sedis dignitati, splendori, et conservationi esse vicissim paratissimum. Ad alia postremo, que Vestra Sanctitas suo Brevi, ac per nostros Oratores Dominumque Melchiorem Langum nuper Nobis significavit, per dictos nostros Oratores ipsi copiose impresentia respondemus, nostram mentem nostrumque pectus apertissime declaramus. Eis igitur certissimam plenissimamque fidem Vestra Beatitudo habere dignabitur, que felicissime ac diutissime valeat. Ex Regia nostra Grenwici, die 25 Martij, 1524.

Excellentissime Vestre Sanctitatis
devotissimus atque obsequentissimus filius,
Dei Gratia, Rex Anglie et Francie, Fidei
Defensor, ac Dominus Hibernie,
HENRICUS.

(*Superscribitur*)
Sanctissimo Clementissimoque
Domino nostro Pape.

LXXXV. WOLSEY *to* SAMPSON, &c.[1]

MASTER SAMPSON and Master Jernyngham, I commende me unto you in my right herty maner. Ascertayning you, that moche it hathe ben and is to the Kinges and my marveil, that sens the receipt of your letters, bering date

[1] Original. There is a copy, Vespasian, C. II. leaf 290, which omits the cyphered passage in p. 277.

the

the 12[1] and 24th[2] dayes of November last past, wherunto with convenient diligence spedy and ample answer was made and sent by the servaunte of you, Sir Richard Jernyngham, the Kinges Highnes ne I ever had eny letters worde or knowledge from you[3], ne also thEmperours Ambassadour here resident at that tyme or sithens hathe, as he saith, receyved any letters from thEmperour, or other parson in that partie, excepte only a duplicate of old letters, whiche the Lorde Beawrayn nowe lately sent unto him by the way of Italy, after his arrival in the same, conteyning no greate mater of moment or importaunce. By mean of whiche lak of letters and advertisementes the Kinges Grace and I be totally destitute of eny maner knowlege, either howe thEmperours affaires have succeded in those parties sens the seid 24th day of November, or what hathe ben his further mynde intent or disposicion in the common causes and matiers requisite in this tyme not to be slept or forslowed, ne also the mutuel knowlege and diligent advertisement from the on to the other to have ben delayed or pretermytted. Howe be it, it is not to be thought, but that in this so long space and tyme diverse letters have ben bothe by the Emperours Majeste and you depeched, thoughe percace the same by som contrarious adversite have ben retarded and myscaryed by the waye; whiche thing, if it so be, hathe chaunced to a veraye evil purpose, considering howe necessary it had ben that the Kinges Grace shuld from tyme to tyme perfitely and plenteously have knowen bothe the Emperours successes fortunes and occurrantes in those parties, and also his deliberacion mynde and disposicion upon diverse grete matiers mencioned, aswel in my last letters to you sent by the said servaunt, as in sundry former letters sent by Chastel Secretary to the Lorde Beawrayn, Lurcy, and other; for lak wherof the Kinges Grace hathe no maner of knowlege or good conjecture, after what sorte and trayne His Grace shuld or myght best ordre his affaires on this side to the benefite of the common enterprises; whiche thing had ben requisite to have ben knowen long bifore that tyme, to thintent that in the ded season of the yere nowe passed every thing myght have ben set forthe and put in convenyent redynes, as the cace shuld have requyred. Neverthelas, sens it hathe thus chaunced, the Kinges Highnes hathe not omytted, uppon suche knowleges reaportes and advertisementes as have commyn by other wayes, to stay the maters by good deliberacion avice and counsail, in suche fourme and maner,

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[1] Vespasian, C. II. leaf 206. [2] Not to be found.

[3] On the 22d of March Sampson wrote to Wolsey that he then by the servant of Sir Richard Jernigam received his letters, by which he perceived the light demeanor of his servant and Jernigam's in deliverance of their letters. Wolsey's Papers, Vol. X. No. 71.

that,

that, howe soever the matiers have succeded, when the affaires of Italy and other parties have ben groundely and substancially pondred, it may evidently appere that His Highnes hathe pretermytted nothing, that a most kynde fader brother uncle confederate and alye shuld do unto his derest and best beloved son, but so hathe set forthe on his side and partie thinges requisite, as, when the same shal appere and be knowen to thEmperour by your declaration, His Majeste shall have good cause to geve unto the Kinges Grace highe and most cordial thankes. And, to the intent that the circumstaunces of the premysses may plainely appere and be notified unto His Majeste, as to the mutuel love and intelligence bitweene bothe Princes dothe appertein, I sende unto you herewith the copies of suche letters, as, after knowlege had of the Poopes eleccion, were depeched from hens unto the Kinges Oratours in the Courte of Rome, with copies of the Poopes breves nowe lately arrived, and of other letters of the Kinges said Oratours aunswering the same, and also copies of suche letters as nowe at this present tyme be in diligence and by an expresse currour sent again from hens, aswel to the Poopes Holynes, as to the said Ambassadours; all which copies by you diligently distinctely and seriously perused visited red and wel understonden, ye shal evidently knowe and perceyve by the same, what hathe ben here don towardes the Poopes Holynes in the said common causes, sens the depeche to you of my last letters. Ascertaynyng you the Kinges pleasur is that, taking a tyme convenyent to be assigned unto you by thEmperours Majeste, ye, incorporating substancially in your myndes the effect of the said copies, and rather then faile translating in to Frenche asmoche parte of the Englishe letters as shalbe mete to be shewed unto thEmperor, do make His Majeste privey of al the processes and matiers conteyned in the same; wherby ye shal perceyve not oonly the exhortacions and persuasions, with the profounde reasons and consideracions, whiche the Kinges Grace hathe made and shewed unto the Poopes Holynes, fermely and stedfastly to joyne with His Highnes and the Emperour, declaring Hym self enemye to the Frenche King, and assisting the King and thEmperour really and effectuelly with armure spirituall and temporall, so as the common enemye, nowe by long mayntenaunce of his warres on all sides almost exhaust, may be compelled to offre suche reasonable and honourable condicions of peax, as may be conveniently accepted and taken, but also the grete incertentie and doubte, whiche for a season appered to be in the Poopes Holynes by mean of suche blandishing promises offres and subornacions as have ben set forthe on the Frenche King behalf by the Cardinalles of his faccion and other; and what difficultie it hathe ben hitherto to cause the

Poope

Poope to declare Hymself, and to joyne and concurre in the prosecucion of the werre with the King and thEmperour, with whom by good and politique handeling, notwithstonding any semblaunce that appered of favour towardes the Frenche partie, He semeth nowe resolved and determyned stedfastly to joyne; albeit He is of a right good opynyon that his remaynyng in newtralitie for a season shal mōst conferre unto the benefite of the common causes, for suche reasons and consideracions, as with many other matiers ye shal perceyve at lenght by the said copies. And albeit the Kinges Grace hathe always ben and yet is propence and redy to maynteyn and contynue his werres for further precing and annoyance of the enemye, having put all thinges in redynes for that purpose, if the Poope and thEmperour woll joyne and concurre with Him, being furnished for their parties to do the semblable; yet neverthelas, uppon the disposicion and inclination whiche the Kinges Grace hathe founde in the Poope, with suche knowlege as hathe comen from thEmperour to his Ambassadour by way of Beawrayn as afore, and semblably from the Lady Margaret towching the state of those thEmperours Lowe Countreys, His Highnes, seing the smal apparance of any concurrance to notable effect, and howe bare and poore the states of Italy be at this tyme, not able as it semeth for any notable season to entertayn the armye of the confederates being nowe in the feld there, and mynding as His Grace hathe hitherto done rather to set forthe suche wayes as may be to the Poopes and thEmperours commodite, for whose sake only He is commen to the werres, then to His Graces oune perticuler profite, hathe not expressely refused, thoughe the same shalbe moche to his detryment, not having recovered any pece or portion from the same by the common enemye deteyned, at the Poopes mediation, and for his and thEmperours sake, to geve harkenyng unto peax; so that thenemye wol make poursute therfore by sendyng of special personages to the King and thEmperour for that purpose, offring honourable and reasonable condicions as afore. In whiche matier ye may perceive by the seid copies, howe lovingly the Kinges Highnes procedeth, geving good answers in generalite, and neverthelas conteynyng Hymself in certein lymyttes, til suche season as by trating and passing over the tyme with demonstracion of suche towardnes as may stonde with his honour, and no more, His Grace may somwhat forther knowe the Emperours mynde in that behalfe, whiche His Highnes and I dailly loke for with grete desire, as it is right requisite to be done, considering howe the spring of the yere passeth on, and no certeinte yet knowen here to what purpose, either for werre or peax, the Kinges Grace may trayn his affaires. Ye shall therfore, after declaration of the premisses unto the

the Emperour, instantely requyre His Majeste depely and substancially to pondre and considre, by deliberate avice of his Counsail, the state of this present tyme, and specially of his oune furniture, and abilite notably really and effectuelly to maynteyn and contynue the werres, wherin and in all other matiers concernyng thise common enterprises, it is requisite that His Majeste and Counsail, al compasses dryftes and particuler affections to bring thinges aboute by demonstracion for a singuler benefite set aparte, do sincerely plainely openly and directly procede with the Kinges Grace, making His Highnes privey in most feithfull maner of their state, abilitie, power, mynde, intent, and disposicion, as the mutuel intelligence bitwene a loving fadre and a good son, being by so many conjunctions and necessitudes unyte and knyt to gider, dothe require. For, as long as His Majeste, ledde by any of his Counsail, of what astate degree or condicion so ever they be, havyng a private particuler or natural affeccion to countreys places or persons, shall make semblaunce or demonstracion of any thing, whiche is not in his veray mynde intent and purpose to perfourme, and knowing Hym self not sufficiently and assuredly furnished so to do, thoughe percace it myght be thought by som persons that by suche semblance it shuld be a pollitique drifte to compasse thinges sounding and tending to particuler benefite; yet undoubtedly either the same shalbe frustrate vayne and come to no good effecte, orelles in stede and liewe of on good successe there shal chaunce many other adverse, besides the dishonourable and unkynde maner whiche sone may be perceyved, if bytweene neerest frendes be used any suche colour or dissimulacion; where as, the plaine and directe way taken, and every thing requisite lovingly disclosed from the on to the other, their causes and matiers wel loked uppon considred understonden and digested, in tyme must nedes have moche more prosperous successes, bothe generally and perticulerly, then by the other way; and remedyes may by common consent be adhibited and founden in supplying lakkes and defaultes by suche politique maner, as thinges infeisible and importable be not attempted, but convenient meanes divised to redubbe by on way that whiche can not be attayned by an other. This thing ye must desire thEmperour substancially and assuredly to looke unto, and somoche more to be studious in often and plain advertisementes from thens, as the ferre distaunce of the places, with the incommodious passage, dothe geve empechement thereunto. And, howe His Majeste liketh the maner of the Kinges most loving and discrete proceding, with the paternal divices studied to conduce every thing to the best purpose, and what thEmperour wol may or intendeth to do therin, ye shal in al possible diligence advertise me by your letters, with the circumstaunces of al other matiers worthy knowlege, or that have occurred sens the date of your said last

letters, to the intente that without lenger tracte of tyme the Kinges Highnes may perfitely knowe, what expectation His Grace may have from thens, and wherunto thEmperour is inclyned and disposed for traynyng of his matiers, either for werre or peax, accordingly; and so plainely and feithfully concurring mutuelly to geder for the on or the other, they can not faile but to have honourable and good successe; where as by to moche affeccion to perticuler benefite, and lak of playne dealing, no thing can at lenght ensue but dishonour and ruyne.

Ye shal also shewe unto thEmperour that overture hath ben made by his Ambassadour unto the Kinges Grace, for contribucion to be geven unto tharmye of Italye, after their commyng and descent on this side the mountayns. But, forasmoche as there be 3 material thinges to be considred therin, His Grace hathe differed hitherto to take any resolucion in that behalf. One is, there is no great apparance as yet that the said armye shuld be able to passe the mountayns in to Fraunce, when neither the Frenchemen be defeated or expelled oute of Italy, ne the confederates able to enterteyne their armye for suche season as shalbe requisite, either tyl batail may be geven, or the Frenchemen consumed by outelying and lak of money and vitailes. Wherfore in vayne shuld it be to capitulate upon a thing, wherin is yet no likelihode or semblance. An other is, it shal well appere unto you by oon of the said copies, that the Venecians be in nowise mynded, that their armye, leving their oun countreyes in daungier, and furnished, shal or wol procede in to Fraunce, what good successe so ever ensue, ne that they wol intromedle or put them selfes to a charge, where no parte of the emolument profite or gain shal arise unto them; and percace, when it shuld come to the point, diverse other of the confederates wolde be of the same disposicion. Thirdely, it may be taken and supposed that suche desire thEmperour shuld or myght thinke Him self to be exonerate and delyvered from the avauncyng of any armyes either on the parties of Guyon on this side or elliswhere, what good chaunce or fortune so ever shuld come, but onely to furnishe his parte for entertaynement of the seid Italian armye, wherof myght arise percace grete inconvenient. For, if the Frenchmen may at this tyme be foughten with, it is veraily to be supposed they can not faile to amyt and lose a grete parte of their strenght and armye, be they inferiours or superiours. And if, as God forbede, they shuld be superiours, having suche losse of their horsemen and fotemen, yet other armyes avaunced on the parties of Spayne and on this side myght be a meane to cause the relefes of them to retourne in to Fraunce, and consequently Italy thereby to be delyvered oute of their daungier. And, if the shuld happen to be overthrowen in Italy, and the Italyan army able and mynded to poursue them

them in to Fraunce, it may wel be knowen, that it were no tyme then to lose the oportunite, but incontinently to set forthe armyes bothe on the parties of Spayne, and on this side, to occupie the French King in diverse parties; so as they shuld not mowe converte the hoole puissance, whiche they of newe myght raise upon the said Italian armye; by the whiche doing, God willing, the Frenchemen shuld be brought to their total extermynion, and ende put to thise warres for many yere to come. Besides this, the Kinges Grace is advertised that the late King of Navers son is nowe fallen in and commen to thEmperours devocion, and that His Majeste hathe attayned the countreys nere unto his. If that be trewe, there is so facile and commodious entre in to Guyon, that the Kinges Grace veraily trusteth the Emperour, of his grete vertue and goodnes, wol not omyt to endevour Hym self to the recovery therof; and therefore to capitulate upon entertaynement of the Italian armye, til suche tyme as the further successes of the premisses be knowen, wer but vayn. Neverthelas, whensoever it shalbe seen that suche capitulacion may be to the best purpose, there shal lak in the Kinges Grace no loving conformyte or towardnes, that may be shewed for best avauncement of the common affaires.

Finally, ye shal shewe unto thEmperour, how that the Provost of Utright, being on of his Counsail in thise his Lowe Countreys, aswel by accusacion of sundry Lordes of the said Counsail, being of the most sage vertuous approved and feithful persones of the same, as otherwise, is proved and knowen to be totally inclyned and affeccioned unto the Frenche partie, for whome he hathe don many grete pleasures, aswel in discovering and disclosing unto them diverse of thEmperours and the Kinges secretes, as by labouryng procuring and compassing of their purposes and intentes; and that the Lord Howghstrate, who semeth to be moche of the same inclynacion, doth holy and totally bere maynteyn and defende hym, being of suche reputacion with the Lady Margaret, that undoubtedly she is overmoche ledde and counsailled by him; parte of whiche matiers, specially towching the said Provost, I doubte not but by this post thEmperour shal knowe from the said Lady. And, considering what extreme daungier may ensue unto the common affaires, if this mater be not substancially loked upon and remedyed in tyme, the Kinges Grace, preceyving and knowing the overmoche favour bourne unto the said Hoghstrate and Provost as afore, hathe written unto the Lady Margaret, that aslong as the said Provost shal remayne and contynue in the Counsail there, His Grace wol in no wise participate any parte of the secrete affaires with her. Wherupon I suppose she hathe caused hym to absent himself for a season, remayning nevertheles in the Courte, til suche tyme as thEmperours pleasure may be further knowen in that behalf. Wherfore ye shal desire His Majeste to loke herunto and not only to

discharge the said Provost, excluding him utterly from his Counsail, or any place where he may do hurte unto the common affaires, but that also the said Hoghstrate be so ordred, that the matiers be not led and conduyted only by him, as they be, he being so suspect a person, but that the seid faithful and assured Lordes of that Counsail may be put in to suche credyte and auctoryte, that the matiers by this maner of dealing come not to ruyne and perdicion. For, unto suche tyme as a remedy be put hereunto, the Kinges Highnes, for the weale of his and thEmperours causes, dothe forbere to make the Lady Margaret privey of any grete maters, as is aforesaid. And what aunswer ye shal have, aswel therin as in al the residue of the seid weighty and important affaires, the Kinges pleasure is, that ye, with al possible diligence, and with duplicates, and by diverse ways, shal not faile to advertise me by your letters in cifres, as nede shalbe, as ye tender his pleasure, and wol deserve his thankes, to be remembred accordingly.

After the writing of this letter thus ferre, arrived a servaunt of you, Sir Richard Jernyngham, and three currours of thEmperours, whiche togedre brought diverse your letters, som writen joyntly and some other aparte, the dates wherof be of the 18th 19th and 20th of December[1], the 15th 18th and 26th of January[2], the 26th of February, and of the 4th dais of Marche[3]; by tenour wherof, to gedre with suche declarations as have been made by thEmperours Ambassadour upon letters receyved at the same tyme, the Kinges Highnes and I, who bifore were destitute of any knowlaige from thens, be nowe right abundantely advertised, aswell of the progresse and successe of the Emperours armye, the recovery of Fountrabye, and dissolving of the same armye, as also of the state wherin thEmperours affaires than stode, and his mynde inclination and disposicion to werre or peax, with the certeinte wherunto the Kinges Highnes may trust for suche expectacion as is to be had from thEmperour: whiche thinges, though the tyme hathe ben long, the Kinges Highnes nevertheles is glad nowe to knowe; and moche the better his Grace is contented therwith, for that thEmperour dothe nowe so frankely and plainly unto the Kinges Grace open and disclose the certeinte of his state: for the whiche, with the large participacion of all suche overtures and matiers as hathe occurred on that side, the Kinges Highnes geveth unto His Majestye most cordiall thankes. His Grace and I perceyve also by your said letters your opynyons and good avices shewed for the best conducing of the Kinges causes with sundry right discrete advertisementes, aswell in cifres as otherwise, bothe of thinges commyn to your knowlaige ther, and also of good and apparant

[1] Vespasian, C. II. leaves 228. 236. 237. [2] Ibid. 260. 268. 284. [3] Ibid. 286. 288.

conjectures,

conjectures, that ye have had in matiers worthy to be specially noted and regarded; and what declarations ye have from tyme to tyme made unto thEmperour and his Counsail upon the charges to you commytted, with the answers and divises that have been made and purposed on thair behalf. For whiche your right prudent demeanours, with your substanciall and diligent advertisementes, though the passage of your letters hathe been impeched be contrarite of wedder, the Kinges Grace and I geve unto you great thankes; praying you semblably to persever and continewe from tyme to tyme, wherbye ye shall administre and do unto His Grace singuler good service, and to me right acceptable pleasure. And forasmoche as, by tenour of your said letters, and also by relacion of thEmperours Ambassadour here resident, the Kinges Highnes perceyveth that first on this side ther is non assistence of any armye to be loked for by thEmperours folkes, onles than it be at the Kinges charge, but that the most, whiche His Majestye may do in thise his Lowe Countreys, shalbe to establishe and entertayn his garnisons for defence of his frontiers, and that semblably it shall not be in his facultie or power at this tyme to raise and maynteyn any great armye on that syde, to do notable acte or effecte, by reason wherof ther is no maner apparance that, whatsoever prosperous or adverse successe shall ensue unto the armye of Italye, His Mageste shal be able to concurre and joyne with the Kinges Grace by avauncing puissant armyes aswell on the parties of Spayn, for further annoyance of the enemye, and recovery of any the Kinges patrymonyes on that side, as also by enterteyning suche a goodly nomber of horsemen and fotemen to be levyed in thise his Lowe Countreys as, to gedre with the Kinges armye, if any were raised for that purpose, might procede into Fraunce on this side, and consequently except a contribution for contynuance of the armye of Italy, with their enterteynement to passe on this side the mountaynes, wherin ther is as yet no great apparance, for suche considerations as be mencioned in the first part of thise my letters, His Majeste semeth not to be mynded able or furnished to attempt or innovate this yere any enterprises of importance against the common enemye: wherby the Kinges Highnes, Who hitherto hathe to his excessive charges, for thEmperours sake and honour, susteyned and borne the chief burdeyn of thise werres, without recovery of any pece or porcion for His Graces parte, might take emolument profite or avantage; but that, as it right well appereth nowe thEmperour hathe recovered Fountrabye, with the manyfolde other commodities and great prouffites, whiche have ensued unto Hym by meane of this werre, as was mencyoned in my former letters to you heretofore addressed, His Majeste is totally resolved mynded and inclyned unto peax, orelles, that failling, only to contribute for enterteynyng of the Italyan

Italyan armye to descende into Fraunce; so that the hope, whiche the Kinges Grace alwaies hathe had, that thEmperour, for whom His Highnes hathe done so many high gratuites and pleasures, and by whose aide helpe and meanes He hathe not oonly conserved all that He had byfore, but also attayned the residue sens the werres recovered, wolde not so singlerly loke unto Hym self, but that He wolde have loving and congruente respecte unto his so nere and greate frende, in employing his armyes and enterprises at somtymes to the benefyte and behove of His Grace, as was capitulated and agreed, begynneth nowe to be frustrate and voide; specially remembring, that all the overtures and mocions, from tyme to tyme set furthe by thEmperour and his Counsail unto the Kinges Grace, tende only unto the same Emperours benefite, and the sure establishment of his affaires, without respect or regarde had or taken unto any thing that may ernestly sounde to the Kinges proffite, onles than it be under the shadowe or colour of a vayn demonstracion, appering plainly to come in the ende unto no frute or effect; whiche maner of proceding is ferre from that whiche hathe been the Kinges expectation, and otherwise than the high merites of His Grace towardes thEmperour hath required. But, sens nowe the Kinges Highnes perceyveth by the Emperours playn declaracion, that His Majeste is not furnished to concurre with His Grace in prosecucion of the werres, otherwise than is aforesaid, and that the overtures nowe sett furthe for common contribucion to be geven for enterteynment of the Italyan armye to descende into Fraunce, not oonly is of non apparance as bifore, but also can not by any waye redounde to the Kinges commodite avantage or proffyte, but in the ende shulde doubteles be employed to the Emperours purpose, either in Province or elleswhere, as thexperience by other enterprises hathe proved hitherto; albeit, as it is mencyoned in the former parte of these my letters, all thinges have been put in convenyent redynes here for the werres, if the Emperour wolde and might have concurred for the same; yet neverthelas, sens the Kings Highnes dothe perceyve that the said Emperour is not able so to do, fynding Hym also of suche inclinacion and disposicion towardes peax, the verray trust and confidence of His Grace is, that the Emperour like a vertuous Prince and loving son, depely pondring and substancially remembring the infynite gratitudes to Hym largely and liberally shewed by the Kinges Grace, woll by oone waye supplye for his recompence the lak and default whiche hathe been in the other; so that, if by reason of thEmperours disfurniture ther shall fortune to be recourse unto communications of peax, He woll in all his proceedinges actes and divices touching that matier so tenderly, so highly, and so assurydly preferre the Kinges benefite, that like as the charges labour travaile and studye of His Grace in thise warres hathe tended

tended only to the Emperours avauntage, wherunto the Kinges Highnes hathe had more regarde hitherto than to his oune particuler proffyte; so thEmperour nowe, largely and highly avaunced and furthered by the werres, woll semblably in communicacion of the peax employe his charges labour travaile and studye to the Kinges benefite; considring that by non other waye He can satisfye to his duetie honour reason and promise, but to do some highe pleasure kindnes and proffitable benefyte unto the Kinges Grace in the peax, in lewe and sted of that whiche He shuld have done in the warres. And nowe shall it appere, what entier affection thEmperour dothe beire towardes the Kinges Grace, or what respect and consideration His Majestie hathe of the gratitudes shewed unto Hym; for sens nothing hath been on his partye yet don in the said werres, either folowing the convencions or otherwise, to the Kinges behove or proffyt, it accordeth with reason and honour that His Majestye shall somoche the more employe Hym self to the redubbing therof by other meanes, setting furthe the peax to the Kinges proffytt. And, to be playn with you, the Kinges Highnes assuredly loketh that thEmperour shall thus do, aswell for the causes bifore mencioned, as for his oun exoneracion and discharge; for suerly, if it shall come unto the communication of peax, wherunto oonly for his sake and lak of his concurrance the Kinges Grace can be contented to condescende, His Highnes is in no wise mynded, ne loketh, or thinketh reasonable, that His Grace shuld come unto any appointment with Fraunce, onles than it may be with suche condicions as shall be equivalent, and supplye bothe the former cences and pencions paiede unto His Grace oute of Fraunce, and also to suche money as was due for Tourney, and to other right great sommes and debtes set over to the Frenche King, and besides that to the recompence and satisfaction of the dower of the Kinges Suster Quene Dowager of Fraunce, with respect and regarde unto the Kinges pretences claymes and tytles of enheritance, wherunto His Grace by this werre hathe his reasort; and finally unto the great and monyfolde charges by His Highnes susteyned by reason of thise werres, moved and commenced by the Frenche King, as is well known; so as the same condicions may be of suche sorte, as they may ferre exceede the value of the indempnitie, as to good reason apperteyneth, for the whiche thEmperour standeth bounden unto the Kinges Grace. And upon that woll His Grace rest, till suche tyme as it may be sene that the matiers be so handled and conveyed by so honorable and high demaundes for the Kinges partye to be required, and stedfastly by thEmperour to be stikked upon, that the frute of the peax may be moche more beneficiall to His Grace than the said indempnitie. And elles it werre ferre discrepant from good wisdome, that the Kinges Highnes shuld geve herkening, or condescende unto any apointment

apointment with Fraunce. Ye shall therfore, with the Kinges most cordiall and my most humble and affectuous recommendations, shewe and declare unto His Majeste theffect of the premisses, saying unto the same, that, wher as the Kinges Highnes, for his sake oonly, was brought into thise werres, wherin His Grace hathe spent an inestymable treasour, besides the manifold incommodities charges and expences taken and susteyned by his Realme and subjectes, without recovery of any pece or porcion as hathe been plainly touched in my former letters, and that nowe His Highnes for the Emperors sake can in like wise be contented to herken unto peax; the Kinges assured and perfyte trust is, that, whensoever it shall come to the communication and qualifying of articles and demaundes for thEmperours and the Kinges parties, His Majeste woll so highely esteme suche thinges as shalbe purposed and desired on the Kinges behalve, and so reasonably and moderately tempre and order the condicions for his oun partie, that by meanes therof some honorable commodious and profitable thinges may be had and attayned for the Kinges Highnes, not only equivalent, but moche above the rate of the said indempnite: elles it might be saide, and right well justifyed, that the Kinges Highnes, for all his charges payn labour and expences, had attayned no more, than without any charge or besynes His Grace had bifore; whiche, as thEmperour may well considre, were neither honerable ne reasonable, remembring howe many great fordeles His Majestie hathe attayned by the Kinges helpe and meanes, and what thinges He hathe yet in his handes, as the Duchy of Mylayn, and other; wherwith, if He shall perceyve daungier and perill in the keping therof, His Majeste may at this tyme make as honerable and profitable appointment and peax for the Kinges Grace and Hym self, as can be desired, and yet reserve in the residue of the victories and benefites nowe attayned, what in the realme of Navarre, the citie and territorye of Tourney, redempcion of the pencion of Naples, deliverance from mariage of the Frenche Kinges doughter[1], and from other articles of the treatye of Noyon, recovering of Fountraby and otherwise, as great thinges, if they be well pondred, as any Prince many yeres by the helpe of an other hathe goten or adquired. And, if the Duchy of Mylayn be and contynue in suche state that His Majeste may conserve and kepe the same, whiche shalbe than a moche further and higher emolument, it is thought unto the Kinges Highnes and his Counsail, that so moche the rather thEmperour oweth to stik assurydly unto His Grace, avauncyng the benefyte of the peax

[1] By the treaty of Noyon, made in 1516, it was stipulated that Francis should give in marriage to Charles his daughter Louisa, then one year old (who died the following year); in case of her death, another daughter, if he should have one; and if not, the Princess Ranata, his sister-in-law.

for

for the same to suche point as, though ther shalbe bitween the frute that shall growe to the one and the other a merveilous imparitie, yet neverthelas the Kinges Grace may be in moche better condicion than He is alredy by the said indempnite; for furtherance wherof it accordeth with reason that the Emperour shall in some other thing, if He kepe the Duchy of Mylayn, moder the condicions for his oun parte, rather than, in default therof, either the peax shulde be disapointed, or requisite consideration and respect to the Kinges benefite pretermytted. And, therfore, ye may say unto His Majeste that, upon hope and trust that the same woll non otherwise ne lesse regarde and lene unto the Kinges honour and proffytt in the peax than is aforesaide, but rather moche more, His Grace, ensuying the avice counsail and desire of the said Emperour, hath sent at this tyme sufficient commission[1] with ample instructions unto his Oratours resident in the Court of Rome, to treate and common joyntly with thEmperours Ambassadours, having like auctorite for His Majeste, suche thinges as may be to the furtherance of a conclusion of the said peax, forbeiring to sende any commission to you for that purpose, forasmoche as by the answer of the Frenche King and Monsr. de Lautrect made unto the Archebishopp of Barris letter, and refusal of the passage of his Secretary, ther is non apparance in that matier. Neverthelas, if any thing shall fortune to be set forthe on that side, ye, knowing nowe so moche of the Kinges mynde as is conteigned in thise my letters, be not unfurnyshed howe ye may trayn every thing to the Kinges most benefite, being alwaies mynded that the particuler affaires towching His Grace shalbe debated by a speciall person to be sent hither on the Frenche Kinges behalfe or his moders, directly or indirectly, and no where elles; considering that non so large and ample instruction can be divised, as shalbe sufficient for the riping of any person to debate the circumstances and specialties of those matiers. And therfore ye must in that cace cause the Emperour to fynde the meanes that a convenient person, instructed and auctorised, may be sent hither by the said Frenche King or his moder, or by suche other as shall labour and procure the peax on the Frenche Kinges behalf, to the entent that, those matiers put here in convenient staye, advertisement may be geven therof unto the place where the common treatie shall be made, be it at Rome, in Spayn, or elleswhere, for the more perfite and breve conclusion of every thing as shall apertain. And this is also oon of the speciall causes, why the Kinges Grace dothe sende no commission for peax to be treated by the Duke of Burbon, as thEmperour hathe done, lakking meanes and waies howe to instruct any person, either at Rome or there,

[1] To Clerk, Pace, and Hannibal. Vitellius, B. VI. leaf 17.

in the specialties of the particuler differences depending bitween the Kinges Highnes and the Frenche King. For whiche cause, and for the incerteintie that yet is of the successes in Italy, and to what purpose it shalbe most expedient to employe the Duke of Burbon, the cace also being nowe clerely changed from the fourme of the articles passed with the said Duke, ye shall saye, the Kinges Highnes dothe semblably forbeire to sende unto you any commission for capitulacion to be made in that behalf, till suche tyme as, the thinges being in more certeinte, ther may be sent, with the commission, instruccion howe and in what forme you shall capitlate. Howe be it, to say unto you the trouthe, whiche ye shall kepe unto your self, it were no great wisdome yet to entre into any further bandes with the Duke of Burbon, unto suche tyme as more certeinte of diverse other thinges may be knowen. Wherfore you shall by your wisedomes put of that matier in good maner as is aforesaid, shewing also unto thEmperour that, albeit the Kinges mynde by his former letters was that the said Duke shulde repaire unto this Realme and parties, knowing non other at that tyme but that he shuld have passed into Spayn, being not the most mete place for hym to do good in; yet neverthelas, whan His Highnes understode that the said Duke was appointed to remayn in Italy, wher he may do highest sted and service, His Grace was singlerly well content therwith, and wolde in no wise that nowe he should folowe the Kinges former mynde in repayring hither or into Flaunders, but, after the Italyan enterprises ended, to do further as by common consent shalbe thought most expedient.

Over this ther is oone thing verray requisite to advertise you of, to be kept secrete unto your selfe, till suche tyme as ye shall perceyve it necessary to be shewed and declared. It is not unknown unto you, that by the convencions and treaties passed bitween the King and thEmperour, ther is a certain article concernyng a somme of money, whiche thEmperour is bounden to pay unto the Kinges Grace yerely for his indempnite, in recompence of suche cences and dueties as bifore the werres were due and payable oute of Fraunce, till suche tyme as the Kinges Highnes have recovered the value of the same indempnite of his patrimony deteyned by the Frenche King, or shall have taken some other composition with Fraunce to his contentacion. And wher as, amonges other thinges, mencyone is made in thise my letters that the Kinges Highnes neither loketh ne thinketh reasonable, that His Grace shuld come unto any apointment with Fraunce, onles than it may be with suche condicions as shall be equivalent, and supplye bothe the former cences and pentions paiede unto His Grace out of Fraunce, and also to suche money as was due for Tourney, and to other right great sommes and debtes set over to the Frenche King, and besides that, to the recompence and satisfaccion of the dower of the Kinges suster, Quene Dowager

Dowager of Fraunce; with respect and regarde unto the Kinges pretences claymes and titles of enheritance, wherunto His Grace by this werre hathe his resort; and fynally unto the great and monyfold charges by His Highnes susteyned by reason of these werres moved and commensed by the Frenche King, as is well known, so as the same condicions may be of suche sorte as they may ferre exceede the value of the indempnite; as to good reason aperteyneth, like as the wordes of my letter touching that matier pourport more at length: forasmoch as in these communications of peax it may fortune that Ambassadours or other, on the Frenche King or his moders behalve, shall saye or allege that the pencion and cence, whiche was payde yerely unto the Kinges Highnes by the Frenche King, was not of so great a somme as thEmperor is bounden to pay for the Kinges said indempnite, and consequently may percace afferme that therin thEmperour is circumvented or deceyved, it is thought unto the Kinges Highnes and his Counsail expedient, in avoiding all suche inconveniences, to instruct you, what answer ye shall make, in cace any suche thing be spoken of, whiche neverthelas ye shall in any wise kepe to your self, making no maner mencion of suche matier, onles it shall be necessary requisite for the cause aforesaid so to do; that is to say, ye shall unto suche objeccion make this answer, that in the rating and qualifying of the said indempnite the Kinges Highnes, as to raison and good equite dothe apertayn, estemed not only the said yerely pension, but also suche other thinges as His Grace shuld amyt and lose by entring of the werres with Fraunce, that is to saye, the said sommes due for Tourney, the other debtes set over to the Frenche King, diverse old arrerages and sommes of money by Hym also due unto the Kinges Grace, and the dower of the said Quene Dowager, whiche accompted to gedre rather excede ferre, than be under, the somme of the said indempnite. And besides that, ye shal say, that at suche tyme as the Kinges Highnes rendred Torney and Torneyses unto the Frenche King upon certain condicions paymentes and other agrementes than concluded, it was convented that in a certain cace the said Torney and Torneyses shuld be restored and delivered to the Kinges handes and possession, so as thEmperour, who recovered it of the Frenche King, can have no suche rightfull possession thereof, but that the Kinges interesse in the cace aforesaid alwaies dothe remayn; which thinges considred, ther is non excepcion or default to be alleged at the somme of the said indempnite, but rather the same hath passed in most favourable maner. And therfore, whan it shall come unto communication of peax, it shalbe so moche the more expedient that the Emperour stik assurydly unto a large and sufficient recompence for all and singuler the premisses to be by the Frenche King geven and accorded unto the Kinges Grace, aswell for his oune exonera-

cion and discharge touching the indempnite, as for the enteresse, whiche the Kinges Highnes, not otherwise satisfyed, may have unto the said Tourney hereafter. And this shall not only be a sufficient answer unto any objeccion that may be made in this behalve, but also the matier touching Tourney shalbe a good introduction to provoke the Emperour so moche the more to regarde the benefite of the appointment towardes the Kinges Grace, whan the cace shall require.

Furthermore I require you, that on my behalve ye woll geve unto th Emperours Majeste my most humble and cordiall thankes, for that it pleased the same so tenderly and graciously to write procure and labour for myn avauncement unto the Papall dignite at this last vacation therof[1], assuring His Majeste that He hathe and shall have of me a perfite and most faithfull loving servaunt and frende to the uttermost of my power, glad to employe my witt auctoritie studye and mynde, next the King my Soverain lord and master, unto his honour exaltacion weale and benefite, afore any other Prince cristened; humbly beseching His Majeste that, like as I have hitherto interponed my self, making unto the Kinges Grace and al other perfyte assurance of his fast and entier mynde, with ferme intent inviolably to performe and fulfill all his conventions and promises, so His Majeste, who hitherto by the werre hathe done no great acte sounding in any wise to the Kinges emolument and profytt, woll nowe, in communication of the peax, so largely supplye the lakkes passed, that not only my honer and assurance made on his behalve may be conserved, but also therby I may have oportunite herafter the better to further and avaunce any the good causes or desires of His Majeste, as I am and shalbe redy to do with glad hert and mynde, whansoever the cace shall require.

Finally, forasmoche as the Kinges Highnes perceyveth well, that nothing is to be done in enterprises of werre on that side, wherebye any emolument or profyt may arise unto His Grace, and that consequently it shall be vayn and superfluous lenger to deteyn you, Sir Richard Jernyngham, in those parties; the pleasur of His Grace therefore is, that, according to theffect of my former letters, ye, the same Sir Richard, may retourne unto His Highnes at your pleasure. And considring what tract of tyme it shalbe, bifore waghters may be put in redynes and sent from hens for your conduytyng, who percace lakking good wynde shuld remayn here, whiles ye with the same wynde being contrary

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[1] Vespasian, C. II. leaf 226, is a holograph letter of the 16th of December, 1523, from Charles V. to Wolsey, assuring him of his having recommended him for the Papacy, in compliance with a request made by Henry VIII. under his own hand.

for

for theym might be retourned; albeit ther was a divice that conduyte shuld have been sent from hens, yet upon the said consideracion it was and is thought unto the Kinges Highnes more convenient that ye, taking the zabers being in the Kinges wages in your company, shall also hyre a ship in that countrey to conduyte you for your safe passage, the charges wherof shalbe paiede at your retourne. And further ye may, if ye so think good, use the company of suche other shippes as shal happen to come from thens into thise parties.

I advertise you, in counsail to be kept secrete unto yourself, that the state of the Pope and other Princes of Italye, with the disfurnyture and plain answer of the Emperour considred, remembring the grete charges that the Kinges Grace hath ben at, and the difficultye to finde money for continuance of the warres, it is more then necessary, by al the honorable and good ways that may be divised, to leane unto the peace, conveying every thing in suche maner, as nether it seme to procede of the Kinges Highnes, ne also that the Emperours disfurnyture be over moche knowen unto the Pope, but that the King at the Popes and the Emperours desires only, and for ther weale, is contented to herken therunto, so it may be with honorable and profitable condicions as afore.[1]

By suche conjectures as may be had here, Monsr. De Praet, the Emperours Ambassadour here resident, being a man not of most experience and conduyte in suche affaires, useth bothe unto thEmperour and to the Lady Margaret to make many tymes synistre reaport. Wherfore necessary it shalbe, that ye geve good herkenyng therunto, desiring thEmperour to geve credence, first unto the experience of the dedes, and secondely unto the relacions that ye shal make unto Hym from tyme to tyme on the Kinges and my behalf, and not so entierly to trust the wordes of those, whiche, to seke favor, wol compare them self a thank as His Majeste shal do unto the trowthe; though percace some thinges may be said here in presence of the said Ambassadour more for a shadowe then otherwise, the trouthe being alwaies referred to your declaration. Thus fare ye hertily wel. At my place besides Westminster, the 25th day of Marche.

(*Signed*) Yo^r^ lovyng frende,
T. Car^lis^. Ebor.

(*Superscribed*)
To my loving frendes, M^r^. Richard Sampson, Clerke, Deane of the Kinges Chapel, and Sir Richard Jernyngham, Knight, the Kinges Ambassadours to thEmperour.

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[1] This paragraph is in cypher, and is omitted in the copy in Vespasian, C. II. leaf 290, with a note, "Here 15 lines in cypher."

LXXXVI. WOLSEY *to* CLERK, PACE, *and* HANNIBAL.[1]

MY Lord of Bath, Maister Secretary, and Maister Haniball, I commende me unto you in my right harty maner; and have receyved your letters dated at Rome the 23rd day of the last moneth, withe a duplicate of the same of the 24th day; and by thandes of the Popis messynger, Maister Melchior Langus, the Kinges Highnes and I have also receyved bryves from the Popis Holynes of the former date; by tenour of which your said letters His Grace and I perceyve, howe that, ensuying the effect of such instructions as I lately gave you on the Kinges bihalf, ye, after substanciall debatyng amonges yourselfes, examynyng and ponderyng the greate importance of the same, beyng by you playnly and parfitely translated into the Laten tong, repaired unto the Popis Holynes, aswel for delyverye and presentacion of the Kinges and my letters gratulatories, as for declaration of the charge to you then committed; wherin ye (as it wel semyth) have so prudently and discretely behaved and used yourselfes, that by the good introductions persuasions and groundly reasons made unto His Holynes in frutefull and effectuel maner, with sundry divises replyinges and exhortacions gyven unto the same, ye have brought Hym in suche parfite stay, that albeit his answers and advertisementes of his state power habilite and mynde, made upon your first declaracion of the premisses, was competently good loving plain and reasonable, yet by your wise handelyng ye have so trayned Hym from good unto better, that fynally ye have atteyned knowlege of his sincere, perfite and constant deliberation, and singuler affection towardes the Kynges Grace, the common causes and affaires; the specialties whereof be playnly couched, aswel in your said letters, as in the Popis said breves; and semblably in the instructions gyven by His Holynes unto Mr. Melchior, to be shewid and declared unto the Kinges Highnes and to me; in such wise as His Grace, noting and regarding the loving fast and prudent demeanour of the Pope, with the playn demonstration and declaration made of the present state of Italy, his opinion shewed upon the same, and finally the entier deliberation that He is in (the better wherof cannot be desired), is singularly wel contented and satisfied with you for the same; geving unto

[1] From a contemporary copy in the State Paper Office. There is another, Harleian, No. 297. fol. 150. The original draft, in the handwriting of Tuke, and corrected by him, is in Vitellius, B. VI. leaf 32.

you

you special thankes for the grete dexterite and good circumspection that ye have used in this behalf, to His Graces and my good contentation. And for demonstration howe thankefully the Kinges Highnes doth accepte this the Popis constant friendly and playne dealyng, with declaracion of the Kinges further minde and intente concerning the same, His Grace sendith at this tyme special letters directed unto His Holynes, like as I also do the semblable[1]; which letters with their copies ye shall receyve herewith, to be by you presented in due and convenient tyme as shall apperteyne.

And albeit that right sone after tharyval of Maister Melchior Langus, and knowledge had of his charge and credence, I depeched, by a special currour, the Kinges and my letters responsives unto the Popis said Holynes with ample instruction unto you by my writing, howe ye shulde intimate and notifie unto the same the playnes and circumstance of the Kynges mynde and intente, beyng moche confourmable and concordant unto the inclination and desire that the Pope semyth to be of; so as it is not to be doubted but that His Holynes, knowyng the same, is by this tyme right joyous and glad to perceyve and fynde in the Kinges Highnes so moche gracious disposicion lovingly to accommodate Hymself unto that thing which shalbe founde most expedient for this present tyme, having more respect unto the commodite of the Popis said Holynes, the Emperour, and other his friendes, then to his owne perticular lucre profite and avauntage; yet neverthelesse, forasmoche as by thies last brives and letters His Holynes semeth to be desirous incontinently to knowe the full resolution of the Kinges mynde and pleasure, His Highnes and I thought convenient eftsones to spede thies letters; to the intente that after mutuel knowlege either of others intente, every thing may be ordered as to the benefite of the common causis shalbe thought moste expedient.

And, for playne declaracion unto the Popis Holynes of the Kinges said mynde, ye shal after due moste affectuous and filial recommendacions made on the behalfe of His Highnes, and most humble and lowly recommendacions on myn, and after presentacion and delyvere of His Graces and my said letters, say unto the Pope, that, first the Kinges Highnes most cordially thankith Hym for this his said friendly playne and kynde declaracion made unto His Grace of the state, wherin aswel His Holynes as all Italy is nowe constitute, perceyving therby that His Holynes doth and is mynded to procede sincerely and directly with His Grace, which doubteles is, and shal prove the veray way

[1] Wolsey's letter is among the Vatican Papers, dated the 26th of March. In it he speaks in high terms of Langus, thanks the Pope for his brief of the 23d of February, and speaks in general terms of the affairs of Italy, &c.

to

to conduce every thing unto the best purpose and effecte; where as, if there shuld be demonstracions and colorable dealinges used, as in some other partes there hath percase bene, sounding more to a shewe and visage then to any parfite frute, it shulde be but a vayne consumption and waste of tyme, with detriment and dangier in the later ende. And therfor His Grace more thankefully acceptith this the Popis playne and loving dealing, then the wynnyng of a right grete treasure and substance; having ferme hope and confidence that neyther for fayned persuasions procurynges motions offres or compasses to be made imagyned or contrived by the enemyes, ne also for any leanyng or inclinacion of Cardinallis or other greate personages unto that partie, His Holines, unto Whom the callidities and crafty circumvencions of France be not unknowen, wol ever declyne from this his honorable and vertuous proceeding and intente, ne geve credence ere or herkenyng unto their subtile abuses; which, undir colour and semblaunce of good thinges, wherin is hid venym and poyson, never cease for their awne perticular lucre and inordinat ambition, to seke the wayes and meanes of trumperye falsed and deceyte. Wherunto ye shal beseche His Holynes, at the reverence of God, to have from tyme to tyme vigilant eye and regard, lest that in defaulte therof the same, led upon any perticuler overture or subornacion, sunding in apparance never so moche unto his appetite profite desire or contentacion, shulde in the ende be seduced and deceyved. Wherin His Holynes had nede by his grete and profunde wisedome to considre in what calamitie dangier and perile not onely the dignitie of the hooly See Apostolique, but also the universal state of Italy shulde stonde, in case the French Kinge, whose mynde hath alwais ben to aspire and atteyn the monarchie therof, shulde be at this tyme superiour, and suffred to put his fote again and contynue in the Duchie of Millayn. Wher as, diligent and all possible provision beyng made for his expulsion from thens, specially by strikyng of bataile and overthrow of his armye, if it may in any wise be brought aboute, or at the leest by interteynement of the Italian armye, to fatigate and wery the said Frenchmen, till their vitailes and money be consumed, whereby they may be forced of necessite to retourn; His Holynes shal do the grettest acte for his awne suretie, the weale rest and tranquillite aswel of Italy as of all Christendome, that hath been done this many yeris, or may be excogitate. And to this purpose ye may say, the Kinges Highnes and I verayly thinke that, considering unto what basse state the Frenchmen be now brought, aswel by their long demor and contynuance in the fielde, as by other charges which they have susteyned sens the begynnyng of this warre, ther were no thing to be omitted by the Poopis Holynes, that may be thought studied or imagyned either for bataile to be striken, or at the leste contynuance of the said

said Italian armye as afore, though His Holynes shulde nowe extremely strayne and charge Hymself and the states of Italy to the uttermost. For if in the defaulte and lak of such interteynement the armye of the confederates shuld abandoun the felde, leving the same unto the Frenchmen, as God forbede they shulde do, it wer the grettest victorie that coude ensue unto the French King, Who therby shulde save his capitains army and puyssance hoole, able afterward to overcome all Italy, and consequently the utter destruction losse and ruyne of all the hoole province and countrey, with vayne and frustratory consumption of all the expensis hitherto susteyned, besides the greate dishonour hinderaunce and detriment that shulde therof ensue unto thEmperour and to the Kinges Grace. Wherfore, remembring the infinite charges and burdeyn that the Kinges Highnes hath for his part susteyned, aswel in maynteyning the warres against France by the notable invasions made into the same, thise both yeres passed, as in garding the sees, wherin His Highnes hath had no concurrance or aide from thEmperour or other parties; and, besides that, the hote and sore warre, that hath been and yet is against Scotland, whither the Duc of Albany was sent with greate succours to invade this the Kinges Realme, and hath ben, to his great shame and reproche, valiantly resisted and profligate with his losse and rebuke; the greate sommes of money also avaunced unto thEmperour by way of loone, and other sommes for enterteynement of the launceknyghtes, that were raised to have served under the Duc of Burbon, and otherwise; so as more coude not ne myght have bene done on this side for the tyme to the annoyance of the said enemye, beyng nowe in maner exhauste, and broughten unto the pointe that he may not ne can long maynteyn his enterprises: the Kinges Highnes assuridly trustith and thinkyth that the Poopis Holynes, who now taking ernest payne for a small season, which afterward cannot faile to be sone redubbed and easely repared, may (the Frenche army ones defeated or disapointed) put an ende to the warris of Christendome, woll not omitte this goodly oportunite, for any never so greate charge studie travaile of mynde or payne that His Hoolynes may now take, but that He woll enserche and divise all the wais possible by one meane or other (bataile failyng) to outelye and wery the said Frenche army; considering the highe effectes, which by so doyng may ensue, to the pleasure of God, the tranquillite of Christendome, the suretie of His Holynes and of all Italy, the weale and furtherance of thEmperours and the Kinges causis; Whom, if there were none other consequence or other effecte like to ensue, but onely for their sakes, His Holynes must nedes of good congruence at this tyme aide and assiste to the uttermost. For thise causes, if bataile be not striken before the receipte of thies letters, ne the French army retired, ye shal in all effectual maner exhorte

solicite and importune the Poopis Holynes in no wise to pretermyt this matier, howe depely soever He shulde charge Hymself and other the estates of Italy; for hereupon dependith the hoole weale, not onely therof, but of all Christendome as aforesaid; and by meanes also therof the Pope shall have the French King more tractable and appliable unto such condicions of peaxe, as may with the honour of all parties be accepted and taken. And moche the rather His Holynes may stik assuridly hereunto, forasmoche as, sens the Kinges Grace doth perceyve by the said breves and letters the state wherin the Poope and Italy nowe doth stonde, His Highnes is not mynded to presse His Holynes to any thing not lying conveniently in his facultie and power, either by demaunding further aide of Hym on this side the mountayns, then He may conveniently bere, or by his open declaration yet against the French King, or otherwise then is aforesaid; excepte onely his ferme and constant perseverance and assuryd contynuance in his parfite mynde towardes His Grace and thEmperour for the weale furtherance and avauncement of their causis and matiers; which His Holynes, forberying his said declaracion outeward for the tyme, and leanyng nevertheles in his herte mynde and actes really and effectuelly with theym, may conduce by his dexterite to their most benefite commodite and avauntage in joynyng with theym, if the warris shal contynue, or procuryng the peaxe, as the case hereafter shal require. And what habilite thEmperour is and shalbe of to mayntayne and contynue the warris to any notable purpose or effecte, the Kinges Highnes lokith in brief tyme to be advertised; which knowen, His Grace woll incontinently make the Poopis Holynes privie therunto accordingly.

And though it so be that the Kinges Highnes and I doubte not, but that upon this instruction ye wol with all effecte solicite and procure (the bataile failyng) the enemyes may be consumed and worne oute as is aforesaid, and that the Popis Holynes of his greate vertue and wisedome, ponderyng groundely the said reasons and necessary consideracions, woll strayne Hymself to the uttermoste in this behalfe; yet nevertheles, in asmoche as His Holynes in familiar and kynde maner desireth to have the Kinges and mine advise and counsaile in thies greate and weighty affaires, I shal not ne do pretermit to studie devise and set furth, asmoche as may stonde with my dutie to my Soverayn Lorde and maister, all such thinges as in my conceite may be thought upon or imagyned for to conduce every thing to the best purpose. And therfor, if after declaracion of the premisses, ye shal fynally perceyve no maner apparance way or possibilite, howe bataile may be striken, or, the same fayling, the army of the confederates may be contynued and maynteyned for any convenient tyme in maner and forme as is aforesaid; then in avoiding the grete

grete dangiers above mencioned, which myght ensue by their abandonnyng the felde, leving the Frenchmen victours and demoryng in the same; it accordith to highe policie and wisedome to divise some meane way. For, to say the trouth, it cannot be thought by any wise man that the Frenchmen, not yet extremely exhausted, ne lakking hope of newe succours and helpe, perceyving also the army of the confederates unhable lenger to contynue for the defaulte of enterteynement, wol facilly abandonne the Duchie of Mylayn, and retourne into France, onles they be compelled so to do by striking of bataile, ne that the French King, being none otherwise pressed, wol leve such commodite, or take so highe reproche. Wherfor, in this case, expedient it shalbe that the Popis Holines Whom the dangier hereof chiefly touchith, beyng fader and hed of the Churche and all Princes, set furth as of Hym self some honorable motions and overtures of peaxe; so as by meane thereof the French King may have occasion to thinke that the retourne of his armye shal not be so largely to his dishonour and dammage, and consequently be the rather inclined to withdrawe the same. Whiche mater, for an ouverture, may be ordred in this maner, if it so be thought good unto the Popis Holynes, that is to say, that His Holynes notifie unto the French King, avising Him to remember and consider that utterly the states of Italy be so fastly knyt and combyned in their hartes against Him, never intending or mynding to receyve Him into the same, that it shalbe almost impossible for Hym, by any contynuance or demore of his armye, to atteyn his purpose or desire in that behalf. And if by any chaunce it shulde fortune Hym at this tyme to be superiour there, as there is neither apparance or likelihode, yet it is to be considered howe difficile it shalbe for Hym to kepe the Duchie of Mylayn, were it by Hym attayned, when by any invasions of thEmperour or of the Kinges Grace into Fraunce, Who at the Poopis instance forbere presently so to do, He shalbe compelled to withdrawe his puyssance from thens. Over that, the infinite charges losses and dammages, which France hath susteyned for adquiryng defence and keping of the said Duchie, and howe sone they have diverse tymes lost, and eftsones may lose, the same, is to be highly pondered and remembred, besides the respect and regard which a good Christen Prince owith to have to the universal trouble inquietation and dammage of Christendome, beyng over al replenisshed with intestine warres onely by occasion of the French Kinges pretensis in Italy. In which tyme, the Christen Princes occupyed one of theym against the other, no resistence was or coude be made unto the Turkes entreprises, who sens thies last warris hath wonne and attayned the Roodes and the towne of Belgrado, which were the 2 propugnacles of Christendome. And in what imminent dangier the state therof now is, the Turke

beyng determyned with 3 puyssant armyes to invade the same, either on the partie of Hungarye or of Sicile and Italy, Luthers secte and heresies also dayly spreddyng and growyng more and more, is facile and easy to be considered. Wherfor the Popis Holynes may persuade and exhorte the French King, that withdrawing his armye oute of Italye, He, havyng as He saith desire and mynde to common and herkyn unto peaxe, wol, for the more breve conducyng therof, the perticular matiers and querellis depending bitweene the Kinges Grace and Hym beyng difficile to be componed at Rome, sende hither with all diligence some person instructed with honorable and reasonable offres and overtures to common and treate upon the same, according to such fourme and maner as was conteyned in my last letters. So that, those differences brought in to some convenient trayne, which undoubtidly can not ne shal be done in other place then here, the Poopis Holynes, and the Princes Oratours at Rome to whom it shall apperteyne, may be advertised therof for further treating and avauncement of the said peaxe as the case shal require. And if the semblable be done unto thEmperour for his partie, if His Majestie be so mynded, it shalbe the moste breve and directe way, wherein ye shal say, this divise folowyng is not unreasonable, if by the Popis Holynes the same be moved and set furth; that is to say, that a mariage may be had bitwene the Duc of Mylayn and the French Kinges doughter; which, as ye shall secretely shewe to the Poope, for her yewth shalbe long, or it take effecte and be consummate, and consequently so moche the better for the weale of Italy; or, if it can not be attayned with the said doughter, at the lest way it may be concluded for the Lady Reyne; so that the Duchie of Milayn, with the investiture therof to be gyven by thEmperour, may remayne and contynue unto the said Duc of Mylayn and to his wife, beyng one of the said 2, and to the heyres of their two bodies laufully begotten, with an yerely cense or pension of 100000 ducates, to be bourne oute of the same to the French King for terme of his life; and for lak of such issue of their two bodies begotten, to reatourne after their decease unto the French King and his heyres, to be alweis holden of thEmperour and his successours as apperteyneth. By meane of which mariage not onely the French King shall honorably bestowe his doughter or the said Lady Reyne, but also have as large or percase more profite in the ende oute of the saide Duchie, then if He had it in his awne handes, bryng Hym self out of warre trouble and vexation of mynde, make an honorable ende to his enterprise of Mylayn, revoke his armye withoute losse dammage or reproche, and fynally, the occasions of werres amonges Christen Princes by thies meanes removed and extincte, they may live in honour quiet habundaunce and tranquillite; convertyng and employng their puyssances against the Turkes, enemyes unto Christes

Christes faith: the said heresies may also commodiously be extirpate, and unite rest and concorde charitably established in the Church, to the pleasure of Allmighty God, and the highe merite of theym, which have bene the causers movers doers and furtherers of so vertuous an acte.

This overture beyng made by the Poopis Holynes as of Hym self as above, with other thinges set to it as by his highe wisedome shal be thought convenient, may be a meane and way to cause the French King to withdrawe his armye oute of Italy; thinking that He shal not do it by constraynt or coaction, to his reproche, but under the shadowe of an honorable treatie. And therby the Poopis Holynes, fyndyng no better way by contynuaunce of the Italian army or otherwise, may put Hym self, the realme of Naples, the Duchie of Mylayne, and the residue of that countrey, oute of the dangier and peril whiche the shulde be in, if their armye, abandonnyng the felde for lak of enterteynement, shulde geve place unto the Frenchemen. For undoubtedly if the French King remayne victour and superiour or lengest in the felde, albeit percase there shall not lak of the French faction that wol and do put His Holynes in counfort of great thinges to be had at the French Kinges hande; yet sure He may be, that after the enemyes have ones attayned their purpose and desire, they shal neither regard promyse convencion bande treatye or othe, but utterly take their avauntage; using His Holynes like a chapleyne at their wille pleasures and commaundementes, to the clere subversion aswel of the dignitie of the See Apostolique as of the hoole state of Italy, wherby the same and the residue of Christendome shalbe eftsones of newe brought unto more sore and grevous werre then it was bifore; which inconvenient may nowe be foreseen and avoided, if the Poopis Holynes, geving no maner ere or herkenyng to the French abuses and swete offres, and straynyng Hym self with other confederates of Italy for contynuance of their armye as afore, do conteyne and kepe Hymself assuridly and stedfastly in realite of dedes love and affection towardes the Kinges Grace and thEmperour. Tenderyng allweis that thing which may be to the suretie weale and benefite of their causes and matiers, be it by concurryng with Theym to the warres, if the same shal be thought best to be contynued, by assistence with his spiritual jurisdiction and swerde when nede shalbe, by conducyng peaxe, or otherwise as the case shal require.

Fynally, for asmoche as in your said letters ye shewe that the commissions gyven unto you for treatie and conclusion of peax or trieux be expired and voide by the deth of Pope Adrian, and for that percase, at the overtures and communications upon such matier, ye shalbe required to exhibite and shew what power ye have to treate common and conclude upon the same, I sende you

you herewith a sufficient and ample commission for that purpose, joynteley or severally; albeit the Kinges expresse mynde and pleasure is, as I heretofore have written unto you, that ye shal no thing conclude therin, til such tyme as, upon your advertisementes from tyme to tyme to be gyven unto His Grace and me of the overtures offres motions and communicacions, ye shal have receyved answere and commaundment to procede unto such conclusion: shewyng your self in all your communicacions and divisinges that this herkenyng to peax procedith not of the Kinges sekyng, but is onely at the Poopis instance and request. In which said advertisementis it shalbe requisite, that ye alwais make diligent spede and celerite; to thintent that for the warres or peaxe the Kinges Highnes may geve ordre unto his affaires as shal apperteyn.

LXXXVII. Pope Clement VII. *to* Queen Catharine.

Clemens PP VII[a].

Carissima in Christo filia nostra, Salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem. Cum reverteretur istuc dilectus filius Thomas Hannibal, carissimi in Christo filij nostri Henrici Angliæ Regis illustris consortis Tuæ Majestatis Orator, pro nostro in te paterno animo, tuaque vicissim in Nos et hanc Sanctam Sedem pietate, proque ipsius Regis et carissimi etiam in Christo filij nostri Caroli Hispaniarum Regis Catholici, in Romanorum Imperatorem electi, tui ex sorore nepotis, inter Nos necessitudine, dedimus illi hoc negocij ut Majestatem Tuam nostro nomine et salutaret, et benedictionem nostram afferret; quam Tu eo nomine, quo æquum est, accipies; ipsumque Thomam virum et prudentem et probum et Regis sui Tuæque Majestatis observantissimum, tum illius meritorum causa, tum nostrarum literarum, commendatum carumque habebis. Datum Romæ, apud Sanctum Petrum, sub Annulo Piscatoris, die 19 Maij, 1524, Pontificatus nostri anno primo.

(*Signatur*) Be. El. Cremoneñ.

(*Superscribitur*)
Carissimæ in Christo filiæ nostræ, Catherinæ,
Angliæ Reginæ illustri.

LXXXVIII. King Henry VIII. *to* Pope Clement VII.[1]

Beatissime Pater, post humillimam commendationem, ac devotissima pedum oscula beatorum. Nobiscum nuper fuit Reverendus in Christo Frater, Nicolaus Scombergus, Archiepiscopus Capuanus, quem non alio excepimus animo quam si germanus Nobis extisset, tum quod inveteratus est amicus, rerumque nostrarum omnium studiosissimus, tum vero quod incredibili nostra cum voluptate eum esse percipimus, quem ob ingentam illi in gravissimis quibusque pertractandis rebus prudentiam, summam fidem, singularemque industriam, non minori adjunctam probitati, intimum Sibi a consilijs, actionibus, cogitationibusque merito Vestra Sanctitas elegerit, tantaque dexteritate ac modestia, quæ in mandatis habebat, et quæ suæ fidei commissa erant, Nobis exposuit, ut virum hunc ad ardua queque gerenda duntaxat natum fore existimaverimus. Accurate itaque loquentem illum audivimus (cum Vestra Sanctitate Nos loqui arbitrati), totumque nostrum animum attentasque aures, ut Christianum Principem decet, illi accommodavimus; cujus Nobis expositas rationes sedulasque suasiones, atque optimum in primis Vestræ Beatitudinis desyderium et boni pastoris studium, postquam omni ex parte probe trutinavissemus, de his omnibus uberrime et liberrime cum eo sumus colloquuti, sincerumque nostrum pectus consiliorumque nostrorum rationes illi ingenue patefecimus, et ad singula responsum dedimus Christiane Reipublicæ salutare, Vestræ Sanctitati gratum, Catholico Rege dignum (ut confidimus) futurum; id quod diligenter ac fideliter ab eodem fratre Nicolao Sibi expositum iri non ambigimus, in quam etiam sententiam ex nostro isthic Oratore, cui plenissimam semper fidem haberi præcamur, Vestra Sanctitas nonnulla percipiet. Quæ felicissime ac diutissime semper valeat. Ex Regia nostra Grenwici. Die 22 Maij, 1524.

Excellentissime Vestræ Sanctitatis
devotissimus obsequentissimus Filius,
Dei Gratia, Rex Angliæ et Franciæ, Fidei Defensor,
ac Dominus Hiberniæ,

Henricus.

(*Superscribitur*)
Sanctissimo Clementissimoque Domino nostro Papæ.

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[1] Copy from the Vatican. In the same collection is a letter from Wolsey to the Pope, dated on the 24th, commending the Archbishop of Capua. The letter of credence for the Archbishop and also for Melchior Langus is in the Record Office, and is dated on the 26th of April. In the same repository is a letter of the 4th of July from the Pope to Wolsey, expressing his satisfaction at learning from the Archbishop that Langus, who is to remain as Nuncio, has been so favourably received.

LXXXIX. WOLSEY *to* PACE.[1]

MR. SECRETARIE, I commend me unto you in my most hartie manner. And have recevyd your letters dated at Macklyn the 18th of this monnethe, by the tennor whereof the Kinges Highnes and I perceve the toward and conformable mynde which you be of, your long travaile and abscence from hence notwithstanding, to retorne againe unto the Duke of Burbon, accomplisshing the Kinges pleasure and commaundement, to you notefied by my letters, in such thinges as be and shalbe commytted to you, for the better conducing and ordering of the Kinges great and most waighty affayres now requysite and substancyallye handled regarded and loked uppon; for which your conformitie and glad mynd to do unto the Kinges Grace acceptable servyce, His Highnes and I both give unto you most hartie thankes, trusting that by the time of the receipt of thies my letters ye shall have bene arryved with the said Duke, and have recevid suche commission[2] letters and enstructions, as were lately sent unto you, concerning the charge than to you commytted; which letters by reason they passed by right way of the posts, mett not with you byfore your commyng to the sayd Macklyn: by tennor wherof ye be amplie enstructed of the Kinges mynde and pleasure, howe you shall ordre your self and your doinges with the said Duke, which I doubt not but you will substancyallye execute and fulfill according to the singuler truste and confydence which the Kinges Grace and I have in you; and very well the Kinges Grace and I like your good trust and hope to retorne home in brief time throughe Fraunce, invito Rege Gallorum, whereof wee allso be in no manner of despaier. Assertayning you, that here hathe bene lately with the Kinges Highnes and me the Archebusshopp of Capua, sent from the Popes Holynes furst to the French King, from thence to thEmperor, and finally to the Kinges Grace, to procure labour and solycyte peace or trieux. And what aunswere hath bene made to him, aswell by the French King, as by the Emperour, and also here, shall plainly appere unto you, by the copie of suche letters as at this next time I do write to the Kinges Ambassador at Rome, and copies of a treaty for a treux, and certeine memorialles mencioned in the same; all which copies

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[1] From the Harleian, Vol. 283. leaf 59. There are two other copies, but less correct, one in the State Paper Office, from whence however some corrections have been made; the other in the Museum, Vitellius, B. VI. leaf 58.

[2] A minute of the commission, altered from that given to Russell on the 2d of August 1523, and dated the 7th of May 1524, is ibid. leaf 40 b.

ye

ye shall receve herewith for your ripe knowlege and confirmation in that byhalf, whereby ye shall mow perceve that the hole foundation and grounde of all such thinges, as the Kinges Highnes entendith to do in theis grete and weighty mattiers, shall rest holy and entierly uppon the advertysementes that shalbe given from you bothe hyther, and to the Kinges said Orator at Rome; whereuppon shall depend the stay of all the Kinges busines. And therfore I exhorte and reqwyre you, that now above all other tymes, you will have most tender and substancyall regard hereunto, in such wise as, sythens yt is determyned and concluded that the opportunytie, yf yt be offred, shall in no wyse be pretermytted, and that the Kinges Highness is not mynded or entended, as I have heretofore written unto you, to passe, in Person or by Liewtenaunt, this sommer, onles yt be to take suche evident opportunytie as may be to the recovery eyther of his crowne of Fraunce, or of some notable pece or portion on that side of the see; His Grace may by your advertysements assuredly know the specialties of every thing, and semblablie his Orator at Rome; that, aswell in advancyng, as not avauncyng, his armye, as in proceading to the treating leving taking or concluding of trieux, every thinge may uppon perfyt knowlege be dewlye establysshed and followed, as shall apperteigne. For verely yt is to be thought, that by the season that the Duke of Burbon shalbe entred into Fraunce, whereof is yet no manner of knowlege, but allso it is yet undetermyned, and not concluded in Italy, whether he shall passe into Fraunce or not, by reason whereof the warneing wilbe very late, the season of the yeare shalbe so far overpast for doing of anny notable exployt on this syde, ether in the Kinges Person or by Liewtenaunt; nevertheles uppon the speciall trust that the Kinges Grace and I have, that the Duke of Burbon having, as yt is sayd, of horsemen launceknyghtes and Spaniards[1], will not now desyst or forbeare the prosecution of the victorye attayned; specially seing that the whole substance of his affayre deppendeth thereuppon, and that by a speciall servant of his, here arived and sent in diligence, he hath signyfied unto the Kinges Highnes and me, that he entendithe undoubtedlye thus to do; desyring therfor to know the Kinges pleasure, how and under what forme His Grace will dispose hys affayres and enterprises on this syde. The Kinges Highnes for thies considerations doth put aswell his owne Person as his armye in suffycient readynes, and the Lady Mergaret doth the semblable, for such assystaunce as by the sayd treaty ys concluded to be gyven on

[1] A number is evidently wanted in this place, for which a blank is left in the copy in the State Paper Office, but not in either of the other copies.

thEmperors partie out of his Low Countreys; entending that yf, by anny great revolution in Fraunce uppon the Duke of Burbons descending there, or by other victorye, there shalbe commoditie given to His Grace to take anny notable thinges peece or portion, as is aforesayd, then to passe, eyther in his Person or by his Liewtenaunt, as the case shall requyre, thoughe yt be in August or September, or latter. But to be plaine with you, yt were neyther wisdom nor pollecye, byfore suche thinges perfectly and assuridly knowen, to avaunce anny army on this syde, specially onles the same with thassystence had bene put in soner redines than they now can be. Wherefore, keping this to your self and geving nevertheles convenyent compfort allwayes unto the Duke of Burbon, ye shall anymate and exorte him valiently to entre and descend into Fraunce. And to say the truthe, neyther the Kinges Highnes nor I will advise him to entre with so small a company, but that yf litle or nothing were done on this side, he might yet be able bothe to kepe the field, besege townes and places, and allso to give battayle to the French King yf nede be. For, being the Kinges Highnes not mynded to avaunce on this syde, tyll some great revolution or successe be happened on the other, His Grace woold be lothe to give suche counsaile or compforte to the Duke of Burbon as should be to his daunger. And for this purpose the Kinges Highnes, amongest other articles in the sayd treaty, hath agreed to the contribution and mayntenaunce of one hundred 1000 crownes for his parte, and thEmperour asmoche for the mayntenaunce of the sayd army after they shalbe descendid into Fraunce; which, with such other monney as they be allredy furnisshed of from the Emperour, and otherwise, shalbe mete to serve to their purpose for some great feate to be done. Asserteyning you, that Sir John Russell is departed with the somme of 20000£. for the Kinges parte, which he shall convey unto some convenyent place, betwene him and you to be devysed, eyther in redy money or by exchaunge to be made at Antwerp or here, as may be best brought to passe. Howbeyt neyther the Kinges Grace shall bere anny lenger contribution, yf His Highnes eyther in Person or by Liewtenaunt avaunce his armye this yere, as afore, like as, by a speciall article in the treaty byfore mentioned, ye shall mowe perceve; ne allso His Grace is not bounden to charge Himself with one pennye thereof, till such season as the said Duke of Burbon shall have made his othe and fidelitie to the King, as his subject to his crowne of Fraunce, according to his promyse and theffect of the instructions, with a commyssion lately sent unto you for that purpose; whereunto ye must in anny wise have speciall regard; so as, though the Kinges monney be so forwardly avaunced to thentent

thentent it shuld not lack in time convenyent, yet, yf the Duke of Burbon eyther passe not the mountaines with a puissand and well enstruct armye, making reall and actuall warr, as afore, or so passing, shall refuse or delaie to make his said oth unto the Kinges Grace, the said monney may be reserved at the Kinges pleasure. Nevertheles, to be plaine with you, that article was by my meanes insertyd into the sayd treaty, and cowched with such qwalifactions, as ye, well noting the same, may perceive, to a greate entent and purpose; for by meanes thereof the Duke of Burbon, knowing that, for lack of making his sayd oth, both thEmperors and Kinges contribution shall cease, wilbe the more glad and readye without refusall to give the same othe, lest that in default thereof some great inconvenyence might enswe. But, to be plaine with you, which neyther anny other Embassador, nor thEmperours, be made privie to here, the Kinges mynde and pleasure ys, that thoughe mention be made in the said article that the Duke of Burbon, uppon an autentique requisition on the Kinges behalfe, and exhibition of your commyssion, do refuse, by the space of two dayes after such requisition, to take the said othe, thEmperour and the King shall not be bounde to the sayd contribution, as in the said article is expressed; yet there is another thing added thereunto, ex industria, which in effect is, onlesse than yt be otherwise thought good to their Orators and agentes being with the sayd Duke of Burbon. And the cawse, whie yt is so cowched, ys this; yf percase the Duke of Burbon be by this tyme entred into Fraunce with a notable power, or be very well equypped and readie to entre, furnysshed with reqwisites to that purpose, and that ye shall perceve by suche his entre there shall ensewe a notable revolution in Fraunce, or by other great victory for the Kinges commoditie, or that the French Kinge so procede thereby, that He shall the more facyle come to good conditions of peace, then pitie yt were, by reson of suche refusall, all the hole enterprise and expedition shold be pretermytted. For which cawse in this case ye, furst stycking firmely for 2 or 3 daies, conduce the said Duke of Burbon to make his said othe, and alleging unto him his former promys made unto you so to do, and how you have so writton and assured the Kinges Highnes and me by your letters, sayeng allso that yf he will excuse it by the Kinges none invasion on this syde, or diferre yt to the Kinges invasion, that he may well perceve and knowe the Kinges Grace ys mynded and determyned to envade uppon anny good successis fortuned on that syde; and by all other perswasions and entroductions, that shall come unto your mynde: and at the last, finding no remedie nor hope that he will confirme him self to the same, shall then say, as of your self, that, inasmoche as tharticle in the said treaty purporteth and makyth mention of an

autentique and solemne requysition, with open exhibition of your commission, which not made nor exhibited, all the hole treaty and contribution standeth still in his full strengthe and vertew; yet seing so great apparance of notable effect to ensew by continuance of that army to invade Fraunce, will forbeare to make anny suche autentique requisition or exhibit your commyssion, so that he will compromyt the mattier into thEmperours handes, as he hath done byfore this tyme: and thus yt is covertly referred unto your discretion, that yf ye se apparaunce of good effect to ensew, as afore, ye shall not make diffycultie to procede, taking this way to procede in disburseing the Kinges monney, as the case shall requyre, the said refusall notwithstonding, thEmperour entring in payment so to do as byfore, and contynuyng semblably for his partie. And furthermore, yf he allso, being contentyd to take his othe, will not do the same, but secretly and aparte to your self; yet, rather then good occasion and good opportunytie shuld be pretermytted, ye shall not stick to take yt aparte, in as avaylable manner as ye can, according to the forme of instructions that I last sent you. The ordring of which mattier the Kinges Highnesse and I must and do referre unto your wisdome and discretion, praieng you substancyally to handle yt accordingly, wythout abyding anny further instructions or declaration of the Kinges mynde from hence in that byhalf. And over that, yf the successes so uppon your advertisementes requiring, the Kinges Highnes shall fortune to avaunce his sayd army in Person or by Liewtenaunt, the contribution for the parte of His Grace must then cease, which thinges I doubt not but ye, being thus enstructed, will loke unto as shall apperteigne. Over this, if percase it shalbe thought to the Duke of Burbon, that this contribution agreed by the King and thEmperor shall not suffyce for the maintenaunce of suche a puissant armye under the sayd Duke, as ys byfore mentioned, by meane wherof he shall thinke him self the more unabell to entre Fraunce, and to do anny notable feate within the same; ye shall then by good wisdome and dexterytie put him in remembraunce, how far that monney, well employed, with such other as he ys and may be all redy furnysshed of, will extend; and the mattiers prosperously succeding, there cannot lack waies and meanes (God willing), byfore that be spent, to recover of thennemyes, some great boties or fordeilles. Howbeyt, yf the worst shuld chaunce, ye may perceave by a speciall article in the said treaty, that thEmperour and the Kinges Grace shall and will make lenger contribution, as the case shall requyre. And besides that, waies and meanes be to be set forth by the Duke of Burbon and other of that armye, lyke as the Kinges Highnes hath commytted unto his Orators resydent in the Courte of Rome, to procure the semblable with the Popes Holynes and other, that aswell the Pope,

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as the Venetians, the Duke of Myllayne, the Florentynes, Januays, and other Princes and Potentates of Italy, may of their gratitude and benevolence give allso some reasonable contribution to the entertainement of the said armye; considering that, by mayntenaunce thereof and continuall pressing thereof, he shalbe put from the commoditie to make new renforcements enterprises or practises against Italy, and consequently the same shalbe the more assuredly delyveryd from anny further troble or daunger of that mattyer. Whereas the said army lacking entertaynement, and desolved, they could not be sewr, none appointement nor other ordre yet taken, to be delyveryd from the French Kinges invasions. And besydes that, they owe of good congruence to charge them selves largely herein, forasmoche as by thEmperours, the Kinges, and other Princes meanes they have bene highely assysted for the expulsion of the said Frenchmen; who, yf the King and thEmperors helps shuld lack, woold not fayle facilly to recover that which they have lost in Italy, with more. And refusing the States of Italy to bere contribution, they shuld give cawse to thEmperor and to the Kinges Grace and other, to thinke that all they do is only for their owne benefyt, wherein they will demaunde the helps of other, and when they have attayned their purpose they will nothing do for the reqwiting of the same; so as, this matter being well handled, it is not to be doubted, but that some goodly sommes wilbe advaunced and had owt of Italy towardes the mayntenaunce for the sayd Duke of Burbon and his armye. Whereunto I requyre you to put your help for the more alleviation of the Kinges charge, giving your best councell and advise to the sayd Duke, how he may ordre him self for attayning thereof, and if nede be, to interpone allso the Kinges awctoritie by wryting of good letters from you unto the said estates on the Kinges byhalf for that purpose, which being well cowched ys to be supposed will greatly help and conferr therunto. Fynally, inasmoche as you do perceve by communycation the triewx shall now, uppon the arryvall of the Archebusshopp of Capua at Rome, be commencyd and bygonne there, and that uppon your advertysementes, aswell hyther, as to the Kinges Orators being with the Pope, of the successes of the sayd Duke of Burbon and that armye, dependithe and shall depende the conclusion tracting and disapointing thereof, and semblably of peace, yf by the ernest pressyng of the ennemy or otherwyse he shall fortune to make honnorable reasonable and profytable offres for all parties; the Kinges Highnes therefore and I most instantly requere you to take substancyall regarde, as I lately writt unto you, that all favour, affection, hasty credence, or sinystre practyce, set forthe by anny subtill or craftie person, utterly set aparte, your said advertisementes may be so trew perfyt evident and apparant,

apparant, and buylded uppon suche substancyall foundations, that uppon them the Kinges Highnes may take a fyrme grounde, how and in what forme aswell the Kinges Grace as his Orators at Rome shall ordre and establisshe all theire proceadinges and doinges; accepting or tracting the trieux and other the sayd great and waightye cawses and affaiers, and neyther allectid or comforted to avaunce his said armye in Person or by Liewtenaunt, onlesse than yt may be to an highe excellent and notable purpose, for the facyll and easy attayning of some great thing as ys aforesayd, ne allso other thinges requysite to be done here, at Rome, and elleswhere, to conducyng of the common mattiers to good purpose, hindred and pretermytted for lack of sewr knowlege and advertysement; which thing by you thus prudently loked unto, it is not to be dowbted but in thies incertainties, the best way shall now be taken in tyme, and every thing to be ordred, as shall redounde bothe to the common benefyt, and also to the Kinges honnor proffitt and advantage. Thus you perceve that, as it is mentioned in the copie of my letters to the Kinges Orators at Rome, they be commaunded to ordre them selves in taking or tracting of trieux, as they shall have knowlege and advertisement from you. For, yf by your letters they shall perceve that the Duke of Burbon procede in his successes so prosperously, that there shall be evydent apparance that some notable thing is to be had for the Kinges byhofe, and to themolument or commoditie of His Grace, they shall in that case tract and delay the sayd trewx, after such forme as ys mencioned in my said letters to them addressed. But yf the Duke of Burbons enterprises shuld not fortune to succede so prosperously as might be to anny good purpose for the Kinges byhofe, the said Ambassadours shall then accellerate the more spedily in fynysshing and concluding the sayd triewx, which in that cace were not to be pretermytted. Whereof I doubt not but that ye will gyve them substancyall advertysement from tyme to tyme accordingly. I send you herewith the Kinges letters credencyalles addressed to the Dukes of Myllaine[1] and Burbon and allso to the Viceroy of Naples[2], with copies of the same. Your credence shall rest in thies pointes following: Furst, to anymate them to the prosecution of thenterprises as before; Secoundly, to show and make them participant of the treaty and convention passed betwene thEmperor and the Kinges Grace for the affairs of this yere, for which purpose the coppye thereof ys sent unto you[3]; And fynally, to sollycyte aswell them as other the States

[1] Harleian, Vol. 296. leaf 33. [2] Ibid. leaf 33 b.

[3] A contemporary copy of the treaty between Henry VIII. and the Emperor is in Vitellius, B. VI. leaf 56.

and

and Potentates of Italye, uppon the reasons and considerations before specyfied, to make loving and frendly contribution to the entertaynement to the Duke of Burbons army. In all which mattiers ye be sufficiently and amply instructed, and therefore the Kinges Grace and I remyt the ordryng thereof to your dexterytie and wisdome, haveing firme trust that ye will regard the same accordingly. Thus fare you well. At my place besydes Westminster, the 28th day of Maij.

Your loving frend,
T. CARLIS EBOR̃.

XC. WOLSEY *to* CLERK *and* HANNIBAL.[1]

MY Lorde of Bathe and Master Hanybal, I commende me unto you in my right herty maner: and have received your letters dated at Rome the 25th day of the last moneth[2]; by contynue wherof the Kinges Highnes and I do perceyve, not only in howe good and agreeable parte the Poopes Holynes taketh the confourmable mynde of His Grace to herken, at the Poopes request, unto that thing which may sounde to the weale and benefite of Cristendome, but also the ferme contynuance and determynacion of His Holynes assuredly to leane and stik unto the Kinges Grace and thEmperour, any adversite that myght ensue to Hym therfore notwithstanding; with declaration of the perfite good wordes and demonstracions, that His Holynes hath right amply and lovingly shewed unto you in that behalf, and your right discrete answers made unto the same.

Ye have also right substancially written, in what state the mattiers and affaires of Italy wer at the tyme of date of your said letters, shewing the good successes ensued unto the armye of thEmperour and Holy Liege there, and the apparance of prosperous contynuance, with other suche newes as were then occurrant ther, whiche to here hathe ben and is to the Kinges and my singuler rejoyse and comfort and gladnes; and for your good and diligent advertisement bothe His Highnes and I geve unto you herty thankes: ascertaynyng you that, aswel at the arrival of your said letters, as also sens

[1] From a contemporary copy in the State Paper Office. There is another copy in the Museum, Vitellius, B. VI. leaf 66.

[2] Ibid. leaf 25.

that

that tyme, knowlege hathe ben had from the Italyan campe of further good fortunes successes and victories, whiche Allmyghtty God hathe sent them against the commen enemys, who sens their departure from Noarra have had no smal losse of their capitains men ordenaunce and cariages, being nowe in maner so sperpled and profligate, that ther is no maner of apparance they shal moche lenger inquiete the Duchie of Mylayn at this tyme, but rather attende to the preservation of the rest; specially, if the Duke of Burbon do, as he affermeth he wol, ernestly poursue and folowe them with a puissant armye in to France, of whiche thing the Kinges Highnes and I abyde dayly knowlege of further newes, either from you, or from that armye, or bothe.

There is also, sens the receipte of your said letters, arrived here the Archbishop of Capua, a person surely of grete wisedome discrecion and other good qualities, whom the Kinges Highnes and I like, and alwais have done, singulerly wel. He hathe used right grete diligence in his voiage, aswel from the Poopes Holynes to the Frenche King, and from thens to thEmperour, as finally from thEmperour by the way of France and the Frenche courte, hither; upon whose charge and depeche from hens, which was 3 dais passed, resteth the hole effect of al suche grete and weightty matters, as on the Kinges behalf I shall nowe disclose and open unto you in thise my present letters, being in maner the total circumstance and effecte of the communications and divises had with hym, and the resolucion taken in the same; praying you, as the Kinges and my special trust and confidence is in you, groundely to note consider and digest within your self every thing hereafter mencioned; so that, being perfitely riped of the Kinges veray mynde intent and meanyng, ye, in whom lakketh neither good wil grete wisedome, may ordre your selfes in handeling and conducing of the causes and matiers accordingly.

First, I doubte not but ye knowe right wel that the principal and general charge commytted by the Poopes Holynes to the said Archbishopp of Capuau was to solicite procure and labour for peax. And, considering that the Frenche King was and is the infractour violatour and disturber of the same, he was first sent and addressed unto Hym, to move stirre and exhorte Him unto peax: Whom, the grete adversites that France daily suffreth, and the profligacion of the Frenche armye in maner oute of Italye, wherof newes wer then arrived in the court of Fraunce, notwithstonding, he hathe founde right obstinate strange and difficile, the peax for this present tyme utterly by Him refused, to comme unto a trieux or abstinence of werre for on yere; whiche trieux neverthelas He finally shewed Hym self to be contented with, after suche forme and maner as is mencioned in certain articles and memorialles made

made by the said Archebisshop of Capua upon the only relations of the Frenche King and som of his Counsail to him made by mouthe, refusing to geve them by writing; whiche ye shal receyve herewith; wherunto I do referre you for your knowlege of the answer geven unto hym by the Frenche King in this behalf.

From thens the said Archebishop repaired unto the Emperour, as ye also knowe, of whom like as I understonde he was in the Frenche courte, so he was ther also right honourably and chierfully receyvid and entertayned; fynding His Majeste, for many grete and notable respectes, nothing so moche inclyned or of opynion that a trieux and abstinence of werre shulde be taken, wherby the common enemye myght have tyme to respyre, and commodite to attayn money strenght and frendes, as, either by prosecution of the good victories and ernest precing of thenemye, or otherwise, to compelle hym unto honourable reasonable and profitable condicions of peax. Neverthelas, inasmoche as His Majeste neither by his conventions may ne wol any thing do or determyne in suche maters withoute the Kinges expresse knowlege consent and agreement, there wer therfore divises and articles set forthe on his partie, shewing his mynde and opynion, howe and in what fourme He thinketh the trieux, if it shalbe taken, best to be qualified, whiche articles wer delivered to the said Archebisshop of Capuau to be shewed unto the Kinges Grace; referring unto His Highnes to do, either in the accepting or denial of the trieux, adding or detrahing to or from the said articles for the Kinges partie, prosecucion of the werres or otherwise, as should stonde with the Kinges gracious pleasure, and as to the same, for their common benefite and the weale of al Cristendome, shulde be thought most expedient; the copie of whiche articles set furthe on the Emperours behalf, ye shal also receyve at this tyme.[1]

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[1] An imperfect copy of these articles is in the State Paper Office. A complete one will be found in the Harleian MS. No. 6345. They are headed: "Ad ea, que pro parte Sanctissimi "Domini nostri Clementis VII. per Reverendissimum Archiepiscopum Capuanum pro pace seu "inducijs inter Christianissimos Principes proposita fuere, respondetur pro parte Cesaris, ut "infra."

The principal points of the Emperor's proposition are, that if truce should be taken between the Empire, France, and England, and the Turks during that time should actually enter into war, the truce should endure till the end of that war; that each of the contracting parties should hold what he had in possession, and not make new conquests; that either party violating the truce should be declared a common enemy; that the Milanese should be evacuated; that the Venetians should not march for its defence during the truce; that confederates should be nominated by each party; that stipulated proportions of expence should be borne for defence of Hungary; that sequestrations

The said Archebishop of Capuau thus depeched from the Emperour by the way and courte of Fraunce unto the Kinges Grace, and albeit his common and general charge to al the said 3 Princes is and was to procure peax as is aforesaid, yet neverthelas he had unto thEmperour and the Kinges Highnes an other perticuler charge aparte, whiche was to shewe Them the ferme sincere and constante mynde that the Poopes Holynes berith unto Them, the weale benefite and furtherance of their comon enterprises causes and affaires, and that His Holynes woulde not otherwise avise counsail or exhorte Them to take peax with the common enemye, but as shuld stonde with their commodite and avauntage; so as if it shuld be thought unto Them that by prosecution of the werre and precyng of the said enemye he myght eyther be reduced unto the better condicions of peax, or other notable emolument myght therby arise unto the King and thEmperour, His Holynes wolde be as glad to helpe and further the same by al convenient wayes as myght be possible; and keping Himself outewarde as in a neutralite, He myght at al seasons, upon suche precing of thenemye, be a competent mediatour, interponyng his labour and helpe to conduce suche good peax or appointment as myght be to the Kinges and thEmperours satisfaccion and contentacion. Whiche thing so paternally frendely and most lovingly offred by the Poopes Holynes, the Emperour and the Kinges Highnes have grete cause, like as They do, to take in singuler good thankeful and acceptable parte, being utterly resolved and mynded so fermely to concurre and rone with His Holynes in al suche thinges as may concerne his suretie honour weale and preservacion, that there shalbe founde on their behalfes most benevolent and assured correspondence unto the highe merites and desertes of His Holynes, and the manyfold goodnesses that the same dothe and shal extende and shewe unto Them.

Upon declaracion of the Poopes said mynde and knowlege of the Frenche Kinges and thEmperours said answers, with perusing of their severall articles and memorialles aforesaid, diverse secrete long and deliberate communicacions wer had by the Kinges Highnes and me with the said Archebishop of Capua, unto whom, bicause he of courtesie refused to lye with me in my bed, the

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of the benefices of Cardinals by the Emperor and King of France should be mutually taken off; that the Pope should be Protector of the League; that the truce should endure for three months; and that Bourbon and his adherents should be comprehended.

There is no date to this document; but it appears from Vespasian, C. II. leaf 321, that the Archbishop of Capua was with the Emperor at Burgos on the 14th of April (erroneously written March in Sampson's previous letter, ibid. 310.)

Kinges

Kinges Highnes and I gave myne oune logynges and chambers in Grenewiche, and I removed unto an other, where by the space of six dais we attended only unto the divises and consultacions upon his charge; being more serious therin, forasmoche as the matters wer of highe and weightty importance, and for that thEmperour so frankeley gave unto the King that honour to do and discerne in condescending to trieux, or contynuance of the werre, as shuld stond with his high pleasure. And, albeit the Kinges Highnes and I be, and alwais have ben, of the same mynde and opynion that thEmperour is, that is to say, rather inclyned to herken unto a good honourable egal and indifferent peax, wherof may ensue a contynuaunce of tranquilite in Cristendome, then to passe over the tyme by a trieux, whiche expired, and thenemye percace then respyred, the werres may fortune to be more sore and cruel then afore; yet neverthelas, to thintent that nothing shude be omytted, whiche may be commodious to be taken and used, as the cace and opportunite shal require, there be certein articles also divised on the Kinges behalf, howe and in what fourme it is thought unto the Kinges Highnes a trieux shuld be qualified, if ensuyng the tenour of suche thinges as shalbe hereafter mencioned in this my letter, if any trieux shal fortune to be taken; by copie of whiche articles sent unto you herwith, and the notes made in the mergyn, ye shal perceyve and knowe, howe in that cace, and when it shall comme unto suche point, ye shal ordre your self, and whiche articles may be omytted, if after long stikking and substancial debating they can in nowise be attayned, and also whiche may in nowise be pretermytted or left aparte.

But for declaracion unto you of the playnes of the Kinges mynde, whiche with His Graces and my due and requisite recommendacions on either of our behalfes, made aparte as dothe aperteyn, ye shal shewe unto the Poopes Holynes, like as I doubte not but the Archebisshop of Capuau wol do the semblable, it is veraily thought unto the Kinges Highnes and his said Counsail, that considering what bace state the common enemye, by the excessive charges susteyned aswel by the Kinges Grace and thEmperour as by other, nowe is brought unto, and howe facille and apparant it is, that he being nowe contynually and ernestly preced, his temerite pride and ambicion shal and is like to be so repressed, that heither he shalbe glad to comme unto reasonable condicions of peax, and stil contynue and lyve in the same hereafter, or, if he woll eftsoones be aboutes insolently to attempt newe thinges, to the disturbance of the quyette in Cristendome, he shuld not be of power and abilite so to do; it wer ferre bothe from the commodite of the Kinges Grace and thEmperour, Who percace shal never fynde suche an other tyme, as from the weale and

suretie of the Poopes Holynes, Italy, and al Cristendome, nowe to comme unto a trieux; onles there were, as thancked be God ther is not, insufficientnes and inhabilite in the Princes and other to maynteyn the werres against the said common enemye, or that there were som evident towardnes apparance and wayes bifore divised, that, incontinently a trieux taken, a good egal and honourable peax wer like undoubtedly to ensue: but rather the Kinges Grace and his Counsail thinketh that thenemye, persisting in his obstinacye as he yet dothe, shold be preced, aswel by descending of the Duke of Burbon with a puissant armye on this side the mountaynes in to France, as by setting forthe of suche other enterprises as shalbe thought good on this side, in Spayn and elliswhere; that the Frenche King may therby be compelled to knowe Hym self, and fynally at the lest to comme unto such condicions of peax, as may be contynued kept and inviolably observed: where as it shulde be harde nowe to bring Hym unto any peax, but to suche as, being grounded upon instable fundacions, myght seme to be of smal contynuance, and apparant to be by the Frenche King shortely dissolved and broken. And for this purpose, not only capitulacions and articles be divised and concluded bitwene the Emperour and the Kinges Grace for prosecucion of the werres, as the cace shal require, like as by the copie therof, whiche I send unto you herwith[1], ye shal mowe perceyve at large, but also an ordre is taken that a good masse of money shalbe by the King and thEmperour sent with diligence in to a convenient place, according to the effect of the said articles, for mayntenance and supportacion of the Duke of Burbon and his armye, to descende actually and really in to France, making werre there as is aforesaid; whiche money for the Kinges parte is sent by Sir John Russell, who this day is departed with the same. And furthermore the Kinges Highnes hathe countermaunded Master Richard Pace, who with sufficient instruccion is sent unto the said Duke of Burbon, there to reside with and aboute hym, aswel for concluding of suche articles and convencions as shalbe requisite, as also to advertise the Kinges Highnes, and semblably you, from tyme to tyme, howe he shal fynde and assuredly knowe the state disposicion and successes of that armye; to the intent that by suche perfite knowlege every thing may be ordred, aswel with the Poopes Holynes as on this side, either for the contynuance and mayntenyng of thenterprises begonne, or for traynyng and conveying of trieux abstinence or peax, as for the weale honour and benefite of the Poope, thEmperour, the Kinges Grace, and other their frendes, shalbe thought most available and expedient.

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[1] Vitellius, B. VI. leaf 56.

Ascertaynyng

Ascertaynyng you, that the final resolution taken with the said Archebisshop of Capua, touching the ordre to be observed in this truce, is this. Incontinently upon his arrival unto the Poopes Holynes, the Kinges Highnes is contented that the Poope do begynne to common with you, and the Ambassadours of thEmperour, and of the Frenche King, upon the same trieux, having alwais an ere and herkenyng to the successes of the Duke of Burbon, wherof ye shalbe advertised by M^r^. Pace; so as, if the said Duke of Burbon, descending in to France, shal fortune to make a notable revolucion in the same, wherof may ensue evident apparance of any grete porcion to be recovered for the Kinges parte, then the trieux, by colour of suche articles as may be in difficultie and question, as by the notes in the mergen ye shal perceyve, to be protracted, and the same by good meanes to depende in communication, withoute any final conclusion to be taken therin, til the successes of the seid revolucion, and of thenterprises to be attempted against France, may be experymented. Nevertheles, if either the Duke of Bourbon shal not be of sufficient strenght and puissance to entre in to France, or making suche entre shal cause no grete revolucion, ne have other victorye, whiche myght be a sufficient cause and occasion for the Kinges Grace either to procede in Person or by Lieutenant to take the commodite and opportunite of som grete portion to be adquired; then necessary shal it be, that the said trieux, so depending in communication, be in convenient tyme, withoute abyding further commaundement from hens, taken fynished and concluded by you and the Oratours of other Princes to whom it shal apperteyn. Howe be it the matters so succeding, and the trieux founde upon the successes of the Duke of Burbon most requisite, expedient shal it be that the Poopes Holynes have special respect and regarde, howe upon the same trieux may ensue a convenient fourme and maner to comme unto good and honourable peax. Wherin 2 thinges be to be in anywise observed; On is, that inasmoche as the substance of the grete matters nowe depending in question resteth upon the perticuler pretences of the Kinges Highnes, whiche thinges can not be decided or put in convenient stay and forwardnes in other place then here, by som personage to be sent to the Kinges Highnes, or to me, on the Frenche Kinges or his mothers behalf, the Poopes Holynes therfore must in any wise procure, and fynde the meanes, as of Himself, that suche a person may be sent and addressed hither as aforesaid; Secondly, it is thought that, after a trieux by the Poopes Holynes in fourme before specified established, there can not be a more convenient way or meane for conclusion of the peax, then to assigne and appoint, by the Poopes consent and the agrement of the other Princes, a Diet, to be kept in some indifferent place nere unto the frontiers of Calais, where with most commodite may

may resorte and comme the principal and moste trusty Counsaillours of al parties; that is to say, on the Poopes behalf som honourable Legate as mederator and mediatour in the name of His Holynes; for thEmperour, my Lady Margarett; for the Frenche King, my Lady his mother; and I shal not refuse to be there on the Kinges behalf. Howe be it, to make a convencion and assemble of thise grete personages, onles then every thing were bifore brought in to suche trayn, bothe by sending hither of on from the Frenche King or his mother as afore, and otherwise that the matiers were in evident apparance to comme unto som perfite conclusion, wer not oonly vayne and frustratorye, but also gretely dishonourable to al parties; and for none erthely thing I wold it shulde be thought, that I, passing in the name of the King my master, shoulde retourne withoute perfite effect and good conclusion to ensue; whiche undoubtedly can not be brought to passe, onles that the matiers be on this side trayned and put in convenient redynes, by sending of a personage from the Frenche Kinge to treate speke and divise of som good wayes and meanes to be taken for the Kinges perticuler pretences and interesse. For, if the Frenche King, Who hitherto, as the said Archebisshop reporteth, sheweth Hym self strange and difficile inough to comme only to a trieux, do and wol persist in that obstinacie, and no wayes or meanes bifore hande taken howe, upon the trieux concluded, there may be apparance and condicions set forthe, wherof may be a good towardnes and evident likelihode of peax; in vayn it shulde be, and ferre from the Poopes purpose, or the commodite of the Kinges Grace and thEmperour, to comme unto any suche trieux, the grounde wherof is not on this ne thEmperours side ment nor intended but only to conduce a good peax; whiche, being bitweene the Kinges Grace and the Frenche King so many grete matiers titles and pretences in question, the specialties wherof, with the original letters and writinges of the Kinges titles and rightes unto France and Scotlande, have ben here shewed unto the Archebisshop of Capua, as I doubte not but ye have bifore this tyme made like declaracion therof unto the Poopes Holynes, shal in manner be impossible to be brought to any good purpose, onles first som mete and apte person be sent unto the Kinges Grace or me from the Frenche King or his mother, who may aparte common and divise upon suche thinges as do concerne the Kinges perticuler causes; wherunto the Archebisshop of Capuau hathe promysed to endevour hym, as of hym self, in his journey thoroughe France. For, as ye knowe right well, thoughe thEmperour hathe for his parte, by the Kinges helpe and meanes, recovered and attayned in thise werres many goodly peces countreys and places, so as it shulde not be moche to his prejudice, but rather to his grete avantage, withoute difficultie to condesende unto the peax, when the cace shulde require; yet nevrthelas

neverthelas the Kinges causes and matiers be not in so direct trayn and way, wherby His Grace may so facilly be conduced and brought unto the peax, til suche tyme as his perticuler thinges, whiche be not ne can be treated but here, shal have ben substancially digested and commoned of by mean of som person to be sent hither on the Frenche Kinges or his mothers behalf, as is aforesaid: not for any thing that is ment or intended to be don or concluded withoute thEmperours expresse knowlege consent and agrement, with Whom the Kinges Grace is and alwais hathe ben determyned sincerely and feithfully to procede, and the mutuel amytie and intelligence bitwene Them two fermely roted and established in nowise to be violate or towched; but to the intent that, the grete mattiers depending bitwene the Kinges Highnes and France, by sending of suche a personage hither, ons put in to som good stay and towardnes, al the rest may be the more facile and easy withoute grete difficultie to be conduced and brought to passe. And this is the veray sorte fashion and direct way, howe the Kinges Highnes myght to a good and substancial purpose condescende to a trieux; whiche way on the Frenche Kinges behalfe refused and denyed, there were none apparance that He were mynded or intended to comme to the said trieux, but only for his oune weale, and to thEmperours and the Kinges prejudice, with the further disturbance of Italy and all Cristendome, after the same exspired. In the conclusion of whiche trieux, if for lak of good successes of the Duke of Burbon it shalbe by the Poopes Holynes, and you, and the Ambassadours of thEmperour there resident, thought convenyent to passe the same, ye must have special regarde unto the Kinges indempnite, for the whiche thEmperour stondeth bounden by treatie unto His Grace; so as either the obligacion, wherof I heretofore sent unto you a minute, and nowe for the more suretye do sende unto you an other, may be first passed by thEmperours said Oratours resident in the Courte of Rome, in their masters name, if they have suche auctorite; or elles that a special article be concluded and passed, bitwene them and you aparte for that purpose, according to the divice and mynute therof, whiche I also sende unto you at this tyme, inserted in the latter ende of the forme of articles divised on the Kinges behalfe for the said trieux; unto whiche matier I pray you in all conclusions and communications to have special regarde as shal apertayn.

XCI. De Lanoy *to* Wolsey.[1]

Reverendissime in Christo Pater, et Domine Domine observandissime. Multos antehac menses nullas a Dominatione vestra reverendissima accepi literas, cum plureis ad eam dederim, quibus plenam de imminentibus rebus rationem reddidi. Cum vero nihil hactenus responderit, vereor, vel compertum potius habeo, ad Dominationem vestram reverendissimam eas nequaquam pervenisse. Magnificum tamen Ricardum Pacœum, virum prudentem et integerrimum, qui mecum aliquot dies fuit, de cunctis hujus belli consilijs Dominationem vestram fecisse certiorem non dubito. Postea, Deo Optimo Maximo Duce, ab statu Mediolanensi Gallos expulimus non sine magna suorum clade. Alpinos tandem montes transierunt, et in Galliam se receperunt. Deinde tormenta omnia, quæ Gallus in Italia habebat, ab Helvetiorum faucibus, ubi erant intra montium difficultates reposita, vi cæpimus, ad castraque adduximus. Cœterum agitur nunc de expeditione illustris Ducis Borbonensis in Galliam, nec aliquid prætermittetur, quominus paucis post diebus rem viriliter aggrediatur, cum validis equitum peditumque copijs. Ego vero cum reliqua hujus felicissimi exercitus parte intra montes et Insubriam demorabor, pro tuenda Italiæ tranquillitate, donec rerum Gallicarum exitus me quid fuerit fatiundum monuerit, vel Cæsar aliud jusserit. Interea meæ partes erunt, siquid erit quod pro servicio Dominationis vestræ reverendissimæ occurrerit fatiundum, id libenti prosequi animo; mihi nam aut gratius aut jucundius erit nihil, quam cum morem gessero Dominationi vestræ reverendissimæ: quæ diu felixque valeat, eidemque toto me animo commendo. Montis Calerij, die secunda Junij, 1524.

Excellentissimæ Dominationis Vestræ Reverendissimæ,
servitio et obsequio paratissimus,

(*Signatur*) Charles de Lanoy.

(*Superscribitur*)
[*Reverendissimo in C*]hristo Patri et Domino [*Thome Card*]li Angliæ, Domino [*meo observandi*]ssimo, &c.

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[1] From Wolsey's Correspondence, Vol. VII. No. 91.

XCII. WOLSEY *to* SAMPSON.[1]

MASTER SAMPSON, I commende me unto you in my right herty maner. And, to thintent that thEmperour may understande and be made pryvey of suche successes as have ensued here, sens my last letters writen unto you, and sens the arrivale of Sir Richard Jernyngham from thens[2], so as, the accustumable maner of mutuel knowlaige had bitweene bothe Princes, thair affaires may be the more politiquely and directly governed as shall appertain, I signifye unto you that, a good season passed, ther was a monk[3] sent hitherwarde by the Frenche Kinges moder, who by his letters sent from Boleyn unto Calaies required saufconduyt to repaire unto me, saying he had charge to be shewed and declared concerning the good of peax; wherupon saufeconduyt was sent, and the monk admitted to come hither, whom I caused to be conveyed unto me in secrete maner, being contented to here what he wolde saye. His charge was this, howe my Lady the Frenche Kinges moder, knowing the towarde and glad mynde whiche I have alwaies born to the good of peax, and being for her partye of no lesse inclination and desire to helpe and further the same, had sent hym unto me to knowe and understonde my counsail and avice, what waies and meanes I thought best to be divised, howe the same might come unto communication treatie and effect; offring to interpone all her helpe and assistence to the furtherance therof, and desiring me to do the semblable. I, demaunding of the monk, whether he had any other charge than this, or commission or auctoritie to treate speke or commen of any specialties therof, and he affirmyng naa, made hym answer, that if my Lady the Frenche Kinges moder were mynded to avaunce and sett furthe any thing concernyng the furtherance of peax, she must procede more frankly and plainly therunto, than after this maner; and not to thinke that any overtures or specialties shulde be divised on this side, but that the same must procede of that partye, by sending substanciall persones sufficiently instructed and auctorised, aswell to thEmperour as to the Kinges Grace, whose causes and matiers be so common, that neither of Theym may, ne woll, herken unto any communication of appointment with the Frenche King, withoute the other:

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[1] From a contemporary copy in the State Paper Office. Other copies of a more recent period are in the Museum, Vespasian, C. II. leaf 340; Harleian, No. 297. fol. 166.

[2] He left Burgos for England on the 23d of March.

[3] See p. 352.

whiche persons so sent, and suche honerable and profitable condicions offred, as might be by thEmperour and the Kinges Grace reasonably accepted, I was well assured ther shulde be no default founde in either of Thair Majesties to condescende unto reason, wherin for my parte I wolde be glad to do the best, that with myn honour and duety I might do, for avauncement therof. The said monke, not veray well pleased with this so short an answer, desired to knowe what the Kinges Highnes wolde demaunde for his partye. I answered hym, " The hole realme and croune of Fraunce, with Normandye, Gascoign, " Guyon, and the depences, being the Kinges verray just and rightefull " enheritance, wrongfully deteyned from His Grace by the said Frenche King, " and the recovery wherof His Grace woll not faile to prosecute with all his " power, to the uttermost:" inquiring of the said monke, what he could say, why the Kinges Highnes shuld not have all the premisses. To that he answered, he had non auctorite ne instruccion to speke of suche matier. Wherupon I sayde unto hym, that in vayn were it than for hym to loke or abide for other answer here, than is before expressed; wherfore, if he had non other thing to say, he might departe at his pleasure. Finally he affirmed that he supposed my Lady the Frenche Kinges moder to have been in dispaire, that any suche personages sent as affore shuld be admitted, specially on this side; for yf she had thought otherwise, he beleved she wold have sent an other maner of personage than hym, and with sufficient instruccions and commission; neverthelas he wolde make relacion unto her of suche answer as he hathe here, not doubting but that in brief tyme she wolde sende bothe unto thEmperour and to the Kinges Grace accordingly. Thus immediatly and at the first communication, whiche endured not past half an houre, I depeched the said monke, without suffring hym to comme in the Court or other place, but streight to departe, as he did, in the company of a purcevaunt appointed to convey hym unto the pale of Calaies, and ther to receyve again his saufeconduyt, which was done: and the said monke with this brief and shorte answer depeched as is abovesaide.

Sens that tyme arrived here the Archbishop of Capuau, sent by the Popes Holynes, as ye well knowe, first unto the Frenche King, after that to thEmperour, and finally hither by the waye of Fraunce. And what was his charge to the said Princes, with the answers made unto hym, by every of Theym, and fynally the resolucion and divice taken here for werre peax or trieux, shall appere unto you at full and great lengthe, by the copies of certain letters, whiche, at and sens the departure from hens of the said Archbishop, were depeched bothe unto the Kinges Oratours at Rome, and also unto Master Pace, who being lately on his waye homeward was counter-

maunded

maunded and sent back unto the Duke of Burbon, porposely to reside aboutes him, for substanciall and assured advertisement to be geven, aswell unto the Kinges Highnes and me, as unto His Graces said Oratours at Rome, of the state and successes of the said Duke of Burbon and his armye. Whereupon, as by the said copies ye shall plainly perceyve, the Kinges Highnes and thEmperour must grounde the residue of thair procedinges, either for continuance of the werre, or commyng unto the trieux, as the cace shall require. Unto whiche copies, with doubles of the answers, divices, treaty, and article for the Kinges indempnite mencyoned in the same, whiche ye shall receyve herewith, because they be verray ample and playn, and whereby ye shalbe as largely and sufficiently advertised and instructed of the specialties of the hole matiers, as though ye had been here present at the debating and divising therof, I referre you, for perfite knowlege of the Kinges hole and full mynde resolucion and porpose. All whiche copies by you substancially viewed overred and perused, ye, making the Kinges most cordiall and my most humble recommendacions unto thEmperour apart, as aperteyneth, and delivering unto His Majestye the Kinges and my letters credentialles, whiche with the copies I sende you at this tyme, shall distinctely and seriously declare and shewe unto the same the circumstance and playnes of all those matiers, making Hym participant of every thing in as open maner as ye can divise, so as His Majestye may understonde, what answer was made here unto the said Archbishop of Capua; howe and after what forme the communication of the trieux shalbe begonne continued tracted fynished or concluded, as the cace shal require; what conclusion is taken for mayntenance and supportation of the Duke of Burbon and his armye, with suche other chapitres and articles as be agreed here on the Kinges and thEmperours behalf for thenterprises of this yere; what instructions the Kinges Highnes hathe geven unto his Oratours at Rome, and semblably unto Master Pace; with the specialties of all suche other matiers, as be mencioned in the said copies; reserved only suche thinges as by your wisedome ye may perceyve not mete to be shewed unto thEmperour, amonges whiche His Majestie shall perceyve what the Kinges Grace hathe caused to be writen, aswell touching his indempnite, for the whiche thEmperour stondeth bounden, as also for the great expedicion to be made this next somer, in cace the Frenche King, neither by the precing of the Duke of Burbon, ne by other enterprises to be made against Hym this yere, shall come unto some good poynt, wherof upon the trieux taken may ensue a perfite apparance of some good egal and honorable peax. Whiche two matiers ye shall specially put in to thEmperours remembrance, not doubting but, though the Kinges Highnes hathe not hitherto been hasty in calling for

the money due unto His Grace for his said indempnite, yet neverthelas the Emperour woll so loke therunto that in all treaties and communications speciall regarde may be had unto the Kinges suretye and enteresse in that behalf, as to good reason and congruence it aperteyneth; so that, if any trieux shall fortune to be taken, provision may be made for that matier according to suche divice as is mencyoned in the said copie. And for the seconde, ye shall shewe unto His Majestie that the Kinges Grace unfaynedly putteth Hym self and his armye roial in perfite and sufficient redynes with all requisites to passe in his oune Person this next year, for making of the mayn invasion, in cace the Frenche King be not bifore that tyme reduced to a perfyte conformytie for taking of an honorable egal and reasonable peax, as is aforesaid; seing non other wayes meanes ne remedy, howe to put an ende unto these werres, but for lak of suche conformytie to conforme and fulfill the conventions passed bitween thEmperour and His Grace for making of thair personall invasion; except only that, inasmoche as the Frenche King is thus by contynuance of his werres empoverished exhaust and infebled, aswell of captains as men and money, and that the Kinges Highnes perceyveth thEmperour not to be the best furnished, His Grace is contented that a moderation be taken, somwhat for thEmperours ease and better commodite, in the nombres appointed by the treatye of Wyndissour[1], for the said personal invasion; that is to saye, wher it is agreed that either of the Princes shuld passe with 30000 fotemen and 10000 horsemen, besides suche as shalbe appointed to the ordenaunce and cariage, if, besides those that shall have charge of the said ordenaunces and cariages, ther may be for the Emperours partie on that side 20000 fotemen and 5000 horsemen, and that His Majestie woll geve assistence unto the Kinges Grace on this side of 3000 horsemen and 3000 fotemen, whiche peradventure with the contribucion of his Lowe Countreys shalbe more commodious; the Kinges Grace can be content that thEmperour spare the residue of his nomber on that side, whiche neverthelas shalbe a right goodly and convenient nomber, able and sufficient, with Goddes grace, on bothe parties not only to subdue thenemyes, but also mete to be the longer season entertayned. Wherfore ye shall, by all good waies ye can, experiment and assaye, whither ye can bring thEmperour therunto, without making expresse mencion of the hole number of 30000 fotemen and 10000 horsemen to be avaunced on the Kinges partie, but to passe that mater, if it be spoken of, with generall wordes, that is to saye,

[1] The treaty of Windsor was concluded on the 19th of June 1522 between Henry VIII. and the Emperor Charles V. in person. It is remarkable that this treaty is not printed either by Rymer or in the Recueil des Traités de Paix. The original minute of it is preserved in the State Paper Office.

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the Kinges armye to be puissant and in sufficient nomber. Howe be it, if after long stikking ye can not bring it therunto after that forme, ye shall than make mencion of 20000 fotemen and 5000 horsemen to be avaunced by either partie, so as the 3000 fotemen and 3000 horsemen to be prepared in thise Lowe Countreys may be parcell of the same nomber, and thEmperour to have so many the les on that side, wherin shall not be founde so great resistence, ne so strong holdes and places, as on this side. Neverthelas, if fynally thEmperour woll not agre to the oone ne the other, than ye may make mencion of an egall nomber of 20000 fotemen and 5000 horsemen to be avaunced on either partie, whiche is to be sufficient as afore. Whiche thing the Kinges Highnes remytteth to thEmperours arbitre and pleasure. For dymynucion of whiche said nombres som perticuler convencion must, if so pleas thEmperour, be concluded by commyssion to be geven unto his Ambassadour here resident for that purpose. Wherfore ye shall instantly desire and pray Hym that, considering the great charges and expences, whiche aswell His Majeste as the Kinges Highnes have susteyned for modifying and repressing of the said Frenche Kinges temerite, Who is nowe brought into somwhat more bace and lowe state than He was, having his corage and pryde partely abated; whiche thing if with the ernest precing of Hym this somer it do not induce and cause Hym to come unto a trayn and direct order for apparance of good peax, as is afore, ther is no waye or remedye, but by mean of the said personal invasion; His Majestye woll therfore semblably order and dispose all thinges requisite, that in this cace the same mayne and great invasion may be folowed and performed with effect, as aperteyneth. For, ye may saye, the verray principall grounde and occasion, wherfore the Kinges Grace hath condescended to the contribution of 100000 crounes for his partie to the entertaynement of the Duke of Burbon and his armye to descende into Fraunce, is only for that it is undoubtedly to be supposed that, before the same shalbe spent, it shall be experymented and known, whither any such notable revolucion shall ensue in Fraunce by the commyng inne of noble men and other to his parte, that it shalbe facile and easye for the Kinges Grace, making his entre this yere in Person or by Lieutenant, to have and attayn some great pece or porcion of his enheritance, orelles that the Frenche King, so preced, shalbe glad to come unto good egall and honerable condicions of peax; whiche thinges failing, and the wynter than approching, in vayn it shulde be for the King and thEmperour to be at further charges for the said entertaynement, but rather to spare asmoche as may be for the next yeres invasion, considering that the said Duke, having no suche fordele this somer, shalbe able to do litle annoyance to thenemye in the wynter, but percace lose that he hath won bifore; wherein

wherein suche ordre is to be taken, that, by the mutuel knowlaige and deliberacion to be had bitween the Emperour and the Kinges Grace this somer and the begynnyng of the next wynter, every thing may be substancially put in perfyte trayn and redynes, so as if it shall come unto the said personall invasion, the same may be done with honerable effect, and to the finall determination and ending of thise present werres; whiche, stonding in termes of defence, without precing the enemye to the most extremyte, can neither be to the Kinges and thEmperours honours, ne proffittes; as it is not to be doubted, but His Majestye, by the advice of his discrete Counsail, can and dothe right well pondre and considre.

Upon declaracion of all the premisses to thEmperour, and every thing by His Majestye and his Counsail well digested, ye shall advertise me with diligence, what answer shalbe made unto every particularitye concernyng the same, and howe thEmperour liketh the Kinges opynyon conformable unto his, not to have any great inclinacion or mynde to the trieux, onles by meanes of the Duke of Burbons enterteynement, or by other precing of thenemye, ther shalbe waies and meanes set furthe, with apparance sone after the trieux taken to comme unto peax, orelles that the said Duke of Burbons enterprises shall not succeede with suche prosperous chaunces that thEmperour and the Kinges Grace may have opportunitye facilly to attayn som notable or great thing. Wherein ye must put thEmperour in remembrance, that as yet hitherto for all the costes and inestimable charges that the Kinges Highnes hathe susteyned, nothing is yet adquired to His Graces behofe or proffytt. For whiche cause, bothe of good honour and congruence, and also for the better discharge of the said indempnite, the Kinges faithfull and speciall trust is, that thEmperour woll in all his proceedinges, aswell to the werre or trieux, peax or otherwise, having loving and frendely respect herunto, and such waies to be folowed as may be for an egall and indifferent satisfaction of bothe Princes, without thinking that the Kinges Highnes shuld avaunce any puissant armye in Person or by Lieutenant this somer, for any emolument that might arise only unto other, but principally upon an evident and aparant oportunite or commodite geven to His Grace to attayn som notable pece or porcion for his partye; whiche commoditie failing, the Kinges Highnes, in contributyng to thenterteynement of the Duke of Burbon so largely and frankely as is nowe done, trusteth that at the lest thenemye shall be compelled to come unto suche reasonable stay, offring honorable and profitable condicions, as may be to the contentment bothe of the Emperour and the Kinges Grace. And finally, whan so ever it shall come unto mocion overture and communication of a peax, the Kinges verray trust is, that thEmperour, to bring a perfite egalite in the affaires, woll not refuse to take som payn, like as the

the Kinges Grace must and woll do for his partye; and rather than faile, somwhat to forbeire of suche great thinges as He hathe recovered, than an indifferent and egall peax shuld be hindred or pretermitted.

Thus being by thise present letters, and the said copies and memorialles, sufficiently riped of all the Kynges mynde and deliberacion, ye shall, upon declaration therof, and knowlaige of thEmperours mynde, advertise me in what disposition ye shall fynde every thing on that side, with suche further successes and occurrantes as shall ensue in those parties; so as by diligent advertisement had from you, the Kinges Highnes may in tyme order thise weighty matiers and affaires, as shall appertain: like as by your wisedome ye may well perceyve the same to be requisite and expedient.

Fynally, the Kinges Grace writeth at this tyme unto the Emperour severall letters; on in the favour of the Phisicians son Doctour de Victoria, whiche son His Highnes caused to be baptised in his name, and an other for the retorne of the Lord Ferrers son, Sir Edward Guildefordes son, and Richard Coke; as by the copies of the said letters[1] ye shall mowe perceyve more at large. His Graces pleasure is that ye, taking the said copies for your instruccion, shall effectuelly solicite and procure the expedicion of the said matiers, in suche effectuel wise as may be to the conducing of the thinges to the desires of the parties; geving your favourable addresse and assistence unto theym that shall retorne, in any reasonable thing wherin they shall have nede of your counsail and helpe; whereby ye shall administre unto the Kinges Highnes right agreeable pleasure and service. And hertely fare ye well. At my place besides Westmynster, the 4th day of June.

(*Signed*) Yo lovyng frende,

T. Carlis Ebor.

XCIII. Pope Clement VII. *to* Wolsey.[2]

Clemens $\overline{\text{PP}}$ VII.

Dilecte Fili noster, salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem. Cum habeamus in animo, Deo ipso Nobis hoc consilium inspirante, capere aliquid remedij, quo, multis abusibus ab Ecclesia Dei sublatis, Fidei Catholicæ dignitas, et salutaris

[1] None of these letters appear to be extant.

[2] Record Office. There is another letter of the Pope to Wolsey of the 7th of July, dissuading him from visiting the Friars Minors in England.

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illa puritas, non credendo solum, et rite sentiendo, sed etiam moribus et vita teneatur, ac pleraque, collapsa in deterius et corrupta, instaurentur; instituimus aliquem ecclesiasticorum Prælatorum advocare numerum, quorum et consilio uti possimus et opera. Quos quidem esse oportet, et vita, et scientia, et opinione, ac exemplo probitatis, ergaque Deum pietate, conspicuos: ut ijs nobiscum laborantibus, et viam inveniamus, quæ bona et recta ad hunc finem Nos dirigat, et inventam custodiamus et sequamur. In hac re et munere, tuam Circumspectionem, pro sua solita virtute atque prudentia, Nobis adjutricem et sociam appetimus. Quæ ut nunquam Nobis, nec Sedi Apostolicæ, ullo loco defuit; ita in hoc sanctissimo opere, præcipuas suas partes est appetitura. Scribimus igitur ad istum Serenissimum Regem de hac nostra cura et voluntate: eumque requirimus, de quo etiam Circumspectionem tuam plurimum in Domino hortamur, ut ex numero prælatorum sive episcoporum, sive etiam abatum, quorum est propinqua episcopis potestas, duos vel tres ad Nos et almam urbem hanc mittere velitis, qui possint Nobis in tantæ rei tractatione assistere, quos potissimum judicatis Dei et divinarum legum atque institutionum esse observantes, quique rectam et piam voluntatem pari prudentia conjunctam habeant. Nobis testimonium factum est de venerabilium fratrum Londoniensis[1] et Roffensis[2] virtutibus, quos arbitraremur huic rei et negocio esse idoneos. Sed quando, et virtute vestrorum hominum, et Regis ipsius tuaque et diligentia, et auctoritate, non mediocrem copiam in isto Regno præstantium virorum esse, qui ejusmodi episcopali, aut abatiali honore ac dignitate emineant, certum habemus; quos ad Nos mittere statuatis, vestri erit judicij. Quales vero necessarij esse debeant, habet jam Circumspectio tua speciem ipsam atque formam a Nobis præscriptam. Illud quidem valde animadvertendum est, ut sint tales, qui repræsentent in omni actione et negocio tuam præstantem sapientiam, Regisque illius amplitudinem et Majestatem. Tua quidem Circumspectio hoc studiose agendo, non solum rem se dignam faciet, Nobisque gratissimam: sed ad sua innumerabilia erga Sedem Apostolicam officia hujus rei maximam, ut arbitramur, laudem obtinebit. Datum Romæ, apud Sanctum Petrum, sub annulo Piscatoris, die 20 Junij, 1524, Pontificatus nostri anno primo.

(*Signatur*) JA: SADOLETUS.

(*Superscribitur*)

Dilecto Filio nostro Thomæ, tituli Sanctæ Ceciliæ, Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ Presbytero Cardinali Eboracensi, nostro et Sedis Apostolicæ in Anglia Legato.

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[1] Cuthbert Tunstall. [2] John Fisher.

XCIV. PACE *to* WOLSEY.[1]

MY Lorde. I desyre your Grace, for the love I have to the Kyngis Parson honor and exa[*lta*]tion, to regarde thys my letter above all othre, wretyn by mature deliberation. I do see in the Duke off Burbone so faythfull and so stedfast mynde wythowte vacillation to helpe the Kynge to hys crowne of Fraunce, that, yff he be assurydly interteignidde, the Kynge schall assurydly obteigne hys crowne in Fraunce, consyderynge hys intelligences, and the favor he haith universally in that realme, lyke as the Frenche Kynge is universally hatidde. Wherfore expedient [*it*] is, that the Kynge wyth all diligence [*do*] assure hym off hys goodde mynde and intertenement. For ther do lakke [*no*] practises to take hym frome us, by all suche as wolde not the Kynge schulde recover his crowne off Fraunce. He wull assurydly stykke to the Kynge, tyl he schall see the Kynge slyppe frome hym; whyche thynge I praye Godde that I nevyr maye see. For when we schall lakke the sayde Duke, we schall nevyr have agayne suche helpe to do any goodde for our selfe in Fraunce. A letter off the Kingis hande schulde gretly confirme hym; for suche, as doith practise to reconcile hym to the Frenche Kynge, do make hym bileve that the Kynges Grace wull make sum peax or treux wythowte hym, wherby he schalbe dishonorydde. The sayde Duke thys daye, aftre he was confessidde and communicate, verraye religiosely, because off hys departure agaynst hys ennymys, callidde me unto hym in the presence off Monsr. de Pontemis, and 3 othre gentilemen off Fraunce, suche as he doith most truste; and he in veraye seriose maner desirydde me to marke diligently whatt he wolde saye, and to wryte the same to the Kynge my master and your Grace. His wurdis formally were thies, vizt. " I promise unto yow, uppon my fayth, " that I wyll by the helpe off my fryndis put the crowne off Fraunce uppon " the Kynge our commune masters hedde, or els my [*han*]dys schalbe cut " off; yff Hys Grace wull [*attempt*] the same. And when I do remembre the " [*many*] noble actes doon by hys progenitors agaynst Fraunce, no man can " persuade unto me, [*or*] make me to bileve, that He beynge [*so no*]ble, so " vertuxe, so yonge, wull sytte s[*tyll*] at this tyme, havynge suche ayde as " n[*ow ther*] is; whyche I assure yow is nott small. Hys syttynge styll " maye be cause off my d[*ishonour,*] whyche is but a small thynge, because " I am but a poore prince, but it schall be cawse off hys dishonor, whyche

[1] Holograph. From the Museum, Vitellius, B. VI. leaf 126, slightly burnt at the edges.

" schalbe [*to*] Hym a grete losse, bicause He is estem[*ydde*] the gretest " Kynge in Christiandome. Finally ye schall certifie Hys Grace that I, " uppon my fayth, have nott thys affection and perfecte love unto Hym, " so muche for myne owne interest, as I have for hys vertuxe, whyche I " dydde diligently marke at my beynge wyth Hym at Guynes and Arde." Syr, to speke to yow boldely, yff ye do nott regarde the premissis, I wull impute to your Grace the losse off the crowne off Fraunce. Eadem die.[1]

Ri: Pace.

(*Superscribed*)
To my Lord Legates Grace.

XCV. Wolsey *to* Pace.[2]

Mr. Secretarye, I commend me unto you in right hartie manner. Sithens my last letters to you sent, I have received aswell suche as ye depechid unto me from Treinte, and other places in your journey towardes Myllaine, as allso your letters dated at the same Myllaine, and sent by a speciall curror the 11th day of this monthe, wherein ye have at lengthe advertysed me of suche newes as were then occurrant there, with the reportes made to you by the Duke of Myllaine and other noble personages, of the estate of the Duke of Burbon and his entent preparation and redines to passe into France, discriving allso hys armye assembled for that purpose, with the ordre taken for the sewrtie and deffence of Italy, the good mynde of the Merques of Piscayre to passe in the sayd armye, after he shall knowe uppon what grounde thys warr shalbe made, and shall have understanden the Kynges mynde therein, and fynally the doubt, which at the writing of your sayd letters you were in, how and in what forme ye shuld treat with the Duke of Burbon, towching the Kinges contribution for his reasonable entertainment, and other mattiers

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[1] From the context of two letters in the same volume, one to Wolsey (leaf 100), the other to Henry VIII. (leaf 107), and both dated from Savillan on the 25th of June, it is probable that this must be the date of the above letter, which has also, opposite the superscription, a memorandum, " A D. Paceo, reddit: viio. Julij," similar to that which is indorsed on each of the other letters of the 25th of June. The letter in the text is placed in the volume next after one of the 5th of July, from which circumstance Turner (p. 255) has been deceived into the assignment of that date to the above letter.

[2] From the Harleian, Vol. 283. leaf 30. There are two other copies, but less correct, one in the State Paper Office; the other in the Museum, Vitellius, B. VI. leaf 112.

comprised

comprised in your sayd letters, as in the same is expressed more at large. Sone after the receipt whereof arryved allso a gentleman of the Duke of Burbons, sent by him expressely to the Kings Highnes and to me with letters and credence, consisting princypally in thre thinges: One was, to advertyse the Kinges Grace and me of the state of the said Duke and his armye, with their good ententes and mynde to passe into Fraunce for the prosecution of their enterprises to the moste annoyance of thennemye: The 2de, to desire the Kinges Grace to accellerate the setting forthe of his armye royall on this syde, shewing how there was never better opportunytie offered to recover the Kinges inherytaunce and the crowne of Fraunce, then now: And thirdly, to desyre the Kinges Grace to ayde the sayd Duke of Burbon with some convenyent contribution towardes his entertaynement for this tyme.

And, forasmoche as uppon the departure from hens of the Busshop of Capua, which was in the latter end of Maij, I depechid unto you certaine speciall letters and coppyes, wherein I amplie and largely enstructed you of suche resolution as was taken heere, bothe for contribution to be given to the sayd Duke of Burbon for the Kinges party, wherewith Sir John Russell was incontynently depechid, and hath remayned a longe season at Andwerpp, making provision and ordre, how the same might be sewrly conveyed by exchange or otherwyse, as allso for suche invasion as shalbe made this sommer on this side; which thinges do fully aunswere, aswell the doubt that insurged in your secret instructions mentioned in your said letters, as allso the requysitions and desires of the said Duke of Burbon made by his servaunt; trusting undoubtedly that the same letters and copye be come unto your handes longe byfore this tyme, and that ye thereby know the Kinges determinate mynde aswell in the premysses, as in suche other weighty and important mattiers as were conteyned in my sayd letters: I therefore shall not now make further rehersall thereof, but remyt you unto the contentes of the same, which is and shalbe a sufficient enstruction for declaration to be made unto the sayd Duke of Burbon of the Kinges aunswere to the letters sent hyther by the said gentleman, to whom letters be delivered and addressed to the Duke his master, with credence to be given unto you, as by copies which ye shall receve herewith, ye shall mow perceive more at large, in such wise as there restith no further enstructions to be sent you at this tyme towching the premysses, but only that you, showing the cawse of retardement of Sir John Russell at Andwerp with 20000£, which he hath there, and declaring the Kinges gracyous and benyvolent mynde so bounteously byfore hand to sett forthe avaunce and determyne that thing which might be to the sayd Duke of Burbons weale aide and compfort, more largely than he him self can in manner desire, do

exhorte and animate him effectually to avance his setting forwardes, and lose no tyme or comoditie, which (now the common ennemie being in this perplexitie) may be had for his uttermoste annoyaunce; saying further, that to thentent the French Kinges power may be the more slender and weake, the Kinges Grace doth send a good nomber of horsemen and footemen, which shalbe at Dovor the last day of this month, so to be transported to Calleyce and the marchesse, where they shall joyne with another good puyssaunce of Burgonnyons and launceknights, for annoyance to be done on this side by all meanes possible, tyll suche time as the Kinges Grace, uppon good opportunytie given, shalbe ready to passe with his armye. For which purpose all preparations requisite be made, and every thing put in such redines, not without great brute and terror comyng thereof unto the ennemyes, that His Highenes may in right breif time, yf cace shall reqwire, be entred into the herte of their countries; by meanes of which preparations, and avancing over of the sayd good numbers byfore, ye may say (with the visage that shall allso be made on the parties of Spayne by thEmperor, as ys wrytten from thens) yt is not to be doubted, but the sayd Duke shall finde moche the lesse resistence on that syde. Wherefore ye shall continuallye perswade and exhorte him coragiously to set forthe as he hath bygonne, whereby yt is not to be doubted but in breif time he shall attayne and have honnorable successes, to the common benefyt of thEmperours, the Kinges, and his owne cawses, and the confusion of thennemye; like as the Kinges and my singular truste is, that regarding the great gratitude and the benevolence of the Kinges Highnes towardes him, woll do accordingly.

Over this, the Kinges Highnes sendith at this time into those parties his trustie servant Sir Gregory de Cassales; who, during the time of his abode here, hath done unto the Kinges Grace right acceptable and thankefull service, to the singuler contentation of His Highenes; in suche wise, as for his manyfold right active good and honorable merites, the Kinges Majestie hath him in speciall and great favor, mynding to do for him anny convenyent and reasonable thing, which may be to his weale profyt reputacion or furtheraunce. And, forasmoch as he is well expert in the manner of the warrs of those contreyes, having allso manny frendes, who yf nede were, woold and might at time convenyent serve the Kinges Grace in anny of his warrs, by the bringing and procuring of the sayd Sir Gregory; His Highnes, aswell to do him honnor and pleasure, as allso to confirme and encrease his reputation emonges his sayd frendes, doth serve him at this present time to be retayned in the armye which shall now be sent into Fraunce with the Duke of Burbone; where, having a convenyent nomber of horsemen at his leading, he may do unto the Kinges Grace

no

no small servyce. Wherfore letters be directed unto the said Duke of Burbon and others in his speciall recommendacions and favor, the copies whereof he shall shew unto you; which sene and perused, the Kinges pleasure is, that ye, by all the good wayes and meanes that ye can devyse, do sollycyte and procure that he may be acceptyd and lovingly admytted, as a speciall and faithfull servant of the Kinges, unto suche compytent entertaynment, with good band and companye to be at his leading, and under him in wages of the common contribution, as may be bothe to thencrease of his reputation, his weale and proffytt, and so to be used and entreated from time to time, having allso your famylier and loving favour and addresse in all his affayers, that he may perceve the Kinges recommendations, and this my writing, to be unto him fructuose and to good purpose, as a parte of the reward which he hathe condignely meryted and deserved of the Kinges Grace; in which doing, you shall do unto the Kinges Highnes and to me bothe very thanckfull pleasure. And of occurrantes there, from time to tyme, I doubt not, but that according to the tennor of suche instructions and letters as I have sent unto you heretofore, ye, following theffect of the same, woll advertise the Kinges Highnes and me, as shall apperteigne: and for conveyghaunce of your letters from Treint hytherward, ordre is taken with the Master of thEmperours Postes, so as I doubt not but he will do his devour accordingly.

After this letter perfettyd thus farr, I receyvid new letters from you, sent by an expresse curror, bering date at Mountaclier the 16th day of this monthe, with sondry other letters, sent unto the Kinges Highnes and to me, from the Duke of Burbon, the Viceroy of Naples, and Monsieur de Bewryn[1]; and a book of artycles responsyves to suche mattiers, as in the instructions sent unto you were comprised, for diligent serche and inquyrie by you to be made there for the same[2]: the contents of all which writings I have showyd and red unto the Kinges Highnes, declaring unto the same, all the great travailles labours and paines, which ye have sustayned and taken in your voyage thitherward. And when His Grace and I had considered, with what toward and glad mynde ye, not sparing your person to employ your self to such paines, and how substauncyally discreetly and prudently ye do ordre thaffayrs to you commytted, making distinct and ample aunswer in very fruytfull and effectuall manner to all such thinges, as be worthy and necessary to be knowen here concernyng the affairs of the Duke of Burbon and his armye, with the occurrentes there; ye may be sewr we do not a lytle commend alow and prayse your manner of proceading, accepting and reputing the same to be aswell and

[1] Vitellius, B. VI. leaves 74 b. 75. 77. 81 b. 89. 91.

[2] Ibid. 82.

substancially

substancially ordred, as could be devised or imagined, to the Kinges and my singuler contentation, and to your great lawde and prayse; for the which His Grace and I bothe give unto you our hartie thankes, praieng you semblably to persever and contynew, whereby ye may be sewr to do a thing that shall (God willing) redound to your honnour weale and promotion, and the furtherance and avauncement of the Kinges great and wayghty cawses, to you of speciall truste commytted. And albeyt in one of your said latter letters mention is made that by letters recevid from hens ye be advertysed of the depece of Sir John Russell with the somme of 20000£ for the partye of the Kinges contribution, yet nevertheles I cannot therebye clearly understande, whyther the sayd expedition to you sent, after the depeche from hens of the Archbusshopp of Capua, wherewith were copies aswell of a treaty passed betwene thEmperour and the Kinges Grace for the mayntenaunce and entertaynement of the Duke of Burbon and his army[1], with other exploytes to be done this present yeare, as allso of letters and writinges sent to Rome, and divers other mattiers of great importaunce, were then commen to your handes, or not; bycawse that in your said letters no speciall mention is made of anny particularities comprised in the said expedition: neverthelesse, yf the same were not aryved, I trust that within breif tyme after the depeche of your sayd letters, they cam unto your handes, and that ye then had the comfortable aunswer, which by your former letters ye desyred to have from me, concernyng those affayres; for by the same ye might perceve the provident forsight, and loving regard, which the Kinges Highnes in tyme had to the weale and prosperytye of the said Duke of Burbon, the maintenaunce and contynuaunce of his enterprises; making capitulations with thEmperor for that purpose, and avauncyng the sayd somme of 20000£ with such spede and diligence, that the same myght come in convenyent and dew tyme to do steade and servyce to the sayd Duke and his army, as should apperteigne; lyke as I doubt not but that by thys time ye have knowlege from Sir John Russell, that he is arryved there with in some soche convenyent place nere unto you, as by you and him shalbe thought good, according to thenstructions to him given in that byhalf. And, to thentent in every chaunce ye shall not be disapointed of such advertysementes, as were given you in the said last expedition, wyther they be comen to your handes or not, I send you herewith a duplicate of my letters to you then directyd, and allso of the said treaty, whereby ye, lacking the former, shalbe ryped in every thinge requysite, aswell as thoughe the originall had arived in savety, as I trust nevertheles it is. And by the same (as to suche thinges comprised in your last

[1] Vitellius, B. VI. leaf 56.

letters,

letters, as most reqwire aunswer) ye be well enstructed in two princypall thinges. One is, that the Duke of Burbone may be joyous and glad to perceve and understand, that proceding with his armye effectually and ernestly to the annoyaunce of thennemy, he cannot be dispurveyed of entertaynement, ne unfurnysshed of monney for the Kinges partie, thEmperour doing the semblable for his, like as yt is not to be doubted but that He will do; for though there be a speciall lymytation of a 100000 of crounes for the Kinges partye, yet there ys an addition in the treatye that more shalbe furnysshed as the cace shall reqwyre. And ye may put the Duke of Burbon in assured comforte, that, proceading in his entreprises, as he right honnorably virtuosly and valyantly doth bygyne, the Kinges Highnes woll and dothe take suche wayes, that new furniture for the partie of His Grace shall not fayle in tyme; whereunto he may perfytly truste, for he shall finde therein no manner of defaulte, ne the Kinges Grace will pretermyt anny thing eyther in contribution for entertaynement of him and that army, nor for other annoyaunce to be done unto thennemy, whereby he shalbe compellyd to devide his power, or otherwise that may be thought beneficiall to the common affaiers; wherein the said Duke must use such good solycytation, that there be in lykewise no defaulte on thEmperours partie for the furnyture of the contribution of the same. The other is, whatsoever reaportes shall come unto his eares, eyther of friers or anny other sent hyther to practyse mattiers, whatsoever they be, he shalbe well assured, that nothing shalbe done thought or imagined, but suche as may stand with his honnor sewrtye satisfaction and contentment, and whereof he shalbe made privy, and his consent had thereunto from time to time: for the Kinges Grace neyther doth give herkening to anny other thing, then to thernest annoyeng of thennemye to the uttermoste, and eyther totally to defeate him, or at the least by the invasions on all sydes to bring him unto suche extremyties, that he shalbe compellyd not only to offre such thinges as on all parties may be their proffytes and honnors to accept, but to take suche conditions as shalbe given unto him; nor is it thought to His Grace and his Councell, and after so greate treasour labor and paine emploied to subdew the common ennemye, or enforce him to reason, it were no tyme to herken unto freers or anny other vaine overtures, but effectually to pursew thaffaires in such substancyall wise, that, when yt shall come unto communycation and treatye, the same may be done with the full and large satisfaction of thEmperour, the Kinges Grace, and the said Duke, and with all their consentes, at the instant pursewt of thennemye without color or dissimulation. Wherfore, knowing the Kinges expresse determynation in this byhalf, the Duke hath good cawse to take unto him the more rejoice and consolation, and nothing omyt or forbeare,

forbeare, which he may do to the uttermost annoyaunce of the sayd ennemye. And moche yt is to the Kinges and my comforte to here, that he is in so good and perfyt mynde and entention to pursew the French King, Who doubtles is of no manner of strengthe or abylite to resyst so puyssant, so well enstructed, and so noble an army as the sayd Duke hathe, but that, God willing, he shall now procede with honnor victory and sewrty, finding litle or no resystence, but soche as he shalbe able well to subdew and represse. Ye shall therfore anymate encourage and exhort him, by all the waies meanes and perswations ye can devise, corageously to procede to those enterprises, assuring him that such feates shall, God willing, be set forth on thissyde, as the Frenche King shall finde to be unto his paine and dysease, whereby the power against the Duke of Burbon shalbe moche the more weyke and slender, and his enterprise the more feasyable to his honnor sewrty proffyt and comforte. Fynally, the Kinges Highnes, knowing assewrydly, that onles there shold be a substauncyall faythfull and discrete Counseylor of his present from time to time in the sayd Dukes armye, which might perfytly se and understand the specialties of all thinges worthey knowlege in the same, ment or entended otherwise, but that ye should at this time of your retorne to the Duke of Burbon remaine contynually with and nere unto him, which ye cannot do, he proceding into Fraunce, but in his army, wheare allso your person shalbe in most qwiet and sewrtye. And therefore His Grace and I both, desire and pray you, like as ye writt ye be determyned to do, ye woll passe with the armye, so that by your presence, which shall add no lytle auctorytie thereunto, ye may allwayes be asserteyned of the very trouthe of the successes, for advertysement to be made thereof both unto Rome, and allso hyther, according to the purporte of my former letters; for doubtles the Kinges Grace ys determyned and nedes must uppon your advertysementes grounde all his proceadinges towching those affaires, which full discretly ye do waye ponder and consydre, whereof I am very glad; praieng you, as ye do, to regarde themportaunce thereof accordinglye, and of the successes to advertise me by the way, which right well ye have devised, from tyme to time, as the Kinges and my special trust and confydence ys in you. And thus hartely fare you well. At my place besydes Westminster, the 28th day of Juigne, 1524.

Your loving frend,

THO. CARLIS EBOR̃.

XCVI. CLERK *to* WOLSEY.[1]

AFTER my most humble recommendation. As towching soche matters as been now occurrant, it may lyke your Grace to unders[*tand*] that ther came this last weeke a great ship out of Spayne, wherin ther was the Duke of Savoyis brother[2], and an Ambassadour of the Duke of Mylans, and many other notable p[*erso*]nages; and, beatyn by tempest, they wer fayne for salfega[*rde*] of ther lyvis to forsake the ship, and to land in an yland called Sardinia: the said ship fyll afturwardes into the Frenche mennys handes, who spoyled hir of that she had [*in*] her, to the value of a great som; levyng the shipself, for they cowde not guyde hir, with thaym, bycause hir takillyng was [*spoyled*].

The Duke of Burbon with tharmye is past a town callyd Ny[*ssa*] and a flood callyd Varus, whiche divydeth Ytalye and F[*raunce*], and so entred Fraunce a dayes journay and more, without resis[*tance*]. It is trouth that thei suffre greatly for the great penurye [*and*] scarsitye of all maner of vitaill, which they fynde in th[*ose*] quarters; for the Frenche Kyng hath causyd all the countrye to withdrawe ther vitaill, and in a maner all that frontier be habandonatyd, to thintent the armye shold fynde no s[*uccour*], so that the armye is in veray evill caas; somoche the mo[*re, as*] where ther was ordeigned an armye by see of 3 or 4 [*thousand*] men, which shold have kept the cost, as the great armye went, and from tyme to tyme have vitaillyd the said great armye, we have now worde that the Frenche Kyng hath s[*ent*] forth a nother armye by see, of a more nombre, to encontre [*with*] ours; so that our armye slackith, ne, as it shold yett appere, d[*are*] not approche to suche places as they shold do service in. The Viceroye of Naples on the otherside, in whom is all the remedy in this caas (and who is styll remayned here in Lombardye for that purpose), is veray negligent in sendyng soche thynges as is necessarye for the said armye, so that the Duke of Burbon and the other capitayns complayne greatly upon hym; specially that thorough his negligence the lanceknightes come no quyklyar forwardes, who as it is said for lacke of ther paymentis were stayed in the confynys of Italye, ne will not approche, so that ther is lyke to be lost one monyth clerely therby. For doubtlesse the armye is of so small nombre, that ther can be no notable exployte done without the said lanceknightes. The Popis Holynes hath sent one pryvilye to the said

[1] From the Museum, Vitellius, B. VI. leaf 132, slightly burnt at the edges.

[2] Philip Duke of Nemours.

Viceroye to quyckyn hym, and to protest unto hym that only by his negligence the entreprise is like to be lost. His Holynes fearith greatly that the entreprise of the Duke of Burbon shall torne in conclusion to nothyng. It is trouth that His Holynes, ever sithens He was Pope, at all tymes hath had veraye evyll opynion and small hope for any good successe in thEmperours affayres, and in a maner hath had thaym all wayes as desperatt, and yett, thankyd be God, they have ever succedyd fynally prosperouslye; and so I have shewyd His Holynes; and His Holynes answeryd me that it was more by myracle, and by the help of God, and good fortune, then by any wisdome or good provision. As farre as I can perceyve, ther is no man lyving more desirous then His Holynes is, that this armye shold do well, butt His Holynes is nothing satisfyed ne contentyd with thEmperours agentes here concernyng the same. The Popis Holynes had a messangier in Spayne callid Barnardinus[1], who is of late come from thens, and in effect from thens bryngith non other resolution, but thatt thEmperour intendyth to make some steryng in the Lowe Partyes about Pycardie, to thintent that therby the Frenche Kyng shalbe compellyd to divide his powar; affirmyng that thEmperours firme and fast hope is, that the Kinges Highnes will contribute for that purpose. It shold seeme that at that tyme thEmperour had had no knowlaige of such treaties, as were all redy concludyd in Englond between the Kinges Highnes and thEmperours Ambassadours. The said messangier, commyng from Spayne, came by the Frenche King, who by the said messangier sent unto the Popis Holynes this messaige, vizt. that the sayd Frenche Kyng in his owne proper Parson, accompanyed accordyngly with an armye royall, wherin ther shold be att the [*least*] 30000 fotemen, wold this somer retorne agayn into Italy, and if He so dyd nott, that then His Holynes shold never bileve Hym ne esteme Hym as a crysten Prince and Kyng, ne yet as a cristen man. The whiche messaige the Popys Holynes as yett hetherto bilevith never a delle. His Holynes saith, that it shold be none evyll pollicie if He so ded; for [*it*] ware better kepe the warre in a nother mannys hows, the[*n in*] his own; and doubtles if He shold come into Italye a nother waye towardes Mylan, the armye shold be fayne to retorne agayn for the defence of the same: but His Holynes saith that He thynkith nott the Frenche Kyng hable herunto, and thynkyth that, if He were hable, yett He wold nott joparde leve and habandon the realme of Fraunce, the Duke of Bu[*rbon*] beyng with so great an armye within the same, who doubtles hath many fryndes and moche secrett intel-

[1] Bernardine de la Barba, the Pope's Chamberlain. See Sampson's despatches from Burgos, Vespasian, C. II. leaves 310. 321.

ligence,

ligence, who s[*hall*] have moche the bettar courraige and comoditie to do the[*ir*] feat, if they shold se the Frenche Kyng disposyd to dep[*art*] the realme: so that ther is no tale wors bilevyd here, th[*en the*] said Frenche Kinges so sodayne retorne into Ytalye, namely [*be*]cause the said Frenche Kinges Ambassadour heer is veray well myndyd concernyng a treux, and shold seeme to call somwhat importunely to have communycation upon the same; whiche th[*ing*] is differryd by the Popis Holynes, by cause thEmperours Am[*bas*]sadour is not yett come; and, as farr as we can perceyve, it shalbe the myddes of the next moneth, or ever he can arryve, he commyth so slowely. Thus the Almyghty God preserve your Grace. From Rome, the 12th daye of Julye.

Post scripta. Please it your Grace furthermore. Where as for the ease of carriage dyvers great pieces of artillarye were sent [*with the*] armye by see made out from Jean, as byfore hath been made me[*ntion*], and was appoyntyd that the said armye shold have londyd [*the*] said artillarye and certayn vitaill at a place callyd Villa [*Franka*], besides a town callyd Nyssa, wher a parte of our armye shold [*have*] mett with thaym for that purpose; the Popis Holynes saith, [*that*] there is assuryd word come from Jean, that the said armye d[*id*] inforce theymselfes so to do, but the Frenchemen, beyng mo[*re in*] nombre both of shippis and of men, encontred with thaym, a[*nd if*] our men had not reculyd in season, they had by all lykely[*hood*] been putt to the worse. Not withstondyd, 3 of our galyes, the re[*st*] beyng occupied in the conflicte, escapyd, and by the helpe [*of*] our men, whiche were alond, and bett the Frenchemen of w[*ith*] artillarye, they came to the shore, and with thaym the armye [*by*] land hath receyvyd as moche great artillarye as shall [*serve*] for the campe. As for vitaill, ther was but litle in the said t[*hree*] galyes, so that the campe is in veraye evill caas for lack [*therof*]. And for lack of the said vitaill, wherof ther can noon be g[*otten*] in thoys quartiers, and of the lanceknyghtes, whiche come nothyng forwardes, our said armye tarryeth styll at the [*said*] Villa Franka, unto suche tyme as they may make some ot[*her*] provision; whiche thyng restith all upon the Viceroy, who lokith so slakly and so untowardly unto thies affayres of late, that doubtlesse, if he do nott amende, all is lyke [*to come*] to nought. The Popis Holynes also shewyd me, that the[*re were*] certayn letters interceptyd of the Frenche Kynges, whiche [*were*] conformable to the messaige late sent unto His Holynes by [*his*] own servaunt, which came from Spayne thorough Fraunce, as is affore written, vizt. that the Frenche Kyng hath preparyd 1200 men of armys and 14000 fotemen to mete with the Duke of Burbon, and 800 men of armys and

12000 fotemen to send straight into Italye. His Holynes saith that He thynkyth all be butt crakys, for his Nuntio in Fraunce writyth that there apperith in a manner no maner of steryng ne motion of warre, and that the Frenche Kyng givith Hym self to huntyng and hawkyng and other passetymes, as though He had no suche matters in hande. His Holynes saith that ther Ambassadour here, unto whom the said letters were written, hath latlye callyd to entre treatye of treux, and spekith nothyng of the said preparations; if he do so styll, then His Holynes sayd that He will doubt of the matter, and woll rather thynke that the Frenche Kyng makyth the said preparations then otherwise; for ther craft is ever to dissimule, and to shewe opynly one thyng and prively do an other, that ther ennymye shold not, by foresight, provyde for the same. On the other syde, if the Frenche Kynges Ambassadour here, unto whom this was written, shall make any suche avauntes of the Frenche Kinges said preparations, then His Holynes saith that by all lykelyhode thies avauntes of preparations be butt crakes to make men afferde, and nothyng of trouth. His Holynes shewyd me also that, seeyng that the Emperours Orator De la Roshe is so slowe in his jornaye, so that after his commyng hether ther shold be to litle space left for thArchebusshop of Capua to treat and conclude in His Holynessis name between the Princes, the diett to be kept in soche tyme and place and by suche personagis as hath been all redye by your Grace divysed; therfor His Holynes, not tarryeng otherwise the commyng of the sayde De la Roshe[1], is half myndyd to send the said Archebusshop to the Princes agayn, first to Fraunce, and so to thEmperour, and from thens to the Kinges Grace, so that thArchebusshop shall kepe his apoyntment with your Grace, and by all lyklyhode by the latter ende of all August shalbe with your Grace, fully resolvyd in all matters. Here is also tydynges commyn, that the Prince of Orange, and 10 gentilmen with hym, accompanyed with 3 brygantynis comyng owt of Spayne, seeyng a companye of Frenche shippis lyeng to gether upon this nether cost afore Villa Franka, supposyng it had been thEmperours armye, made into thaym, and so he is taken prisoner, and all his.

As towching your pention, thies men here saye that ther masters the Busshoppis will paye your Grace, and that [*it is*] as good for you to styke unto your old, as to have the new: n[*one*] other answer I can gett of thaym. As towching your facult[*ies*], the Popis Holynes is as good in thaym, as ye

[1] Clerk, by a letter on the 7th of August, (Vitellius, B. VI. leaf 163,) notifies the arrival of Monsr De la Roche, and that he was to enter Rome on the following Wednesday, and supposes that negociations for a truce will shortly after be entered upon.

can

can desire; but the Cardinall of Sanctorum Quatuor is untreatable. Wherfore [*I*] have left hym, and desiryd the Popis Holynes to commytt t[*he*] mynuttes to the Cardynall of Ancona, and so His Holynes hath: and I putt no doubtes butt your Grace shall have his desyres. ThArchebusshop is veray diligent in thaym, and the Dat[*ary*] doth his parte veray well. Thus the Almyghty God preserve Your Grace. From Rome, the 17th daye of Julye.

(*Signed*) By Your Grace is most humbyll servant and bedysman,
Jo: Clerk Prist.

(*Superscribed*)
To my Lord Legattis good Grace.

XCVII. Wolsey *to* Pace.[1]

Mr. Secretary, in my most hartie manner I commend me unto you. The furst daie of this monnethe arryved here Curson, bearer hereof, with 4 of your letters of the 9th and 16th daies of June[2], which for the right good mattiers and newes conteyned in the same, moche discrepant from brutes raysed by the Frenchemen of the repulse and destruction of the Duke of Burbons armye by see, and his owne recule owt of Province, the sinking of 5 of your shipps of warr, and driving 3 on land, the sicknes and dispaire of the said Duke, with othere bragges, were right welcome; and moche consolation it is bothe unto the Kinges Highnes and allso unto me, to here and perceve, aswell by your said letters, as by those of the Duke of Burbons owne hand, the firme mynde and entent that he is of valyently to procede, and prosecute with effect this his enterprise victoriously commencyd and bygonne; and that he hath, at his furst entrie into thenemyes countrye, not only well assysted his army by see, by conservation of his artillery which was in some daunger, but allso taken and gayned divers good townes castelles fortresses and places, providing so dilligently for the doubting of the lackes and defaultes aswell of vittailes as allso of the rest of his army, than not only joyned with him, and semblably of the monney whereof by thEmperours adjentes he was disapointed; being nevertheles recomforted, aswell by reason of such part thereof as than was aryved, as allso for the good

[1] From the Harleian, Vol. 283. leaf 55. There is another copy in the State Paper Office, and a third in the Museum, Vitellius, B. VI. leaf 156, but less correct.

[2] This month is given as June in the first and last of the above-mentioned copies, and July in the State Paper Office only. The latter is clearly right, and the letters remain in Vitellius, B. VI. leaves 128. 136. 137. 142, all dated at St. Laurent in Provence.

newes

newes had of the approching of Sir John Russell with the Kinges monney; like as your said letters purporte more at large.

The thirde of this monneth arrived here allso other 4 letters of yours sent by the way of the Lady Mergarettes courte, bering date the 27th and last of June, the 2de and 5th of July[1], with one allso of your letters directed to Sir John Russell. In those letters ye have full well and plainly declared the successe of that armye, from the date of your former letters, which was the 19th of June, to that time, being matters which the Kinges Grace and I thought full long to knowe, considering that a good and prosperous commencement and begynnyng, at the first entree of thennemys countreys, ys the thing which addeth the more deputation to all the rest. And, albeyt the Kinges Highnes and I be full sory for the misfortune happenyd to the Prince of Orange and other in his company in theire owne neclygence, which the Frenchemen did not hide, but devulged yt to their uttermost advantage, with other thinges, long bifore the receipt of your said letters; yet neverthcles the good successe of the said Duke of Burbon otherwise, and the evident apperance of great vyctory to ensew unto him, be right comfortable and good newes; for which your diligent and discrete advertysements, with your dayly paines and travailes susteyned in the Kinges servyce, His Grace and I bothe give unto you hartie thankes: prayeng you, thoughe doutles yt shalbe moche painfull to you, in this time of great busines and daily removinges or other your occupations, to commyt the ordre proces and forme of your doinges and successes there unto writing, ye will nevertheles for the Kinges and my comforte (who take singuler delight and pleasure therein), aswell for the knowlege of the truth, be yt prosperous or adverse, as allso for the stopping and extincting of untrew brewtes and reportes raysed by thennemyes, plainly and seriously declare, by your letters from time to time, thordre forme and manner of the procedinges and successis of the said army, with all circumstances and other materiall pointes commyng to your knowlege concerning the same; wherein ye shall admynister unto the Kinges Grace and to mee singuler and acceptable plesure. Asserteyning you that the King sendith at this time his letters congratulatorys unto the said Duke of Burbon, and others unto the Counte of Pountever, like as I allso do the semblable; as by the copies enclosed with thies presentes ye shall enough perceve. At the deliverie whereof ye shall, on the Kinges byhalf and myne, with cordiall and reqwisite commendations, shew and declare how joyous and glad we have bene and be, to understand the very

[1] That of the 27th of June is Vitellius, B. VI. leaf 117, and those of the 2d and 5th of July ibid. 120. 123. 126, all dated from St. Laurent; that of the 30th of June is not found.

certaintie

certaintie and trewth of the said good and prosperous successes, taking no small delite and pleasure to here of the said Duke in his oune person so actively and valiantly acquitid him self at the conflict betwen the armyes on the sea, by whose vertew industrie and good conduyct, not only his artillary was delivered from the perill it was in, but allso the shipps saved, and the ennemys repulsed, and put to the woorse, to the Dukes great honnour lawde and praise. Nevertheles ye shall, on the Kinges and my byhalf, desire him to have allwaies speciall regard to the sewrtie and conservation of his owne person, and no further to expone the same unto daungers and parilles, then necessytie must nedes requyre. For, besides the great importaunce that the same is to the commune affayres, the Kinges Highnes and I, for the tender love which we beare unto the said Duke, shuld take no small regrete and hevines to heare of anny adverse chaunce or inconvenyent to ensewe to his said person. And though yt do right well appere, by the actes present and passed, that yt shall not neade to stimulate or prick the said Duke, being bothe of so good and hardie courage, and allso of so firme inclynation and deliberation as he is, to avaunce him self and his armye against the ennemyes; yet nevertheles one thing there is, which is specially to be regarded, and by you to be well imprinted in the said Dukes mynde, and others of that armye, such as you shall thinke convenyent. The Kinges Highnes understandeth that the Viceroy of Naples hath not done the beste diligence in sending unto that army of such lanceknightes as were appointed to be sent after them, ne allso thEmperors ordinary horsemen, who by capitulation betwene the King and thEmperor ought to procede with the said Duke. And knowing the fidelytie of the said Viceroye to his master, it is not to be thought that suche slacknes procedith of anny evill mynde, but that some thing, thought unto him reasonable, may be thoccasion thereof. And, consydering that the French King, as the Kinges Grace is advertysed from Rome and other places, doth make reporte and brute, and demonstrat that He entendith this sommer to retorne in his owne Person with an army into Italy for recovery of the Duchie of Myllaine, which thing percace might come to the Viceroies eares, and he facylly enduced to beleve the same, it may be supposed that the doubt thereof might cause the same Viceroy not only to delay the sending of the said lanceknightes and horsemen, but allso to perswade or move the said Duke of Burbon to staie, and not procede to ferre, till the certayntie thereof be knowen. Wherfore ye must have a vigilant regarde hereunto; and, yf ye maye perceve anny suche staie to be made, and that the said Duke do not ernestly procede, and enter into the bowelles of Fraunce whithout such doubt scruple or delay, ye shall still solycyte exorte and reqwire him, that, considering this his honnorable entre and commencement, with

with the great oppynion that he hath attayned thereby both of thEmperor, and of the Kinge, and allso of other Princes, and the discorage that his ennemyes do and will take, in cace he ernestly follow and prosecute the same, with the great inconvenyentes, consumption of treasor, and losse of commodious time, that shall ensew by suche stay, he do in anny wise still passe and proceade forwardes, anny brute brag or fame raysed or annye perswasion made unto him to the contrary notwithstondinge. For ye may say, that undoubtedly he shall finde the same but fraskes, cawtelles, and subtelties, to thentent thereby to empeche and totally disapointe his whole enterprise. For furst, yt is to be thought undoubtidly that the French King will give him battaill, considering that by reason of suche intelligences, as the Duke of Burbon might have abowt Him, He shuld be in doubt unto whom He might truste; and though He woold thinke Himself assuryd of his Lordes and men of warr, yet by giving of suche battaill He knoweth well He should hasard in one day the hole crowne and realme of Fraunce, which he may be sewr He woold not do: than determyning to give no battail, yf the Duke of Bourbon, without resistence, shall continually enter into the land, yt might be to the greate daunger of the same. Wherefore to remove and expell the said Duke by pollecy, whereas He dare not ne can do yt by power, there cannot be a more subtell crafte and compasse devised than to make a brute and ostentation of 2 thinges; one that He will give the said Duke battaill, and an other that He will passe the mountaines for recovery of the Duchye of Myllaine. By the first, wherein percace He will show a good visage avauncyng nere unto the said Dukes armye, He shall experiment, whither the Duke will abide Him or not; and in cace by that meanes He can compell him to retire and withdraw owt of his countreys, then He hath his purpose, and all the enterprise labour travaill and monney spent in vaine. By the 2de, He knowing how moche thEmperor tendryth Myllaine, and the conservation thereof, thinketh verily not only to cause the horsemen and launceknightes, or at least the horsemen (yf the launceknightes be comen), to be detayned in Italy, whereby the Dukes army shalbe the weker, but allso thereby, and by suche ordre as thEmperor shall give, the sayd Duke may be commaunded with his army to reatorn for the deffence of the Duchye of Myllaine. In which cace the Frenche King should allso have his purpose, and deliver his owne countreys from his ennemys. But yf the Duke of Burbon, giving none eares or herkenyng to suche abuses, do valiantly and ernestly procede as aforesaid, not only he shalbe sewr that the French King will give him no battaill, for the reasons and considerations byfore mentioned, but allso that He will not enterprise the recoverye of an other countrey, leaving his ennemys within his owne; for yt were a great folly, for wynnyng of the Duchy of

of Myllaine, to lose his realme of Fraunce; ne allso, to be plaine with you, He is of abilytie or puyssance, eyther of menne or of monney, to do anny of the said feates. Furthermore, the Kinges Grace being redy to passe or send his armye into Normandy or Picardye uppon anny sodaine warning, be yt in winter or sommer, as the French King well knoweth, He were not wise to passe the mountaignes at this tyme; and doubt ye not, that such ordre is and shalbe taken on this syde, that, wither the Kinges Grace passe the seas or not, thennemyes countreys shalbe so assailed both by land and by sea, that he shalbe compellyd to put no small deffence unto the same, to the demynution of his power in other places, in such wise as, the Duke of Burbon going forthe, not only his frendes and reputation shall dayly encreace, and the French Kinges be dymynyshed, and great countreys shalbe taken and attayned, and percace a generall revolution in Fraunce thereof to ensew, but allso by that meanes, and suche other annoyances as be and shalbe done on thisside, the common ennemy shalbe glad to offre suche reasonable condicions of peace, as, with the honnor and benyfyt of the King, thEmperor, and the said Duke, may be acceptid. And for the better avoiding of the sayd dowbt or feare, which might be imprintid in the mynde of the Vyceroy of Naples, I have written unto him at this tyme a good letter both for the acceleration of horsemen and launceknightes, yf they be not allredye joyned with that armye, and allso for excluding owt of his mynde of anny dread or suspition for the Frenche Kinges commyng into Italy, for reasons byfore mentioned, lyke as by the copies thereof being herewith ye shall mowe perceve; prayeng you to regarde this mattier effectually as thimportaunce hereof necessaryly doth reqwire.

Ye shall allso shew unto the Duke of Burbon, that the Kinges Grace is advertised, how the said Viceroy appointed his steward to lie in Trent, there to have stopped the passage of Sir John Russell with the Kinges monney, if he had taken that waie, till such tyme as he should have delivered unto him 10000 duccatts for the reconduycting and payment of the launceknightes and other men of war to joine with the said Dukes armye; of which demeanor the Kinges Grace cannot a lytle mervaile, or that thEmperor should be thus slack in observing his appointementes: for there hath bene not a few faier promysses and avauntes made here, that thEmperor had sent unto the sayd Duke the somme of 200000 crounes, whereof one hundred should be for the bringing of him and hys armye over the mountaines into thennemyes grounde, and the other hundred thousand shuld be for the contribution that should beginne betwene thEmperor and the Kinges Grace, after the said Duke were enterid into thennemys groundes, like as yt is capitulated bytwene them; as by the

copye of thartycle passed in that byhalf, being herein enclosed, ye shall mowe perceve. Which mattier yt shuld seme allso you did not well understand, when ye wrote your said letter unto Sir John Russell, for therein ye affirme unto him that, when the Duke of Burbon was past the mountaines, the Kinges monney was payable by your enstructions; which is not so: wherein and in divers other mattiers I referre you to the cyphre herein closed, being the dowble of suche another sent unto you by the postes; prayeng you so to desyre the said Duke of Burbon, diligently to sollycyte thEmperour for taking other ordre in payment of his monney from time to tyme, and not to thinke that by suche ostentations and meanes He shall cause the Kinges monney to be taken occupied and employed in stede of his; wherein I have largely spoken to thEmperours Embassador here resydent, and furthermore have written the same into Spaine; for by such meanes the Kinges Grace might be discouraged to send monney thyther, yf thEmperors folkes shall take uppon them to ordre and dispose the Kinges monney at their pleasure, for supplieng their owne lackes and defaultes.

Fynally, thoughe on this syde the custome is not to make bragges and avauntes of thinges, as the Frenchmen do, byfore they be fully and perfytly fynysshed, yet I might right largely wryte unto you, for the comforte of the said Duke and all that armye, of such thinges concerning the Scotyshe mattiers, sounding to the Kinges honnor and great disavauntage of the French King, as ye woold be glad to here; which nevertheles I do respyte untill the next poste, to thentent every thing may be openyd and declared unto you more specially and certaynly, than can or is convenyent to be done at this tyme; trusting that I shall send you newes of the erection of the yong King of Skottes by the Kynges meanes unto his owne governement, and thexpulsion of the Duke of Albanye from the same, with the expulsion of the French faction in that realme. Assertening you that this said berar Curson hath right diligently honestly and discretly acqwited him self in the charge by you commytted unto him, to the Kinges and my full good satisfaction and contentment, whome ye may use in lyke cace, when ye shall se necessytie to reqwyre. Thus hartely fare you well. At my Manor of Hamptoncourte, the 7th day of Auguste.

Your loving frend,

Tho. Carlis Ebor.

XCVIII. WOLSEY *to* PACE *and* RUSSELL.[1]

THIS is to advertyse you only, Mr Secretary and Sir John Russell, with heartie commendations, that finding no way here or at Antwerp to send monney to that armye by exchange at convenable time, and knowing that Mr Weston, Turcuplier of thOrdre of S^t^. John's[2], with diverse other of their bretherne, doe now departe towardes the Court of Rome for mattiers concerning that religion, I have taken ordre with the said Turcuplier, who shall have in his companye above 40 persons Englisshemen, to conveyghe unto such convenyent place as shalbe mete, in or not far owt of his waye towardes Rome, and mete for you, Sir John Russell, to mete with him, the somme of 10000£ sterling in crounes of the sonne: which being secretly caried shall not be knowen but to be monney sent by the Prior of S^t^. Johns in this Realme to the Great Maister of that religion, for the necessarie affayres of the same. And yt is devised that the sayd Turcuplier, at his comyng unto Andwerp, shall have communycation with Doctor Knight, whoe is commaunded to repaier thither unto him from the Lady Mergaretes Courte, to thentent by his advyse and consent he may understand, what place may be moste convenyent, whereunto you, Sir John Russell, may come to receave the sayd monney, and thereuppon to advertyse some specyall man that shall shew yow the sayd place, and yf that of lykelyhode he may be there. Nevertheles, inasmoche as yt is not here knowen, whyther betwene yow and Doctor Knight be a cypher, and that there may perill and danger ensew, in cace the letters making mention of the premisses shuld fortune to be intercepted, ye and Mr Doctor Knight woll and be orderid to call and name the said Turcuplier Cristover Barber, by which name of Christofer Barber ye shall allwaie understand the said Turcuplier. And yow, Sir John Russell, shall dispose yow to repayre unto the sayd place, where the said Turcuplier and Doctor Knight shall appointe yow, there to herken of his comyng, at whyche tyme ye shall receve of him the sayd 10000£, and the same you shall conveye with yow by some sewr and safe meanes untyll suche place as ye shall thinke convenyent, to have yt in good sewrtye and redynes for the Duke of Burbon, when the cace shall reqwyre. Nevertheles,

[1] From the Harleian, Vol. 283. leaf 24. There are three other copies, two in the State Paper Office, and the other in the Museum, Vitellius, B. VI. leaf 178; but they are all very incorrect, as is that from which Fiddes has printed in his Appendix, p. 144.

[2] The Turcopolier represented the Language of England in the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, and commanded the cavalry and the coast-guard.—Boisgelin.

yf ye could use suche diligence, that the sayd Turcuplier, in his way toward Trent, which he is most mynded to take, may know by your letters at what place he shall repaier unto yow, and being convenyent for yow, Sir John Russell, to mete with him, yt should moche prevayle and do the benyfytt hereunto; the polytike ordering hereof the King remyttyth to your wisdome and discrete ordring. And as towching the bestowing of the said 10000£, ye shall understand that the King, not knowing how thaffayres of the Duke of Burbone shall succede, and willing rather to have monney there in redines, then to lake when nede shalbe, doth send the sayd 10000£ to be reservyd to your self or in some sewr place, and not be imployed, but as ye shall see the cace to requyre of necessytie; that is to saye, that the sayd Duke proceading forward, and thEmperor contributing for his part, as the King doth, ye shall, as ye may se cawse, employ uppon the entertaynment of the sayd Duke and his army. And, if anny other adverse chaunce happen (as God deffend), that the same should not be well bystowed, and to the direct purpose, then the King and I trust veryly you will not se yt utterid and spent in vayne, but to be reservyd and kept, or otherwise, as the time and commoditie shall, by your good discretion, leade yow. Wherein I wilbe lothe to give over precyse instruccions, forasmoche as yt is doutfull what thinges shall chaunce in that act; but by suche confirmation, as ye have had heretofore, of the Kinges mynde and intent, and by the capitulations, whiche ye know be passed betwene the King and thEmperor, and by the manner of his doinges and the said Dukes proceadinges, ye shall now know, how to governe the mattier to the Kinges honnor sewrtie and profyt, and to the best avauncement of His Graces affayres; ensuring yow, yt is not a litell to the Kinges mervaill and myne, to heare and understand, by your letters of the 17th[1] of Juigne and others sent by Curson, who shalbe dispechid with all dyligence with thaunswere of the same, that the paiment of thEmperors monney for the contribution of the Duke of Bourbons entertaynement ys thus retarded and slacked, wherby the proceading forthe of that armye hath bene greatly hindred, the commyng allso of the launceknightes to them lettid and empeached, besides the daungere that ensewethe by the long demore of thEmperors ordinary horsemen, contrarye to the tenour of the capitulation passed betwyxt the King and Him; all whiche thinges be greatly to the hurte and daunger of the common enterprises, sounding allso to both their great dishonors, and to the compforte of thennemye; lyke as in all other proceadinges thEmperors folkes make great avauntes and promyses for payment of monney, but when

[1] In both the copies in the State Paper Office this date is given as the 27th.

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yt comythe to the poynt, nothing ys observed. For which cawse ye must have speciall regarde hereunto, cawsing the Duke of Burbon, so to call for thEmperors monney, that the King be not thus driven of allwaies with faier woordes, and the moste burthen laied unto Him. In which mattier making conclusion from the furst daie of July, which as I understand was the furst of your entre into the Frenche grounde at S^{t}. Lawrence, and begynnyth then to accompt uppon the contribucion, furst of thEmperors one hundred 1000 crounes, and after of the Kinges; albeyt thole armye had bene then assembled, yet yt shuld have bene the 30th day of July, byfore anny parte of the Kinges monney shuld have bigonne to ronne in payment; and the 27th of this instant monneth, byfore the 20000£ sent by Sir John Russell shuld be expyred and spent, thoughe every thing were accompted at the moste according to the estimate whyche ye sent, mentioning the rate of those thinges; after which 27th daies, thEmperor then begynnyng of new to contribute an 100000 crounes for his parte, yt shuld be the 24th of September byfore ye shuld occupie any parte of the monney now sent by Turcuplier, which with other 10000£, that the King entendith to send by some other meane with all diligence, should serve, though there were none other fordelles towardes the sayd entertainment till the 22 daie of October next ensewing; so that, thEmperor observing his promyse for the sayd contribution as the King dothe, the Duke of Burbon may, God willing, make a great alteration in Fraunce, having manye notable successys and victoryes byfore that time, specially finding so small resystance as he is lyke to finde.[1]

XCIX. Wolsey *to* Pace.[2]

M^{R}. Secretary, I commend me unto yow in my right hartie manner. By the handes of Sir Gregorye de Cassalis, berar hereof, I have recevyd thre

[1] From Russell's despatch of the 31st of August it appears that he arrived at the camp before Marseilles on the 26th of that month, where he found Pace with the Duke of Bourbon, but the money had not arrived. Vitellius, B. VI. leaf 181 b. He left the camp on the 19th of September, and went in quest of Weston to Milan, Mantua, and Viterbo, where he fell in with him. From thence he proceeded to Rome, for the purpose of getting Clerk's advice, and there he learnt from the Pope that the army in Provence was dissolved. Ibid. 211. The siege was raised on the 29th of September, and Clerk advised Russell not to part with the money, ibid. 208; and in the month of December he removed it from Viterbo to Rome, ibid. 219. 243. 256. 261 b.

[2] From the Harleian, Vol. 283. leaf 48. There are two other copies, but less correct, one in the State Paper Office, the other in Vitellius, B. VI. leaf 183.

letters

letters of yours, bearing date at Tornois the 3dc daie of this instant monnethe[1], wherein ye have full amplye and plainely advertised me of the state prosperite and good successe of the Duke of Burbon and that armye; which Duke allso sent by the said Sir Gregorye his letters credencialles bothe unto the Kinges Highnes and unto me. I have sene suche instructions, as by the Merqwes of Piscaire were delivered unto the same Sir Gregory to be declared on his byhalf; and finally I have herd and understand at great length all such thinges as the said Sir Gregory had in charge of the Duke of Burbon and of you, to be declared unto the Kinges Highnes and to me. Whereuppon I have red, showid, and oppenyd unto His Grace, the contentes of all the said letters instructions & charge, cawsing Sir Gregory allso to declare unto His Highnes at good leysure the same his charge. And sewrly the Kinges Grace and I have taken no small consolation and rejoyse to here and understand the prosperous successis of that armye, with the couragious hartie and toward mynde of the Duke of Burbon to pursew the ennemye with all effect, after soche manner and forme as the said letters and enstructions do purporte; giving unto you great thankes aswell for your diligent advertisement, as allso for the plaine declaration of your advyce and oppynyons uppon the same, consisting principally and cheifly uppon the desire of the said Duke, the Merqweys of Piscayre, and other, that for suche urgent respectes and considerations the Kinges Highnes, with all celeritie possible, not ommytting this great opportunytie to recover his Croune of Fraunce, shuld advaunce his armye in Person or by Liewtenaunt into the same; for the helping whereof, ye desire me, to lay my Cardinalles hatt, crosses, maces, and my self, in pledge at this time, lyke as your letters, replenysshed with as comfortable woordes and effectuall as can be devised, do mention more at large. All whiche mattiers by the Kinges Highnes and me furst aparte, and after with the moste sad and discreate Lordes of his most honnorable Councell, substancially digested, and profoundly debated, yt hath bene finally, by good deliberation determyned, that the said Sir Gregory, who for the small time that he was there, which I understand was but one night, hath right discretlie declaryd the state and actes of that armie, with other thinges to him commytted, shuld retorne in all spede unto the said Duke of Burbon and yow with the Kinges resolution uppon the premisses, to the entent that by meane of soche great

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[1] No letter of the 3d of August appears to be extant. One of the 2d is in Vitellius, B. VI. leaf 153, in which Pace gives a list of the towns in Provence taken by Bourbon down to that date, viz. Grasse, a place which he names Vergin, Antibes, Villeneuve, Canne, Canaux, Draguignan, Fayence, Lorgues, Trets, Brignole, Hiêres, and Tourvés.

diligence

diligence as he shall make, the Kinges Grace may be, in all celeritie possible, substancially and sewrly advertysed from you of such mattiers hereafter mencioned, as be the cheif and principall thinges, whereuppon the ground must be taken of the Kinges doinges on thissyde. And for that cause the pleasure of His Grace is, that according to the singuler trust and specyall confydence which His Highnes and I have in you, all favor and affection, mocyon, instance, or perswasion of anny person, utterly set aparte, ye, like a trew and faithfull counceller, groundly regarding the opportunytie of this mattier, do advertise me by your letters, to be sent hyther by the said Sir Gregory, by Curson, or by some other discrete and sewr person that can make perfit relation of all thinges to him commytted, in asmoche diligence as can be devised, what ye know, thinke, and here, and what shalbe your oppynyon in the sayd mattiers; to the entent that the Kinges Grace, I, and other of his Councell, who have your reportes saienges and oppynyon in no small estimation, may traine and ordre the Kinges affaires in substanciall perfyt and assuryd manner accordingly.

First, I doubt not but, yf you have receivyd my long letters, which with divers other of the Kinges and myne, directed to the Duke of Burbon, the Merqwes of Piscaire, the Lord of Beauryn, and other, were depechid and sent the 18th of July last past, by a curror named Frauncis, who byfore brought letters from you, you have byfore this tyme perceived and understanden manny great and notable thinges concerning the reqweste and earnest instant desire then made by the Duke of Burbon for the Kinges invasion on this syde in Person or by Liewtenaunt this yeare, with divers reasons manyfestly proving suche invasion to be expresly to the great hinderaunce of the common affaires, and to the great daunger of the said Duke of Burbon and that armye, and the forbearing thereof to be unto their great weale and sewrtie: which thinges by you substancially ponderyd & considerid, and asmoche parte thereof shewid to the said Duke, Merqwes, and other, as was requysit, like as I than wrote unto yow, I suppose verely that asmoche as they had perswaded and desyred the said invasyon, somoche they woolde disswade the same, onles than soche a notable victory with a generall revolution in Fraunce should ensew, that the Kinges Highnes might facyly without anny great resystence attaine the said Croune, or some great peace or portion of his enheritance within the same; in which cace, as I then wrote unto you, there shold none opportunytie or good occasion be neglectyd or pretermytted; adding thereunto that, albeit every thing being as yt then was, the reasons and consyderations in those my letters then specified coulde not be by anny waies exclewded or avoyded, yet neverthelesse God might so provide and ordeyne,

ordeyne, and soche successe might ensew unto that armye, that, the mattiers altered and changed into another sort, thinges might be hereafter feysable which than semyd impossible. And right sorry I am, that my said letters had not come unto your handes byfore the depeche and sending hither of the said Sir Gregory; for by such enformations, as were given unto yow in the same, you should undoubtedly have bene moche the more perfetly ryped, and have had far better knowlege, uppon what successe the Kinges invasion on this syde may be donne or forborne, so as ye might have ordered and qwalefied the charge of the said Sir Gregory accordinglye; where as for lakk thereof, percase the Duke of Burbon, the Marqwesse of Piscayre, and you allso, were of other oppinion, then ye woold have bene, yf my sayd letters then had bene arryved. Nevertheless, for aunswer to be made unto your sayd last letters, ye shall understand that the Kinges Highnes, I, and other of his Councell that be made privie thereunto, have well considerid the victoryes attayned hitherto by that armye, the great corage and perfyt good will and entent, which the sayd Duke ys of, ernestly to prosecute the same, havyng taken all Provence except Mersylles and Arles, the devyces declared in the enstructions of the Marqwes of Piscayre for taking of the sayd Marselles or giving battaile to the Frenche armye, yf there be commoditie so to do, with their entent to passe the river of Rodane, at which tyme he is well assuryd his frendes and parttakers in Fraunce will declare themselves and repaire unto him; and finally, the small and no resystaunce that ye fynde, the profligation and driving byfore yow of the Frenche armye, the refusall of the Suysses to serve the Frenche King this yere, and the small power that He is of to deffend Himself and his realme, being the thinges, whereuppon the said Duke, Marqwesse, and you ground your selves, that the Kinges Highnes now with all celerytie shuld avaunce his army in Person or by Liewtenaunt. And for your parte you afferme you be moved to do a thing contrary to your commyssion, which is, to desyre the Kinges Grace to passe personally into Fraunce, and not to lose this tyme, the like whereunto the King shall never have again, praieng me allso to give His Highnes the same councell, as your said letters purporte more at large. And sewrly, whan those mattiers have bene well ponderid, it hath not bene a litell to the Kinges rejoice and myne to se them so well forwarde, and the Duke of Burbon, the Marques of Piscayre, and other, to be of harty corage and good determination to the premysses; trusting verily that, they persysting and contynuyng, there shall dayly succede thinges from good to better; wherein, God willing, there is noe doubt, in case they follow the mattiers with effect, and by suche waies and meanes as may best serve to that purpose. But, to be plaine with yow, like

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as after the delivery of the Kinges and my letters directed to the said Duke, which with the copies of them I send yow herewith, and after cordiall commendation with reqwisyte capitulations made as apperteinyth, the Kinges mynde is, you should shew unto him the said Merqwesse, and such other of the Councell there as he will call thereunto, yt is consydered here that Provynce is an open and weake countrey, not greatly fortefyed with places of moche strengthe, able to be long kept against an armye, except only Marsilles set uppon the sea cost for deffence of that qwartier, and Arles set upon the ryver of Roasne for sewrty on the other syde; which 2 places at the writing of your said last letters were still in the French Kinges handes, and doubtles, yf the same 2 maye still be kept by the French King, or, they taken or not taken from Him, the Duke of Burbon do still remayne in Province, not passing the river of Roasne, and so marching into the bowelles of Fraunce, the French King, knowing the great chargys that the Kinges Grace and the Emperour be at in contributing of the entertaynement of the Duke of Bourbon and his armye, shall of pollecy suffre him so to demurre in Province as long as he may, knowing well that by soch meanes the Kinges Grace and the Emperour, in continuall contributing, shall waste and consume their owne treasors, and finally be wery thereof; which ones ceasid, the Duke of Burbon and his armye, lacking entertainment, must nedes abandone the said Province; and fynally the French King, withowt great charges domage perill or busines, after these 2 Princes weried in expences, shall recover in one daie asmoche as the Duke of Burbon, with the Emperours and Kinges of Englandes excessyve charges, hath attayned in all this season. Besides this, yf the Kinges Grace, following the desires of the sayd Duke, Merqwes, and yow, should now avaunce his armye on this syde in Person or by Liewtenaunt, the Duke of Burbon remayning still in Province, where the French King percace will not enterrupt him to abyde for a season, not only the French King may, if He will, convert all his power against the Kinges armye on this side in Person or by Liewtenaunt; but allso whether He do or not, yt shall not be possible for the same, at suche time of the yere as they may be traunsported, which cannot be byfore the end of September, and with suche an armye as in so short space may be furnysshed of victualles, carriages, draughtes, shipping, and other requysites, to do anny notable feate on this syde, or help to do good or some furtherance to the Duke of Burbon remayning on that side in Province. Wherfor, the said Duke contynuyng and demurryng in Province, yt were vaine, superfluous, casting away of men and monney, dishonorable, dangerous, and great unwisdome thus late of the yere to avaunce the Kinges sayd armye. But, yf the Duke of Bourbon be myndid

to disapointe the Frenche King of this his compasse, yf he wold that anny army shold be avaunced on this side, and entend ether to presse the French King unto battaill, which is the cheif and princypall way, or to have anny notable victory in Fraunce, to the Kinges benefyt and his owne weale encrease and sewrty; expedient it shalbe that in annywise he do passe the sayde river of Roasne, and so to merche towardes Lyons, and from thence forthe forther into the bowelles of Fraunce; wherof cannot but ensew one of thies effectes; that is to say, the French King mynding to empeche that army from comyng to Lyons must nedes give them battaile, in which case the mattier, God willing, shalbe determyned to the sayd Dukes great honnor and glory, or elles refusing battaile He must conteyne Him self in Lions, which is thought He will not do, and suffer his Person to be beseagid in so weake a place as that is. And if He do, not only the towne, but allso the French King abiding in yt, may facylly be had, or elles leving the battaile and Lyons bothe, He must retyre and flie backward; in whiche cace there is certaine hope of clere victory and of the French Kinges utter distruction. And thus doing, that is to say, passing the said river of Roasne, and entering the bowelles of Fraunce, as is byforesayd, the Kinges Grace, being advertised sewrly and faithfully from you that he is so past, proceding actually into such partes of the bowelles of Fraunce, as may be to the Kinges use proffyt and commoditie, and to the furtherance of exploites to be done on this syde, His Grace can be contentid, and is expreslye determyned, to send a puyssant army with all diligence into Fraunce on this syde, and besydes that, yf provysions reqwisite may be had, to passe allso with the same in his owne Person; and for that cawse hath not only directyd and sent owt his letters to soche noblemen as shalbe Captaines, to bring or send men for this purpose, but allso hath this daye dispeched his trusty Councellor Sir Richard Jerningham Knight, in speciall embassade to the Lady Mergaret, aswell to reqwyre soch nomber of horsemen and footemen to be put in immediat redines, as the said Emperour is bounde at his owne charge to provide and joynne with the Kinges army for this purpose, as allsoe to levie and retaine 5000 launceknightes & 6000[1] horsemen at the Kinges wages, as parcell of the Kinges said armye, and further to provide lymmonners cariages and draughtes for the Kinges ordinances being redy at Valencyans; and semblably vitailles shippinge and other requesites be put in so perfyt order, that more diligence cannot be used on this syde to take all manner of opportunyties which shalbe reqwisyt; in such wise as, having

[1] This number is clearly written in the Harleian MS. vj^{m}, but there can be no doubt from the context that the true number of horsemen was ij^{m}. (2000).

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certaine knowlege from you that the sayd Duke of Burbon and that army be passed the said river of Roasne, pursewing the French armye with effect, and entering the bowells of that realme, doubt ye not but the Kinges armye shalbe in such towardnes, that in good and convenyent time they shalbe entered into the hert of thennemys countreys on this syde; the brute and preparation whereof, executid with all effect, is now all redy in this lytle space, syns this resolution now taken, so divulded and spred abroade, that the Frenche King hearing thereof, as He nedes must, shall not fayle to demynishe greatly his puyssance on that syde. Ye shall therefore instantly procure and solycite, desyring exorting and advysing the said Duke, Marqwes of Piscayre, and other of the Councell there, on the Kinges byhalf, that to put a sewr perfyt and brefe end to the entreprises thus fortunatly bygonne and succeded, and to avoyde all dangerous doubtes, perilles, losse of frends, and other inconvenientes, that may ensew by the contrary, they in anny wise accelerate and haste asmoche as may be possible their sayd passage over the ryver of Roasne, and so to Lyons, and from thence forthe into the bowells of Fraunce; for, so doing, they shall finde every thing prosperously to succede according to their owne desires; and refusing so to do, neyther thennemye shall moche esteme or care for them, their frendes shall have them in lesse estimation, the secret intelligence which they have in Fraunce shalbe discouraged and fall from them, and the Kinges Grace, finding no grounde to passe or send his army into Fraunce on this syde, shall forbeare so to do; whereas having spedy knowlege and certaine woord from you that the sayd Duke and armye be passed, so to enter with effect into the bowells of Fraunce, for recovery of such thinges as apperteigne unto the Kinges Majesties inheritance, and whereof profitt may aryse unto His Grace, the armye, which nowe is in levieng here, shalbe put in such perfyt redines, and be prest at the sea syde, as manny as shall passe owt of this Realme, that immediatly uppon receypt of your letters they shall now be traunsported and in diligence passe unto Valencyens; where shall joine with them not only the nomber of 1000 footmen and 3000 horsemen of thEmperours parte, according to the capitulations passed in that byhalf, but allso the nomber of 5000 lanceknightes and 2000 horsemen, to be provided by Sir Rychard Jerningham at the Kinges charge as is aforesayd, so to procede forthwith, having allredy the Kinges ordnances mounted and other requisites, and to take their way, as shalbe thought best, eyther to Parys or towardes Roasne, wherein the said Duke of Burbon with his army so entering Fraunce as ys aforesaid, divers thinges be specyally to be rememberyd. One is, that he, or yow in his byhalfe, doe advertyse the Kinges Grace and me, which way he thinkyth and reputythe to be moste convenable for the

said armye to take, by which they may have better spede and successe in their enterprise. Secundly, how or under what forme he supposyth the army may best be vitayled, after they shalbe past thEmperours Low Countrey and the confines of the same. Thirdly, that suche way be taken and chosen by them, as may be not only most facyl and easy for gayning of the places and countrey byfore them, but allso do most stede and help the said Duke of Burbon, eyther by joyning with him as, God willing, they may do, if he ernestly procede to come on that syde towardes such places as, by his advice and councell, the said army shall drawe unto on this syde, or otherwise. And to thentent that thies thinges may be the better knowen, and the said armye to have all such addresse as can be given unto them by the said Duke of Burbons meanes, ye shall reqwire him that, he undoubtedly taking the ways in passing the said river and otherwise as ye may perceve, uppon your relation to be made hyther, the Kinges army to goe furthe; which I assure you shall and doth depend only uppon such aunswer as ye shall make hereunto; the said Duke in that case do send with all diligence some gentleman of his, discrete and trusty, and expert, borne in Fraunce, being allso well acqwainted with the streightes, passages, and other particularyties of the countrey, which not onely may practyse with the said Dukes entelligences and freinds within the same, to the most benifyt of the said armye, but allso condwyt addresse advise and assyst them in all thinges, as may concerne the furtherance and advauncement of their enterprises; whose commyng shall highly conferre to the weale of the common affaires; and therfore, the army proceding, the sayd Duke may in no wise fayle to send him with diligence accordinglie. Ye shall allso saie unto the said Duke, putting him in remembraunce that by the treaty last passed and concluded for his mattiers with thEmperor, yt is covenanted that whensoever the Kinges Highnes in Person or by Liewtenaunt shall on this syde invade Fraunce, as afore, the contribution, which His Grace now bearith towardes the entertainement of the same Duke and army, shall cease, and the Emperor to beare the whole charge of the same. Wherfore, considering that now he is in such trayne of entertainement by the Kinges Grace and by thEmperour joyntly, as yee well knowe, specyall respect and forsight is to be had, byfore he cawse the Kinges Grace to advaunce his armye, how his owne entertainement and that army may be contynued; and, yf he trust totally to thEmperor, than to regarde howe the same Emperor is furnysshed and determyned for that purpose. For, albeyt at the tyme of making of the treaty, whan no parte of Province was taken, the Emperour condiscended to beare the hole charges of that armye, the Kinges Highnes invading on this syde, whereunto peradventure He agreed the rather, bycawse He thought the most

most ready waye to gaine Province, and suche other countreis as might serve for his purpose; yet nevertheles yt is fearyd, when He shall perceve that the Duke of Burbon shall take suche waie, marching with his army into such partes of Fraunce, as may be to the Kinges benifyt, He shall eyther lack monney in dede to make the said hole contribution, or at least show soch lack, whereby the Duke of Bourbon shalbe disapointed of entertainement, and consequently be brought in extreme daunger; in which case what inconvenyent were like to ensew to the Kinges Person and army on this syde, yf His Grace shall fortune to passe with the same, or to the army alone, yf His Grace be not in yt; and what dishonnor reproche and hinderaunce shall ensew thereof, bothe unto thEmperor, the Kinges Grace, and the said Duke of Burbon, is depely to be pondered and considered. For, to be plaine with you, (which you shall reserve and kepe to your selfe) yt is verely thought here that nether thEmperor is nor can be furnysshed to beare the hole charge of the said contribution, ne allso is mynded or woold gladlye, that the Duke of Burbon should take such waies as might be to the Kinges proffit or advauntage, but utterly to employe all that the King should do, by contribution or otherwyse, to suche enterprises as in thend may redounde to the said Emperours owne benefyt. And therfore ye must herein have great circumspection; for, albeyt the Duke of Burbon be past, or shall indede passe the river of Roasne, and procede unto Lyons, where it is thought he cannot faile to have a right great some of monney for the composition of the enhabitaunts, which may well help towardes his entertainement, yet peradventure he may entend from thence to passe only into his owne countreyes of Avergne and Burbonnois, for recovery of the same; and, that had and fortefied, the time of the yere being farr past, to cawse thEmperour, ensuyng such privie partes as be betwene theme, wherein cannot be but great cawse of suspicion, to furnishe with garisons the strongest places of Province, and under one color or other to desyst from anny further entering into Fraunce; for conducing wherof theye cannot devyse a better way then to allect the Kinges Grace, with faier promyses, to discend on this syde, to thentent their enterprise should be the more easye and feysable on that party; and thus to passe, or send an armye for this or such like effect, were neyther wisdome profit honnor ne good counsaill. Wherefore in this mattier necessarye yt is that ye loke substancyally to your self, that by fayre woordes promysses or demonstrations ye be not seduced, ne, giving over moche credence to them, provoked to allect the Kinges Highnes or his army over the see; onles then ye may assurydly perceve their firme disposition to be suche, and their procedinges of that sorte, as ys ment and entendid on this syde, that is to say, the Duke of Bourbon to be passed the said river of Roasne with his armye, and do actually

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and effectually procede into the bowells of Fraunce, as is aforesaid; whereof may percace ensew a notable revolution in Fraunce, with evident apperaunce of great victory on that side, in countreys redounding to the Kinges benefyt and commodytie, thereby given to the Kinges armye withowt great difficultye to do some notable feate on this syde; els in vaine were yt, and great unwisdome, to send over an armye this tyme of the yeare, who neyther may contynew in wynter to beseige strong places, ne, yf they might, could cary with them ordynaunce mete and other necessaries for that purpose. Wherefore in anny wise, as ye tender the Kinges honnor and sewrty, fayle ye not specyally and highly to regard and enserche the botome of this mattier, by good and discreet waies accordinglie.

Annother thing substancially to be loked unto is, and which you shall declare unto the Duke of Burbon and Merqwesse of Piscaire, is this, that in cace the horsemen of the ordinary of Naples, with the fotemen Almaines that were appointed to joigne with that army, and such Italians and Spanyerdes as were left behinde and should come after, or any of them, be not joyned with the said armye, the sayd Duke take such ordre, that, passing the river of Roane, they holye and entierly do with all diligence repaier unto him, and procede with him contynually: for yt shalbe right dangerous, ne the Kinges Highnes or I would ever advise him, uppon comfort of the armye on this syde or otherwise, to passe the river of Roane, and enter the bowells of Fraunce, onles he furst have wonne Marselles and Arles; which, as yt is thought here, he may in no wyse leave behind him in the French Kinges handes, forasmoch as those be the strengthes of all Province, and shall empech his ayde succours and vittaylles; and having them, the way shalbe open to anny help or compfort that he shall neade from time to time owt of Spaine; and allso that he be furnysshed of the said nombers, whome yf he have in his armye, he may be strong and able inoughe to resyst anny power that shall come against him. And sure he may be, that commyng after that sort, he shall finde every thing to succede unto his desire and the weale and benefit of the common affaires; whereby allso he shall give great comforte both to his secreat frendes, perceving him strong, and allso to other, which elles woold be his ennemys, to abandone the French King, and to resorte unto his partie. And therfore ye shall in anny wyse solycyt and further that mattier with all effect, cawsing him to forbeare passing the river Roane, withowt he have the sayd Marselles and Arles, onles than ye perceive there that, they being still in thennemyes handes, the leving of them cannot be dangerous hurtfull or prejudiciall to the said Duke and army, and without allso he have the said nombers of horsemen and footemen joyned with him in advoyding the manyfold doubtes and perills, which elles might to that

armye

armye (after their entrie into the harte of Fraunce with a small power, and leaving of the said 2 townes in their ennemys handes behinde them) follow and ensew.

Finally, emongst suche mattiers as be mentioned in your said last letters, the Kinges Highnes and I note moche one thing, which is, that ye write howe all the subjectes of Province, as ye passe, do come in and give their fidelytie and obedience to the Duke of Burbon; but, how or after what manner they do the same, is not expressed in your said letters, ne whether they do recognyse and take him for their supreme Lord or not, or to whose use he entendithe the countreye of Province shuld come. But howesoever he doth in Province, which came but of late days[1] into the handes of the French King, and by speciall purchase made thereof of King Henry the VI^ths^ wyfe, daughter and heyer of King Reynald of Naples, after her departure out of Ingland, the Kinges Highnes supposithe the said Duke, after his passage over the river of Roane, will take none obedience or fidelitie of the subjects, but in the Kinges name, and to the Kinges use; for the Kinges Grace nor I se not, to whome they ought to make their obedience and fidelytie of subjectes, but only unto His Highnes; and all proclamations, yeldinges of cities townes places or countreys, and actes, to passe only in the Kinges name, and to the use and benefyt of His Grace, and none other; so as yf yt should come to anny composition to be taken at Lyons or other places, to passe only in the Kinges name. Yf the Duke of Burbon should take anny emolument thereof towardes his entertainement, yt were to be accompted as monney layd owt by the King for thEmperor, Who, the Kinges Grace invading on this side, is bounde to beare the hole contribution to the sayd Duke, and therefore secretly and as of your self ye shall herken hereunto, demaunding, by way of communycation of the said Duke, and as though it procedid of your own mynde, how he entendith to ordre him self therein after his comyng over the said river of Roane; for, in case he have done, or shalbe mynded to doe, otherwise than ys aforesaid, yt is a good argument that his entent is not to help the Kinges Grace to the recovery of his croune of Fraunce, as he saith he will, but rather to usurpe and to take yt, yf he may, unto him self; and the King to send over an army or contribute unto him for that purpose, yt were small wisdome, as ye may well know and consider. Wherfor ye shall secretly herken thereunto, and as ye shall perceve and know the Dukes mynd therein, so to advertise me by your letters accordinglye, byfore the transporting of the Kinges armye, and percace of his

[1] In 1476. See Carte's History of England, Vol. II. p. 795.

most

most royall Person. Ye shall in all selerytie possible depeche some assured trustie and discreat person, whiche may and can declare the specialties of that armye, and of suche other thinges as be woorthe knowlege within the same, or that shalbe by the Duke of Burbon, the Merqwes of Piscaire, or you, commytted unto his charge; wherein, and in making of substanciall aunswer unto all and singuler the premisses, I require you to use asmoche dilygence as ye by your wisdome may perceve the hast and importance of the mattiers to requyre, wherby you shall do unto the Kinges Highnes great and thankfull servyce, to be remembryd accordingly. And fare you well.[1] At the More, the 31 day of August, 1524.

Your loving frend,
T. Carlis. Eboñ.

C. Wolsey *to* Sampson.

Master Sampson, I commende me unto you in my right herty maner. Ascertayning you that by sundry letters[2] lately receyved from the Bishop of Bathe, the Kinges Oratour resident in the Court of Rome, His Highnes is advertised that, sens the commyng thider of Monsr de la Roche, who as I understonde is nowe deceaced, thEmperours Agentes there have right instantly called upon the treating and concluding of a trieux bitweene thEmperour the Kinges Highnes and the Frenche King, whiche the said Monsr de la Roche mynded and desired in any wise to have passed for 4 or 5 yeres, not willing, as he saide, to condescende unto a lesse tyme, in suche wise as the Kinges said Oratour hathe been by the Emperours said Agentes veray largely preced therunto; exhorting and requiring hym to have agrede unto the same, without any maner meanes or polycie, used on thEmperours behalve, to practise suche waies as might be to the conducing of a final peax; of whiche maner of proceding the Kinges Highnes dothe not a litle mervaile, considering that, as ye well knowe, it hathe alwaies ben ment and intended on this side, and playn

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[1] Letters of Privy Seal for raising a subsidy for the projected invasion of France were dated at Windsor on the 6th of September. The receipt of Sir Henry Wyatt, Treasurer of the Chamber, for 1000 marks lent by the Archbishop of Canterbury to the King on the 27th of October is in the Chapter House, Miscellaneous Letters, Vol. VI. leaf 131.

[2] Vitellius, B. VI. leaf 167, dated the 22d of August, and leaf 177, dated the 31st of August, on which day De la Roche died. Clerk arrived in Italy on Sunday the 7th of August, and entered Rome on the Wednesday following.

declaracion

declaration therof often inogh made unto the said Emperour, that suche meanes be to be used by precing of the common enemye, that he may be compelled to offre reasonable and honorable condicions of peax; and whan mencion hathe ben made of trieux, it hathe ben non otherwise, but, fynding a good disposicion and towardnes of peax, by good offres and overtures made, a trieux therupon might, rather than faile, be taken for a small tyme, suche as shulde not be to the commodite of thennemye, ne to the Emperours or the Kinges hindrance or disavantage. And upon this grounde, not only the expedicion of the Duke of Burbon was set forthe by mutuel consent, but also capitulations sens that tyme have ben passed, for other invasion to be made, as nede shulde require, either on bothe sides, or at the lest on this side, by an armye to be sent by the Kinges Highnes having assistence of 1000 fotemen and 3000 horsemen at thEmperours charges, and that upon the prousperous or adverse successe of the said Duke of Burbon shulde depende the taking, refusing, or qualifying of the trieux. I also advertise you that by all suche letters as have arrived here from M^r^. Pace, ther hath ben playn and large mencion alwaies made of as fortunate and victorious successes to the Duke of Burbon and that armye, as for the tyme coude be divised, specially being no better furnished on thEmperours partie of his horsemen, launceknyghtes, and money promysed, than he hathe ben; insomoche as upon the good spede, whiche the said Duke hathe had in Province, being almost totally in his handes, and he nowe at the siege of Marsiles with good hope to attayne the same, being also utterly determyned to passe the river of Rodan, orelles to geve the Frenche King batail, if He woll abide it, bothe the said Duke of Burbon, the Marques of Pyscarye, and also M^r^. Pace, have instantely required desired and avised the Kinges Highnes to avaunce his armye on this side, either in his most Roiall Personne or by Lieutenant; affirmyng undoubtedly that nowe is the veray tyme to represse the common enemye, and either to bring hym unto totall extermynacyon, or at the lest to compell hym to offre honorable and reasonable condicions of peax. And for this porpose the said Duke hathe sent diverse messengers and currours hidre, and amonges other a gentleman Italyan, being the Kinges servaunt, whom His Grace lately sent furnished with a competent good bande of horsemen, Italyans, unto the said Duke, named Sir Gregory de Cassalys; whiche Sir Gregory came in great diligence from thens, playnely to shewe and intymate unto the Kinges Highnes the state successes and good disposicion of the said armye, and to persuade and exhorte His Highnes, in any wise, to avaunce his armye on this side. Wherupon His Grace, who alwaies is mynded to pretermyt nothing that may conferre to the benefite of the common causes, depeched incontinently his trusty Counsaillour Sir Richard Jernyngham Knight unto the Lady Margaret,

not only to require of her the said assistance of 1000 fotemen and 3000 horsemen, according to the capitulacion, but also to conduce and retayne at the Kinges charges the nomber of 3000 fotemen of those Lowe Countreys, and further to provide, at the Kinges like charges, lymoners drawghtes wagans and cariages for the Kinges armye artillary and ordenaunce, and to take ordre for provision of vitailles for the same; whiche army also was immediately described, the capitains appointed, letters sente oute for making of men, and every thing put in perfite redines for thair transporting immediately, and, as sone as knowlege shuld arrive that the said Duke were passed the ryver of Rodan, proceding into the hert and countreys of Fraunce. Thise thinges being in this trayn, and dailly preparations and provisions made for setting forthe of the said armye, with intent to demore and abide the stormes of the wynter nowe approching, newe and newe advertisementes be sent from Rome of the instant labour made ther by the Emperours Agentes, without respect or regarde of any thing, except oonely of the said Emperours oune commodite to conclude a trieux for a long season; and over and besides that, dailly exclamacions and complayntes come from the said Dukes armye, that the same hathe been merveilously disapointed, not oonly of the money whiche shulde come unto theym of thEmperours contribucion, but also of the said horsemen and fotemen; insomoche as they have ben compelled to make taryinges and demores by long seasons, abiding and loking for the same; where, if they had been furnished according to the said capitulacions, they had in convenable season (thair enemyes being oute of redines to resist theym) ben passed muche further into the bowelles of Fraunce.

Besides this, ther hathe been so litle respect and consideration geven unto the Kinges Grace by thEmperours folkes at Rome, that it hathe commen unto the common knowlaige and reaport in mens mouthes there, what resolucion thEmperour, as it was sayde, had taken, whither the Duke of Burbon shuld prosperre, or have adverse or meane chaunce; insomoche as copies of writinges have ben sent hither, wherein the said three chaunces hathe ben divided, and divices therin mencyoned of that, whiche, as the brute was, thEmperour intended to have don in every of the same chaunces; amonges whiche one is that, every waye, thEmperour intendeth to discharge Hymself of his indempnite towardes the Kinges Grace, by transporting the same to be borne upon the Duchy of Mylain; though the Kinges Grace and I have no ferme credence unto those reaportes. But surely it may well be perceyved, that thEmperours folkes at Rome, either for lak of instruccion or otherwise, have not herin handled theym selfes to the comprobacion of thEmperours mynde, in having due and convenient respect unto the Kinges Highnes, by whose meanes

meanes the Emperours affaires be nowe in suche good trayn as they be. For, albeit it were doubteles most to thEmperours benefite to knyt up and conclude a trieux, rebus stantibus sicut nunc stant, not oonly for 4 or 5 yeres, but perpetually, if it might be had; yet ye may wel knowe ther can be nothing more to the hindrance of the Kinges affaire, Who hathe spent so great treasour in thise werres, besides the losse of his pencyons and paymentes oute of Fraunce, wherof by his indempnite His Grace is hitherto sklenderly and nothing recompenced and paied, than to come to any long trieux, or also other truce for a smale tyme, onles than first ther be an apparance and towardnes, that within the same smale tyme finall peax may ensue.

Over and besides this, at the commyng of Sir Richard Jernyngham unto the Lady Margaret, albeit she shewed her self of good will and conformyte to put in redines the said nomber of 1000 fotemen and 3000 horsemen, for thEmperours partye, and to further the residue of the Kinges desires towchyng enterteynement of launceknyghtes, provisions of cariages, lymoners, and other requisites, at the Kinges charges; yet neverthelas there were suche other difficulties immyxt therwith, that ther is smale hope or apparance of any frute or good effect to ensue in that behalve. For first, it can not be seen ne perceyved by any maner meanes or waies, howe money may be furnished for contynuance of thEmperours said nomber for any season convenient; besides that, in the said provisions to be made for the Kinges Highnes, they have holden every thing at so high excessyve and unreasonable prises, making also suche difficulte in the having of some thinges in due tyme concernyng the same, that it semed in maner an including of an impossibilite, and rather a meane to provoke the Kinges Grace to withdrawe his said provisions, than otherwise.

Furthermore, wher the Kinges Highnes had taken order with the Duke of Burbon, that the Kinges said armye, whiche is intended to be of a convenient good and sufficient puissance bothe of horsemen and fotemen, to be sent oute of England, shulde passe by suche waies, and into suche countreys, as they might do best sted unto the said Duke, and therin to folowe his avice and counsail, desiring hym therfore to sende in all diligence to the same armye 2 3 or moo expert sadd and discrete gentilmen of his, borne in thise partes of the realme of Fraunce, whiche not only knewe his intelligences and frendes there, but also the strength or debilite of the countrey, to conduyte avice and adresse the Kinges Lieutenant, whiche way, or under what forme, he shuld best procede, and howe the armye might best be vitailled after thair entre into Fraunce. For whiche cause an article pourposed by the said Sir Richard Jernyngham was to desire, that, in avoiding the questyons that myght

be moeved by thEmperours folkes of the way whiche they shuld take, by reason wherof ther might be contrariete in opynyons, and not oonly thenterprises tracted and disapointed, as was the last yere, but also percace the waies, thought good by the Duke of Burbon, by thEmperours said folkes refused; there might therfore a direccion be taken that, inasmoche as the Kinges Grace shulde be from tyme to tyme ascertayned from the Duke of Burbon of the premisses, suche waye shulde be observed and folowed, as the Kinges Lieutenant, advertised therof from the Kinges Highnes, shuld name and appoynt. The said article coude in no wise be agred unto, but refusall made by the Counte of Buren, saying expressly that he, being thEmperours Lieutenant, woulde not be ordred therin, but as shuld be thought good by mutuel consent, whan they were in the feld; accompting that, if he shulde do otherwise, it might sounde to his masters dishonour. And though it was alleged that, inasmoche as the Kinges Highnes is mynded to send a right good and great armye oute of England, besides those that shuld be reteyned by Sir Richard Jernyngham at the Kinges charges and as parcell of the Kinges armye, unto whom the said smale number of 1000 fotemen and 3000 horsemen were to be accompted but as an aide and assistence, and that also thair procedinges shulde be into Fraunce, whiche the Kinges Highnes cleameth to be his veray enheritance and patrymonye, wher al summonances proclamations deditions and other actes owght to passe only in the Kinges name, as King of Fraunce; wherunto thEmperour hathe no maner pretence title or clayme; remembring also that the said Countie de Buren shuld in this cace be but only the Emperours Lieutenant or Capitain Generall of the said assistence, the honour and dignitie of his master coude therfore in no wise hereby be prejudiced: yet neverthelas all wolde not serve, but that they persist still in deliberation to take suche waye as for the tyme shall, by common consent, be divised and agreed; whiche may well be knowen shal of likelihode do great hinderance to thair enterprise, considering howe they have ben accustumed alwaies to passe by the confynes of thair oune countreys, and no further to entre into thenemyes landes, but as they may at all seasons, within one day or litle more, retourne home at thair pleasure.

Thise thinges on this side, added to the said disapointment of the Duke of Burbon with men and money on thother side, and the proceding of thEmperours Agentes in Rome, regarding only his benefite avantage and commodite, without respect to his frendes, can not, as ye may wel knowe, be unto the Kinges satisfaction and contentacion, but do cause His Grace greatly to mervaile that his derest nephieu the Emperour, unto whom the Kinges Highnes, to his inestymable losse and charge, hathe ben and is so glad to do all

all the good and furtherance possible, shuld no better loke unto the present affaires, and have due consideracion unto the Kinges merites gratuite and kindnes; thexample wherof may percace be occasion that other Princes shall not so moche esteme thEmperours amitie and promise, as the Kinges Highnes hathe done and dothe, but might be meane that He shulde amyt a greate parte of his credyte and estymacion with the same Princes. Wherfore, after the Kinges most cordiall and my most humble recommendations made unto thEmperour, and declaracion unto Hym of the premisses, ye shal on the Kinges behalve instantely require His Majeste substancially to regarde pondre and loke unto thise matiers, and so to order his doinges at this tyme, that the Kinges Highnes may ones certainly knowe howe to trust unto suche thinges as be promised on thEmperours partye, and the matiers no lenger to depende in undoubtfulnes as they have done. For first, it well appereth, aswell by suche advertisementes as come from Rome as by other diverse waies, that the Frenche King, Who doubteles hathe not been so ernestly preced, as He shuld have ben, if the said Duke of Burbon had ben furnished according to all promises, is yet of a veray high obstinate and perverse intencion and mynde, ferre from any towardnes to offre reasonable and honorable condicions of peax; but rather studyeth and maketh his avaunte, that He wol geve bataile unto the Duke of Burbon, and therupon passe in Person into the Duchy of Mylayn for recovery of the same: wherin thowgh ther is litle apparance that He shalbe able so to passe into Mylayn, yet the long tracte of the Duke of Burbon for default of money and lak of the horsemen ordinary of Naples and fotemen, whiche long a goo shuld have ben sent unto hym by the Vice Roy of Naples, hathe geven the Frenche King suche a tyme to gadre his power, that nowe He is of corage thus highly to speke; wheras, if all thinges had been well accompleshed on the Emperours partye and by his folkes, percace the said Frenche King wolde by this tyme have spoken of an other toyne. Howebeit, taking every thing as it is, waies and meanes be to be divised, howe errours and defaultes passed may be resarced and supplyed, and the best and most politique waies taken, howe the said common enemye may be brought to an other conformyte. Wherin the successes of the Duke of Burbon must be abiden and experimented; who writeth that, if he may be effectuelly assisted, he trusteth so to employe hym self, as the Kinges Grace and thEmperour shal have cause to be contented. For whiche cause, considering that the Kinges Highnes is determyned to sende his armye on this side, after the maner and forme bifore specified, in whiche case, by the last capitulacion made here touching those matiers, thEmperour is bounden to beire the hole charges of the said Dukes armye, and the King to be at no further contribucion therin after

after the avauncement of his said armye; expedient it is that thEmperour geve sure and substanciall ordre to the sufficient furniture of the said Duke of Burbon and that armye with money: for lake wherof, not oonly he shalbe compelled to desist from any further proceding against thenemye, and his enterprise totally disapointed, but also the Kinges armye, being than in Fraunce, without any other assistence than thEmperours said nomber to be prepared by the Lady Margaret, shuld be in extreme perill and daungier, to thEmperours and the Kinges great dammage and dishonour, the utter ruyn and distruccion of the said Duke of Burbon, and to the great corage and comfort of the common enemye; wheras, if the Duke of Burbon be well furnished and entertayned, either it is like that, passing the ryver of Roan, his intelligences and frendes in Fraunce shall declare theym selfes, by whose assistence he shal the more facilly entre the bowelles and hert of Fraunce, orelles he, once passed the said ryver, the Frenche King shalbe compelled to geve him bataile; in whiche cace, the Duke of Burbon being victour, the matier, God willing, may sone be determyned; and the Frenche King being superiour in the felde, the same can not be but with a cruent and blody hand, to his great debilitacion and enfeblishement, orelles fynally the same Frenche King, refusing the bataile, shal fynde non other waies and meanes to resist the said Duke, but suche as shalbe to his oun reproche, excessive charge, and notable detryment; whiche shalbe the waye to cause Hym to come more roundely to overtures of peax, than He yet dothe. And if it shuld so fortune that the Duke of Burbon shuld not be able to passe the said river of Roan, but shuld by the Frenche King be interrupted from the same, and yet no bataile to be striken bitwene theym, ne a good ende put to the common affaires at this tyme by conclusion of peax; in that cace expedient it is to divise, howe the said Duke of Burbon, by common contribution, may be enterteynned this wynter, and howe his armye shalbe ordred and garnisons kept, with as litle charge as may be, til suche tyme as, at the season appointed at the beginning of the next somer, the Kinges Highnes and thEmperour may make thair mayn and personall invasion, according to the treatye passed in that behalf. For the whiche, ye may say unto thEmperour, the Kinges Grace undoubtedly maketh all requisite preparations, intending assuredly, if before that non honorable waye or evident towardnes of peax to be taken, to performe his promyse and convencion therin: trusting fermely that thEmperour, like a vertuous constant and just Prince, wol do the semblable. Wherfore that matier is to be forseen and regarded in tyme; elles, thenemye by non other meanes browght to due conformyte, all the charges whiche have ben susteyned in the annoyance of hym hitherto were frustrate and in vayn. And in this matier, whatsoever answer or promise thEmperour

thEmperour shal make unto you towching his determynacion to observe his treatie therin, ye shal substancially note and understonde, what apparance ye may fynde that He shalbe able therunto; ellis, if the Kinges Highnes, trusting to suche promise, shulde make preparations for the said personall invasion, and in thende thEmperour, for lak of furniture, shuld not be able to concurre with His Grace according to theffect of the said treatye, it were no smale dammage and daungier to all the Kinges affaires. And for that cause ye had nede to be playne with thEmperour in that matier, desiring and praying Hym that, like a most loving brother son and good neipheu, He woll sincerely proceede with the Kinges Grace herin, whom He may and shulde of good congruence make as pryvey as any man of all his secretes in this behalve, to thentent that, the trowthe knowne, thinges may be ordred as they may be, and nothing begonne or attempted whiche can not be duely accheved and performed. In all whiche matiers the Kinges Highnes thinketh long to here the avice and opynyon of the said Emperour, and what is his intent to do towching the common affaires, wherein the Kinges Grace trusteth that his said derest broder son and good nephieu wol have better respect unto the Kinges gratuyties, than yet hath been shewed; so as, if His Majeste shuld not sufficiently be furnished, to concurre with His Grace for recovery of some notable thinges belonging to the Kinges partie, like as the Kinges Highnes hathe hitherto employed all his actes in thise warres to the said Emperours only benefite, ther may than be some other consideracion had for conducing of a more egalite than yet is; for thEmperour, by the Kinges helpe and meanes, hathe in maner attayned asmoche or more than He desired or loked for, and nothing hathe yet ben done of importance, whiche may sounde to the Kinges benefite, but al thenterprises divised and set forthe by the Emperour be upon groundes and foundations whiche shal redounde to his profite; wherunto the Kinges Highnes, like a most loving brother fader and good uncle, hath alwaies condescended. And therfore to thinke that the Kinges Grace shuld nowe be contented to ende or ceace thise warres, having nothing but his indempnite, whiche, consigned over upon the Duchy of Mylayn, were as ferre or further from apparance of good payment, than it nowe is, and that His Grace shuld have no recompence for the great charges and treasure consumed and spent in thise werres for thEmperours sake, were neither reasonable ne honerable. Ye shal therfore with al effect exhorte and require thEmperour to declare unto the Kinges Grace, playnely and lovingly, his mynde and intent in the premisses, and whereunto His Highnes may assurydly trust, wherin no delaye or tract of tyme is to be used, but every thing provided and ordred on bothe parties, by mutuel knowlaige either of others myndes, as may be to the

the weale and furtherance of the common causes and affaires; and in the meane season nothing to be pretermitted that may conferre therunto, but aswel the enterprise of the Duke of Burbon to be substancially maynteyned and folowed, as the cace shal require, as also order to be geven by thEmperour for money and all other requisites, bothe on this side and in other places, as shal aperteyn.

Over this ye shall shewe unto thEmperour that John Joachym[1], sent a good season passed unto me by the Frenche Kinges mother, remayneth as yet here, with whome surely I have had diverse conferences and communications to here what overtures shuld be made concernyng the good of peax; but fynally though he receyve diverse tymes letters oute of Fraunce, replenished with bragges and newes sounding to thair avantage, and shewing also that the said Frenche Kinges moder is veray desyrous to procure and labour the waies and meanes of peax; yet nevertheles I assure you he wolde never come unto any perticuler overtures with me, but kepith hym self in suche generalities, with colorable tracting of the tyme, that I veraily do thinke he was sent rather to be here for exploracion and espial of secretes, than otherwise. Wherupon I have ben rounde and playn with hym, geving hym a final resolucion, that yf in veray good diligence ther be not matier of more specialite and effect moved unto me, upon the whiche may be apparance of some good conclusion of peax to be taken on all parties, I woll not faile to depeche and remyt hym whome. And this was the last communication that I had with hym; whiche delaye and tracte of tyme hathe ben the cause that I have ben the lenger, or I wrote unto you; supposing daily to have had some knowlaige by the said John Jachym of the Frenche Kinges or his mothers mynde, whiche I might have writen unto you, to be shewed and declared to the said Emperour. And therfore, if the Frenchemen, by colour of the said John Joachyms being here, shal nowe avaunte, or make other reaport than is aforesaid, like as here he speketh inogh of overtures and offres made to his master for mariage and diverse other matiers, wherunto the Kinges Grace geveth no credence, ye may assure thEmperour and all other, that this is the trouthe, and that nothing shalbe done here, but that thEmperour alwaies shalbe made pryvey, according to the treatye passed in that behalf; like as the Kinges Grace doubteth not but that the said Emperour woll do the semblable for his

[1] There is nothing stated, either here, or in the first mention of this Envoy in Vol. IV. p. 143, or in Vol. I. p. 151, to prove, whether he is the same person, who was in May sent by the Duchess of Angoulême to Wolsey in the garb of a monk (see above, p. 305), or whether he was a distinct person, despatched after the Monk's return to France. What is said by Wolsey in his next letter to Sampson (p. 368.) leads to the latter conclusion.

partye

partye accordingly. Ascertaynyng you that the said Joachym supposeth the cause of suche retardement to have proceded by reason of some overture made of mariage bitweene the Frenche King and the Emperours suster; wherunto ye shal have special regarde. And hertily fare ye wel. At the More, the the 26th day of September.

(*Signed*) Yo^{r} lovyng frende,
T. Car^{lis} Ebor̃.

(*Superscribed*)
To my loving frende Master Richard Sampson,
Deane of the Kinges Chapel, and His Graces
Ambassadour to the Emperour.

CI. King Henry VIII. *to* Pope Clement VII.[1]

Beatissime Pater, post humillimam commendationem, et devotissima pedum oscula beatorum. Adeo singulare est Vestre Beatitudinis erga Nos studium, ut quavis innumera eademque preclarissima sui erga Nos paterni affectus indicia semper extiterint, nullum tamen de Nobis optime merendi modum sibi esse velit id quod reverendus Dominus Bathoniensis, noster istic Orator, quibusque suis litteris haud ignorare Nos patitur; uberrime namque perscribit, quam gratus carusque ipse Vestre Beatitudini sit, quantaque aviditate omnem illa de Nobis sermonem amplectatur, summa cordis sinceritate et promptitudine cuncta effectura, que vel Nobis grata esse, vel rebus nostris perspicit ullo modo expedire. Istam profecto egregiam voluntatem non in fluxibilibus momentaneisque duntaxat rebus, verumetiam in hijs, in quibus de æterna gloria nostraque anime salute imprimis agitur, accurate a Vestra Sanctitate prestari, novissimum ejus ad Nos Breve lucidissime testatur, in quo Nobis serenissimeque consorti nostre devotionis gratiam peregre proficiscentibus plenariam remissionem benignissime elargitur. Ob istam itaque immensam liberalitatem paremque amatissimi pectoris significationem Sanctitati Vestre quam maximas possumus gratias agimus, quibus ulla ex parte referendis, licet

[1] Copy from the Vatican. On the same day Henry wrote another letter to His Holiness, returning thanks for his present of a consecrated golden rose of inestimable virtue; and on the 21st of October Wolsey wrote on the same subject to the Pope. Both these letters are also among the Vatican Papers. A similar present was made to Henry by Pope Julius the Second, whose letter, dated the 5th of April 1510, to Archbishop Warham, accompanying it, is printed by Burnet, Vol. I. Collections, p. 5,

vires nostras imparas esse cognoscamus, eas tamen filiali animo concordo, concordatissimoque studio in omne tempus adaquare conabimur.

Nobis preterea retulit noster omnium intimus fidelissimusque Consiliarius reverendissimus Dominus Eboracensis, quam ex animo Vestra Sanctitas suam Legationem indies decentius liberaliusque adaugeat, nilque prorsus omittat, quod ad eum exornandum spectare extimaverit, in tanteque propensionis haud obscurum argumentum facultatem quedam supprimendi monasteria, eaque Collegio, quod prestantissimis dicatum studijs nunc extruit Oxonie, auctoritate apostolica advectendi concessit: que Vestre Sanctitatis beneficentia, quoniam in commune bonarum disciplinarum commodum et augmentum haud dubie cessura est, non nisi summopere grata et accepta Nobis contigit; eoque nomine Vestre Beatitudini Nos plurimum debere fatemur, vehementissimeque letamur ab ipsa quoque virum hunc, quem a consilijs cogitationibusque nostris primarium, (unice Nobis amandum delegimus) pari benignitate et amore complecti, ex cujus incremento Nobis totique nostro Regno splendoris glorie decorisque quam multum semper accedi judicamus. Quecumque igitur beneficia seu dignitatem Vestra Sanctitas in eum contulerit, non alio animo quam si in Nos extaret collata, accipiemus. Cetera porro, que gravissimi momenti impresentia occurrunt, ad eundem nostrum Oratorem Vestre Sanctitati nostro nomini sigillatim exponenda perscribimus; eam idcirco summopere rogamus, ut ipsam fidem, quam loquentibus Nobis haberet, illi prestare dignetur. Et felicissime ac diutissime valeat. Ex Regia nostra apud Anteyll, die 10 Octobris, 1524.

Excellentissime Vestre Sanctitatis
devotissimus atque obsequentissimus filius,
Dei Gratia, Rex Anglie et Francie, Fidei Defensor,
ac Dominus Hiberniæ,

(*Superscribitur*) HENRICUS.
Sanctissimo Clementissimoque
Domino nostro Pape.

CII. CLERK *to* WOLSEY.[1]

AFTER my most humble recomendations. Please it Your Grace to understond that the 8th daye of this moneth the Popis Ho[*lyness*] and dyvers other had

[1] From the Museum, Vitellius, B. VI. leaf 208, slightly burnt at the edges.

assuryd

assuryd tydinges of the departure of o[*ure*] campe from the siege of Marsilia, and that under this forme. The 24th day of the last moneth they made the batterye with all the gonnys they had meet for that purpose, and beet down asmoche of the wall as 10 men myght passe thorough at onys, and wer myndyd to have made a nother batterye the next daye after, and so to have gevyn batayle to the same; butt the chief of ther gonnys at the first batterye wer broken, and besides that they sawe and understode, by spies, that ther was suche diches trenchis contremeurs bulwarkes and other repares made within the wall, that it was not possible for thaym to gyve bataill without losse of infynite n[*omber*] of men. Wherupon they had a counsaill, wherin they concludyd that in nowise they shold attempt to gyve the saide bataill by cause of the dangier might ensue therby, the Frenche King beyng so nygh at hand with so great an army; and so concludyd to departe thens, and to withdrawe thaym this wynter. And so the 27ti daye of the same moneth prively by nyght shippyd ther artillarye, and sent it to a p[*lace*] called Monacho in Savoye, and from thens to Jean, and the same daye levyed ther campe, and the same first daye made 20 Englishe mylis, never restyng daye tyll they cam to Nyce in Savoye, and that thorowgh the mountaignes, a nother [*waye*] then they went out, veray harde narowe and sharpe. If [*they*] had made as good speed outwardes, as they have made hom[*ewardes*], they myght have been at Calais long afore this tyme. It [*is of*] trouthe that the Duke of Burbon would gladly have pursued the enterprise, and attemptyd bataill with the Frenche; butt the captaynes and souldiars, whiche ware nott payde, wold in nowise consent therunto, and therupon began to mutyn, and fownd cavillations, and said that the French King neaded not to strike bataill, but if He wold; and that they ware assuryd that He wold stryke noon, but wery and tyre thaym for this wynter, tyll vitaill and monaye shold faile thaym, to ther distruction: and so, as I said, they be come to Nisse in Savoye, and have left Provence clerely, wythowt furnysshyng of eyther town or castell by thaym hertofore takyn in the same. What they intend to do farther, and where they woll wynter, as yett here is no knowlaige.

The same daye that we had thies tydinges, arryved here Master Russell[1], sent from Master Secretarye for soche monay as was sent up by the Torche-

[1] Russell wrote to Wolsey on the 10th, announcing his arrival at Rome, and that on hearing of the events which had taken place in Provence during his journey to Rome, he would not take charge of the money which Weston, the Turcopolier, had brought, but left it in his hands, until he should receive further directions from England. Vitellius, B. VI. leaf 211.

 ployer,

ployer, who is arryved this last week at a citie callyd Viterbia, heer within 40 mylis of Rome, where lieth the Great Master of the Rhodis, and the heedis of that religion. I have advised Master Russell in no wise (the matters stonding as they do) to carry the said monay into the campe, unto suche tyme as he shall knowe your Graces further pleasure; shewing unto hym that the Kinges Highnes by treatye is not bounde to contribution no lengar then the armye shalbe within Fraunce. For a suertye the Emperour is behynde of a large some of mony, whiche if it had been there in season, doubtles they shold not have neadyd to have played this pranke, and so sone totally to have forsakyn the entreprise. Of soche monaye as is due by the Emperour, as yet here is noon apparance. I thynke they wolde be glad to have the Kinges monay to stoppe the souldiars mowthes; but me thynkith it is no reason that the Kinges Highnes shold still paye redy monay in hande, and the Emperour moche parte only in worde and promesse; so that the souldiars, beyng not hoolly payed, cannott do ther dutye accordingly. If the Emperours monaye ded come hoolly toghether, as the Kynges Highnessis doith, doubtles they shold have had no cause to complayne.

I have ben sithens also with the Popis Holynes, and after rehersall of the successis of our campe, moche conformable to that that I have now written unto your Grace, His Holynes shewyd me that He had letters from thArchebushop of the 28^{ti} of the last monyth, wherin he wrytith largely of the Frenche Kynges many prowde wordes, hav[*ing*] then a puysant armye, as he said, at all poyntes furnysshed to marshe forwardes agaynst his ennemyes, as He said He wold do, as He trustyd, to his great honour and ther distruction, and that it ded not stond now with his honour to herkyn neyther to peax ne treux, beyng so provokyd and assailyd within his own realme, and of that habilitie to be advengyd. Notwithstanding, after many wordes, and moche intercession made by the said Archebusshop on the Popis behalf, the said Frenche King, for all his great bostis, was contentyd that the said Archebusshop shold goo to our armye, and move some reasonnable conditions of ther departure out of Provence. Notwithstanding, the said Archebusshop writith that the noyse was there then begon, that our armye wold leve the siege of Marsilia. His Holynes saith that He hath nothing ellis from the Archebusshop, but that he shold have gone to our campe to the in[*tente*] above written. His Holynes said that, if our campe had tar[*ried*] thArchebusshoppis commyng, ther myght have been some tr[*eatie*] made, and that it shold have been more for ther hono[*urs to*] have departyd by the waye of treatye, or at the Popys instance, as He saith, then to have departyd

on

on this fass[*hion*]. At Master Russelles departyng they ware almost in disp[*aire*] of the getting of Marsilia[1], but for all that they wer m[*inded*] to contynue still in Provence; and surely, if they had fo[*unde*] that they shold in conclusion have been fayne to departe [*and*] to geve up the entreprise, they myght have sent us wo[*rde*] hether, that we myght somwhat have sett forwardes a treatye of treux. And I am sure Master Secretarye hath written unto me therin, but his letters by all lykelyhod hath been interceptyd. Notwithstonding, if his letters had [*come*] to me, I cowd nothyng have concludyd in the matter of treux; for your Grace knoweth well ynough that myne instructions by your Graces last letters doth requyre, amongst other, 2 thynges principally, before I can consent to any maner of treux; the one is, the totall ruyne of the Duke of Burbons entreprise, wherof we have nowe tomoche certayntie, the other is the knowlaige of successis of suche practises as be betwene your Grace and the Frenche King for the Kinges Highnessis particular matters: wherin I do looke dayly to knowe your Graces pleasure.

The Popis Holynes shewyd me, that He did ever forsee that in conclusion it was veray likely that this entreprise shold quayle, and that therfor, whils our armye was galiard in apparance, He thought it best to fall in communycation with the Frenche King for treux or peax; for He doubtyd evyr lest it shold not contynue. And, as towching the matters as they now stonde, His Holynes in effect made this discorse with me. First, as towching the Frenche Kinges commyng into Italye, He said that the Frenche King had his men of armys at his charges ordynarye and litle above, his fotemen wer payed for 3 monethis, for the Sweces and the lance knightes wold not elles have done Hym service; so that His Holynes concludyd that the Frenche King, having made thies preparations, whiche all redy He hath made, may with a litle more well ynough mayntayne the warris for 3 monethes more. Notwithstonding, His Holynes said, that He knewe not resolutly whether the said French King wold come in Italye or no, bycause of the wynter. Howbeit, His Holynes said, if He be utterly determynyd to come this wynter, then ther is no speking to Hym of treux; if He come not, yet, bycause He hath

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[1] Russell's words are, "Whan I came thidder" [to Rome] "tidinges was come that the army "in Provence was dessolved, whereof I merveylyd moche, and wold not beleve the same to be "trew, til the Popes Holynes shewed it me. The day before my departure from the said camp, "which was the 19th day of September, they concluded in counsail, and fully determyned, to do "ther bestes to take Mersilia, and in case thei could not shortly optayne the same, that then "thei wold levy the camp, and merche towardes the Frenche army, and against them to strike "battail, yf thei wold abide." Vitellius, B. VI. leaf 211.

made

made all the charges necessarye, He will peraventure not dissolve his armye, to the intent He will cause other men to lyve in fear, and to spende also monay for the mayntenaunce of ther armyes. Notwithstonding, His Holynes said, that it shold be good in this caas to attempt this treux, specially some shorte treux, to thintent that by that we myght come to a lengar, saying that He was not all out of hope, butt that the Frenche King wold condescende unto the same, for the Frenche King had nowe sent up a new comyssion for that purpose at His Holynessis instance, nowe made by the Archebusshop; for in veray dead the commyssion, whiche was here before, was so lymytyd and restrayned, that ther Orator here, in whom they have no great trust, durst not for his own honour shewe it. I shewyd unto His Holynes that as towching a shorte treux only to the begynnyng of the next yere, it shold be nothyng beneficiall, specially to the Kinges Grace, Who for this wynter was in as good caas all redy, as [*any*] treux cowd sett Hym. His Holynes answered me, tha[*t if*] ther war a treux made, this armye now come out of Provence myght be mynysshed, the charges wherof [*wold*] be hard to be borne otherwise; besides that, as the Kinges Highnes shall not greatly be in moche bettar caas, than He is in all redye, by any treux to be taken for this wy[*nter*], so shall His Highnes be in never the worse caas, by any suche treux; and this short treux myght be a meane to come to a lengar, wherby His Highnes shold be bettard: [*and*] willyd me to wryte unto your Grace his mynde in this mater, and furthermore to assure your Grace on his behalf, that [*He*] yet never thought to attempt, ne never will attempt, eyther treux or peax, but suche as shalbe thought reso[*nable*] by the Kinges Highnes and your Grace. As farr as I [*can*] perceyve, the Frenche King coude be contentyd to have [*had a*] shorte treux; whiche He wold not, hopyd He nott of [*one*] lengar therby.

Bycause the commyng of the Kinges m[*onay*], and the being therof at Viterbia, is not unknowen, [*I*] thought it good to shewe the Popis Holynes therof, [*lest*] He shold noote some diffidence; and His Holynes answered me merely with a great laughter, that He wold arest [*it*], and take it for his own neades, by cause it was within [*his*] territorye. I answeryd His Holynes merely and in sp[*irit*] agayne, that His Holynes myght use the Kinges goodes as his own. And after that I demaundyd of His Holynes counsaill in ernest, whether we shold sende the same monaye to the campe, or no; and His Holynes answeryd me agayn in ernest, that it was best to forbeare the sendyng therof thither, tyll we hard more: notwithstonding His Holynes said He wold not be a knowen to geve that counsaill. His Holynes also said that the Frenche faction here knewe of the beyng here of this monaye,

monaye, and that He had shewyd thaym that it was one C mil ducattes, and willyd me to saye the same; affirmyng that, whan the Frenche King shall here of soche a some of monaye to be here all redye, to be spent agaynst Hym for the defence of Italye, He will be the lother to sett forwardes his armye in to Italye. As towching the not sending forth the monay, I have advisyd Master Russell to folowe the Popis counsaill. As for namyng of the monay to be more then it is, me thynketh it best not so to do, for in my pore opynyon it is bettar for the Kinges particular affayres, that the Frenche King shold not deponere omnino animum to have Mylan agayn, immo that He shold for a season imbesy Hymself, and sett forwardes for the recoverye of the same, and spende and waste mony and consume Hymself, rather then to lye at home and save. I shewyd also the Popis Holynes, that the Kinges Highnes had preparyd an armye to have sent over now into Fraunce, intending therby to have holpyn the armye in Provence, and to have been holpen by the same; and that nowe, seyng that by the departure of this army out of Provence neyther of the effectes cowde ensue, I thought that the King wold chaunge his mynde in sending of the said armye; and His Holynes said that He thought the same. Thus the Almyghty God preserve Your Grace. From Rome, the 10th daye of Octobre.[1]

(*Signed*) Your Grace is most humbyll Chapleyn,
Jo. Clerk.

CIII. Clerk *to* Wolsey.[2]

After my most humble recommendation. It may like your Grace to understande that, at the Dataries[3] departing hens, wherof I wrotte unto your Grace

[1] On the 8th of October, Bourbon wrote to Wolsey, that he had been obliged to retire out of Provence, as he would be amply advertised, as well by the Ambassador, as by "le Chevalier "Gregoire," whom he had dispatched to know the pleasure of the King and his Grace. His letter is dated from Nice. (Vitellius, B. VI. leaf 204 b.) Pace, who is the Ambassador here alluded to, in a letter to Wolsey from Brescia (ibid. 215) on the 22d of October, refers to his previous information sent by Sir Gregory da Casale; so that it is probable the greater portion of the details of the retreat of the Duke of Bourbon out of France was communicated verbally to the English government by Casale. There are copies of letters from La Noy to the Emperor and the Archduchess Margaret, of the 8th and 28th of October and the 13th of November, which detail the further movements of the various parties. (Ibid. 206. 220. 226).

[2] From the British Museum, Vitellius, B. VI. leaf 228. It is slightly burnt at the edge.

[3] John Matthew Giberto, Bishop of Verona, who is before mentioned, p. 325.

in

in my last letters[1], the affaires of My[*lan*] and of thEmperours armye ther were very doubtfull; in so [*moch*] that it was thought then, that the said Datary[2] shold [*have*] been veray welcome unto the Viceroye, and soche other as had the rewle there of thois matters, as a personage veray [*mete*] to have gone betwen thaym and the Frenche King, to h[*ave*] been meanys for some treux, which was then thought to thEmperours affaires veray necessarye. Notwithstanding, si[*thens*] the said Viceroye and the other have made suche good p[*rovi*]sion, that the said Datarye, at his arryvall there, fownd thaym nothing afferd of ther matters, ne wold in no w[*ise*] that the said Datarye shold entre any communycation, or make any maner of meanys betwen thaym and the Frenche King, pretending thaym selfes to be strong ynough to de[*fende*] suche cities as they had takyn upon thaym to defende this wynter, and that they had sent for 6 or 7 thousand Almayns, and that besides thaym they lokyd howrely [*for*] 4 thousand Almayns and 5 thousand Spanyardes, whiche sh[*old*] come out of Spayne. And so thei concludyd with the said Da[*tarye*] that they wold no maner of treux, onles the Frenche King wold surrendre the citie of Mylan, and departe out of the Duchie of Milan: and, this resolution takin with the Viceroye and other at Cremona, the said Datarye departed towardes the Frenche King, goyng by the citie of Lody, [*where*] lieth the Marquys of Piskare with a garnyson for the d[*efence*] of that town. And the said Datarye there beyng, they [*had*] advises, as the said Datarye wrote hether by Sp , , that Mons[r] de Longa Villa was slayne with a gonne, be[*fore*] any assaulte made to the town of Pavia, and how that the Frenche King had bettyn the town of Pavia[3] in 4 places, veray sore, and thereupon had made assaulte with his

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[1] These do not appear to be extant.

[2] On the 9th of November Pace, from Mantua, wrote to Wolsey, that "the 6th day of this "instant monythe the Popys Datary past the citie of Bonony, sent by His Holinesse in to "thEmperours and French Kinges fyeldys: but what he had to do, or to treate there, I have noo "certayne knowlege. It is thought, by conjecture, that he is sent to treate upon sum trieux or "abstinence of warr for a season." (Vitellius, B. VI. leaf 224).

[3] In the same volume, leaves 223 to 232, are several letters between the 2d and the 19th of November, from Pace at Mantua, detailing the operations of the French King before Pavia. On the 2d, he writes, "the Frenche King hathe sent an heralde unto the citie of Pavia, and demaunded "the same of the Captaynes deputed to the custody therof, namydde the Signor Antony de Leva, "Spanyard, and the Counte of Sorne, an Almayn." On the 6th, "The Frenche King beganne "to beate the citie of Pavia in thre places the same day: all his prosperitie and adversitie of the "warres now by Him begunne in these parties doethe hang in the taking and fayling of that "citie." On the 19th, Pace gives the following particulars of two assaults made on the city by the French King: "On the 7th of this instant monythe the seyd King concludyd with all his "capitayns to geve oon assaulte to the seid citie in a maner sumwhat lyght and feble, for to "prove

his hole armye galiardely, and how that they of the town had valiantly defendyd themselfes, and repellyd the Frenchemen, and slayne of thaym to the nombre of 2000, and among thaym the King of Navarra and dyvers other personaiges. Item that the night before, the Marquys of Pyskare with a good nombre of men issued out of Lodye, and in a castell callyd Melzo fownde 400 horsis and a good nombre of fotemen, whom they slewe and toke, every one of thaym, with ther capitayns, being of the chief of the howse of Trivulcijs; whiche is one of the chief famylies in the Duchie of Milan, but it is of the Frenche faction. This wrotte the Datarye from Lodye the 9th of this monyth, sayeng that he was in departyng towardis the Frenche King, and that he tarryed for a trompett, who shold come for to conducte hym. And the next daye after the receipt of thies letters from the Datarye, ther came other letters also from hym to the Popis Holynes, wherin he writith of his honorable entretaynement with the Frenche King, magnifieng the same in the hiest maner, and

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" prove howe and with what corage the Almaynes and Spanyardys, being within, wolde defende " themselfes; and this conclusion soo takyn, was put effectuelly in execucion, and the seyde " Almaynys and Spanyardys, perceving the lyght cummyng of the Frenchemen, didde defende " them selves in lyke maner very soberly; in somuche they shott noo great peace of artyllery, " but usydde alonly for theyr defence handgunnes, and with those put back and slew their " ennemyes as they advauncyd themselfes; and thus that assault was finisshed for that day. The " same nyght the seyd King concludyd an other assaulte to be gevyn the day folowing, in the " strongest maner and fyresiste maner that could be usydde, in foure places of the seyd citie, " supposinge (as He sayde) that the foreseyd Almaynys and Spanyardes wolde defende themselfes " as slakkely as they had done the day before; and the seyd King, to put them in hope that He " wolde not assaulte the towne that day, and to make them sumwhat negligent by that crafte, " differryd his assaulte tyl 10 of the clokke in the morenyng, at whiche tyme He sett upon the " seid citie in the moost fyersiste maner that He coulde devise, as is affore expressed, not only " setting forward his men, but also reinforsing the same asmoche as was thought necessary. The " seyd Almaynys and Spanyardes, perceving thys, defendyd themselfes as fiersly, and with all " the craftys and advauntagys they could use, nevyr shoting great peace of artillary, unto suche " tyme the exstreme forse of the Frenchemen came uppon them, and then sodaynely discharged " all the great artillary they hadde, at oon tyme, wherof they hadde great plentye; and within " the space of oone halfe houre at the fardest slew two thowsand men, emonges whom was " woundyd to dethe, as the seid gentilman reaportythe, Monsr de la Palyza; and the Duke of " Longa Villa was slayne with a peace of artillary, not at the seyd assaulte, but two dayes affore " at the brydge of the seyd citie, whiche he went about to take. The hole nombre of those that " were slayne at the seid assaulte (whiche contynued from 10 of the clokke in the morenyng " till 4 at after none), as I perceve by sundry letters, was above thre thousand fotemen and foure " hundrethe gentilmen; over and above the overthrowe, whiche the seyd King hadde at the towne " of Melze by the Marquyse of Pisc[*arye*], wherof I have advertisydde your Grace lately by the " Duke of Bourbons letters in myne inclosydde. The two Capytaynes, whiche were takyn by the " seid Marquyse, vizt the Counte Jerome Tryvulce, and the Counte John Ferme, arr of great " importance, for they arr grete men, and of the cheif auctours whiche moevyd the seyd King " to make this busynesse in Italy." It was subsequently reported to Pace that Monsr de la Palyza was not wounded to death, but that Monsr Egremount was slain in his stead.

saith that he fownde the Emperialles nothing disposyd to here of any treux; but nothing so farre from thatt purpose as the Frenche King, Who, he saith, makith his reconnyng upon an assuryd victorye within shorte space; and saith that the said Frenche King will nott be aknowen of any great losse of men att the assaulte above specified, ne yett of none assaulte, saving that He dyd only attempte a small thing to se what resistence and defence shold be made. The said Datarye writeth also that the Frenche King shewyd hym that hys mother ded sende Hym 12000 fotemen and 400 men of armys more, and how that He wold dyvert the ryver of Ticino, whiche ronnyth by the citie of Pavia, and beat it on that syde, where he said it was veraye feoble, and that with trenchis, myndinges and assaultis He did putt no doubtes but that He wold have that citie shortly. And the Datarye in his said writinges settith forth and makith the Frenche matters to appere moche better than in dead they be, as many men thynke. This is assuryd and knowen by dyvers espies and other meanys, that the Frenche King hathe provyd whatt can be done to the said citie of Pavia by assaulte, and h[*owe that,*] what so ever they do reaporte, the said Frenche King [*hath*] lost many men at the assaulte alredy made, and w[*ilbe*] right well advised, or He attempt it agayne. As for [*the*] trenchis, and the dyverting of the river, whiche is [*as*] brode as the Temmys, men thinke it impossible, specially this wynter, after so great rayne as hath fallen late in thois quarters. And the Popis Holynes shewid me that ther was no doubt for the Frenche King shold [*not*] take that citie by force, if the citie ware vitaillyd, wh[*erof*] His Holynes doubtyd, sayeng that the said citie shold shortly be compellyd therby to fall to factions; for, as it is supposyd, they have scant vitaill for one moneth. The Frenche King hath also demaundyd of the Popes Holynes, passaige for 700 men of armys and 7000 fotemen, whiche, with great craakes, He saith He will sende into the realme of Naples. Wherunto His Ho[*lynes*] shewyd me, that He hath made answer, that thEmp[*erour*] hath takyn his investiture for the said realme of Na[*ples*] of the See Apostolique, and hath been in possession a l[*ong*] season, He and his predecessors, who hath had like investiture of Pope July, Leo, and Adrian; and how [*that*] He is bownde, tanquam Dominus feodi, to defende thEmperour therin. And so His Holynes shewith me that upon this grounde He hath playnly denyed the Frenche King [*the*] said passaige.[1] His Holynes longith sore

[1] On the 25th Clerk refers Wolsey to his former letter of the 19th, stating the demand of the French King for passage for 600 men of arms and 4000 footmen (which numbers, it will be observed, differ from those in the text), and then adds, that "on the 20th daye of Novembre ther "cam other letters from the Datary to the Popis Holynes, wherin was conteyned that within "2 dayes

sore to here from your Grace, and to knowe what the Kinges Highnes int[*endith*] to do this next somer concernyng His Highnessis per[*sonal*] passaige into Fraunce. His Holynes shewith me daily, [*how*] He helpith pryvely thEmperours affaires with monay, as [*moche*] as his power will extende; butt thEmperours and also [*the*] Duke of Mylans Ambassadours do complayne veray sore, and have tolde me playnly that they can gett nothyng [*from*] His Holynes, butt fayre wordes.

His Holynes also, upon suche rumors as of late hath come owt of Englond, be[*ing*] in some suspicion and fear lest my Lord Cardynal Campegius matters there with your Grace shold not come to so good effect, as the said Cardinall and many moo of long season have lokyd for, hath desiryd me to write unto your Grace, in His Holynessis name, to be good unto hym: and because the said Cardinall is and hath been ever my veray singular good Lorde, me thinketh it is my dutie to desire your Grace to be good unto hym, as farr as it may become me, in myne own name; and so in my most humble maner I beseche your Grace to be; assuryng your Grace that I do knowe no strangier lyving, bettar myndyd, ne more affectionatt to our nation, ne gladder to do the Kinges Highnes and your Grace pleasour and service, then he hath been, to the best of his power; and I do not doubt butt your Grace hath this good opynion of hym, and wyll remembre hym accordyngly.[1] Thus the Almyghty God preserve Your Grace. From Rome, this 19th daye of Novembre.

(*Signed*) Your Grace is most humbyll chapleyn,
Jo. CLERK, Priste.

" 2 dayes after shold departe towardes Naples, under the conduct of the Duke of Albanye, the " nombre of men of armys and fotemen afforesaid; and that the said Datarye, seying the " puyssance and corraige of the Frenche King so great, and that He was utterly determyned to " passe by force, if He myght not otherwise; seyng also that ther was but litle provision in " Parma and Pleasance to resist Hym; hereupon, to save all, as he said, he had written to the " governers of the cities of Parma Pleasance and Bononye, that they shold suffre thaym to " passe, and lodge thaym, and lett thaym have mete and drynke and other necessaries for ther " monay. Upon the whiche tydinges the Emperours agentes here, and all Rome, was greatly " abasshed, and went to the Popis Holynes, and so ded I also, desiryng His Holynes to loke " substancially upon this matter, and if He wold be so ingrat, that He dyd nott care for the " defence of Italy and for the Princes his confederattes, His Holynes shold at the lest wise for " his own particular interest; for it shold not be for His Holynessis and the Churchis purpose to "'have the Frenche King thus on both his sides, viz[t] at Milan and also at Naples." Vitellius, B. VI. leaf 235.

[1] On the 1st of October Campeggio wrote to Wolsey from Vienna soliciting his influence to obtain for him the Bishoprick of Salisbury. (Wolsey's Papers, Vol. II. p. 45.) There are among the Vatican Papers two letters to the Pope, one from Henry dated on the 1st of November, the other from Wolsey on the 11th, announcing the appointment of Campeggio to Salisbury, the effect of which is acknowledged in a letter from Clerk to Wolsey, post, p. 372.

CIV. WOLSEY *to* SAMPSON.

MASTER SAMPSON, I commende me unto you in my right herty maner. The last letters whiche I receyved from you wer dated at Valodilite the 18th day of September[1], wherin ye ful substancially advertise me of the state of thEmperours affaires there, to the Kinges and my ful good contentacion. Howe be it sens that tyme I depeched others unto you by suche folkes of thEmperours as then passed this way towardes Spayn, not doubting but if the same be commen safely unto your handes ye be amply instructed, aswel of the Kinges mynde and intencion concernyng trieux or peax, as also what was then thought most expedient to be done, bothe in the affaire of the Duke of Burbon this wynter, and in the personal invasion the next somer. I advertised you also of the being here of John Joachym, sent by the Frenche Kinges mother, and howe he had then made no maner special overtures of particuler conditions offred or opend on the Frenche Kinges behalf, either for the King or thEmperour, wherupon coude be grounded any towardnes or apparance that the trieux or peax, procured by the Poopes Holynes, myght take the better effect; like as in my said letters, a double wherof for the more suretie I sende unto you herewith, ye shal mowe perceyve more at large. Sens that tyme diverse alteracions and chaunges have ensued in the said affaires, as it is not to be doubted but that a good season passed ye have ben advertised. For, as I wrote unto you in my last letters, by reason that there was grete delay used, aswel in sending of the horsemen and fotemen, whiche the Viceroy of Naples was ordeyned and commaunded to sende unto the Duke of Burbon, as also in payment of suche money, as was due for the parte of theEmperours contribucion, the said Duke and his armye was so tarded and retracted, that finally the French King, Who before was unprovided and myght sodeinly have ben invaded, had leisour and tyme geven unto Him to gadre strenght and puissance, with the whiche He afterwarde passed to Avynion; and finally, the siege of Marsiles dissolved, toke his way streight in to Italy; where He nowe is, having in his handes the citie of Mylayn[2] and certein other places, as by letters receyved from Master Pace, and also from Rome and other parties, the Kinges

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[1] Vespasian, C. II. leaf 354.

[2] On the 20th of October the Governor forsook the city of Milan on account of the sickness then raging, and the approach of the French; and on the 30th Francis entered it. Vitellius, B. VI. leaf 215.

Highnes

Highnes is certeinly advertised. Whiche thing was ferre from apparance to have chaunced or succeded, if thEmperour, ensuyng suche convencion and promyse as was taken and made in that behalf, had geven assured and substanciall ordre to his causes and matiers, the lak wherof hathe hitherto ben the disapointement of not a few enterprises commenced and begonne. And what wol be the issue and ende of this the Frenche Kinges voyage in to Italy, if at the begynnyng He be not wel resisted, is herde to judge; specially, seing that, as the Kinges Highnes and I knowe by diverse ways, and amonges other by letters of the Frenche Kinges intercepted[1], the copie wherof ye shal receyve herwith, that his intente is, if He may have the over hande in the Duchie of Mylain, to enterprise the recoverye of Naples; and for that purpose hathe sent certain shippes and men of werre unto those parties.

Ye shal understonde that uppon often and many advertisementes sent hither by the Duke of Burbon, the Marques of Piscayre, the Lorde Beawrayn, Maister Pace, and other, of their prosperous successes in Province, with good hoope shewed to have gayned Mersiles, whiche had, or not had, the said Duke promysed to serche the Frenche King to geve Him batail if He wolde abyde the same, and for lak therof wolde passe the river of Rodan, and entre the bowelles of Fraunce, so merchyng towardes Parys or Rone, wherby he sholde compelle the Frenche King either to batail or to som other wors inconvenient; as by a resolucion therupon taken at the siege of Mersiles, and sent hither in writing, plainely appered; the Kinges Highnes was mynded and had made al preparacions requisite, like as partely I advertised you in my last letters, to have sent a puissante armye, undre the conduyte of the Duke of Suffolke, to have invaded Fraunce on this side, immediately after the said Duke had ben passed the river of Rodan; wherof His Grace advertised hym by his servaunt Sir Gregory de Cassalis, with the circumstaunces of his ferme mynde and disposicion nothing to pretermyt, that myght sounde to the benifite of the common affaires. And, bicause suche grete comforte was geven unto the Kinges Grace, as afore, of their prosperous successes and good intent, shewing also that the Frenche King was nothing of power or nombre to countervaile with the puissance of their armye, whiche was also confermed by letters sent from the Bishop of Bathe, the Kinges Oratour resident in the courte of Rome[2], the Kinges Highnes therfore sent instruccion to the same his Oratour, willing hym not to be over hasty in conclusion of the trieux, til suche season as som

[1] These do not appear to be extant.

[2] Probably Clerk's letter of the 12th of September, in the Museum, Vitellius, B. VI. leaf 198.

further

further knowlege or apparance myght be had, whither upon the good successes of the Duke of Burbon the King shulde sende over his said armye or not. In whiche cace it wer not mete, thenemye other vaynquished or profligate, or a notable revolution happened in Fraunce, with apparance of grete victory to ensue unto the King and thEmperour there, to come over sone unto a trieux; wherein what ordre was geven to the Kinges said Oratour, for the most avantage and furtherance of the common matiers, shall appere unto you by a coppie of suche clauses and sentences as in my former letters I lately wrote unto the said Bishop of Bathe, being herwith, which wer so cowched, and suche provision taken for every chaunce, good or badde, as the Emperour may have cause to thinke that the Kinges Grace studieth not a litle, howe to resarce and supplie on his side al maner of defaultes lakkes and errours, that may happen on that partie.

[1]*And when His Grace was advertised of theis new alteracions, that ys to say, the abandonyng of the syege, and of al the hole countrey of Provynce, wyth the retyre of the Duke of Burbon and hys armye into Italye, and the descent of the King of France into the same, knowyng that yt was suspected in Italy that the sayd French King had som grete intelligence eyther wyth the Pope, the Venecyons, or som other grete personages or potentates ther, whiche if it wer not spedyly removed, and som good way taken to disapoynt the French King from procedyng further in to the sayd Duchye of Mylayne, myght percace be occasyon that the Emperour, whose armye there, as I understand, is gretely unpourveyed, and not a lytle astoinyed, abashed, and in suspycyon every of other, shulde totally amyt the hole Duchye, and afterwarde be in daungyer of the realme of Naples; His Hyghnes, havyng always as tender respect to the furtherance and helpe of the Emperours causes, as though they wer hys oun propres, seyng the matiers of Italye in thys immynent dangyr, coude dyvyse or studye no way so propyce and mete to put more convenyent suretye thereunto, then to cause his Oratour, resydent in the courte of Rome, to use al the honorable meanes unto hym possible for conclusyon of a tryeux. And, to thintent that al diffycultye, whiche myght be made by the French King to condiscende therunto only unto May next commyng, whyche is the terme prefyxed for the mayne invasyon, shulde be avoyded, though yt so be the King hathe and yet dothe make al requisyte preperacyons for the sayd personal invasyon, in cace other way be not taken, and that a lenger trieux then to May next commen can not be to the Kinges benefyte for his pertyculer causes; yet nevertheles,*

[1] This passage is in cypher, as is another subsequent one, printed in Italics.

bycause

bycause it is supposyd that the French King, stondyng in doubte of the said personal invasyon this next yere, havyng any fordele in Italye, shal refuse to come unto so shorte a trieux, the King only, for avauncement of the Emperours affaires, hathe geven auctorite to hys sayd Oratour to condyssende that the trieux may endure til May come twelmoneth, and longer after, if in the meane season, by common consent of the contrahentys, it shal be so agrede; makyng suche persuasyons unto the Pope for settyng forth of the same, as may accende and kindle Hym therunto, and remove Him from intelligence with the French King, if ther be any such, as the Kinges Highnes and I suppose and trust veraily ther ys not; like as by the copye of my letters sent unto the sayd Bishop of Bathe, being here with, ye shal perceyve with howe good maner that matyer is avaunced and set forthe. Of all whyche thynges the Kinges Highnes and I thought good to advertyse the Emperour by you at thys tyme, to the intent His Majeste may perceyve, howe lovyngly syncerely and playnely the Kinges Highnes procedeth with Hym.

And where as, amonges other matiers mencioned in your said last letters, ye shewe that som folkes there were not in a litle jalousie and suspicion for the being here of John Joachym, specially thEmperour not advertised therof and of his doinges, like as His Majeste advertised the Kinges Grace always of suche overtures as have ben made on that side; ye knowe wel, that in letters sent unto you a long season passed, I ascertayned you, willing you so to shewe thEmperour, that whensoever it shulde come to the communicacion of trieux or peax, it shuld be difficile and almost impossible that either the Kinges or thEmperours particuler affaires coude be treated and debated at Rome or any other place, but where their oune hole Counsail wer present; for whiche cause it was thought convenient that, if the Frenche King were desirous of peax or trieux, He shulde sende some person unto the Emperour, and on other to the Kinges Grace, with honourable and reasonable offres for either of their particuler affaires. And the semblable was writen on the Kinges behalf unto the Poopes Holynes, and like answer geven unto thArchbishop of Capuau at his being here, like as in my penultyme letters[1] I advertised you; wherein also I made you privey of the commyng hither of a monke sent unto me by the Frenche Kinges mother, and what shorte answer and depeche I made unto hym. Semblably I sent unto you at the same tyme the copyes of al suche articles and writinges as wer made at the being here of the said Archebishop of Capuau, and of those whiche he brought with hym, and of the answer geven

[1] Ante, p. 305.

unto

unto hym in every thing; and by my last letters[1] I gave you like knowlege of the being here of John Joachym, and howe sklenderly he procedeth with me, having neither commyssion, as it was never intended on this side that he shulde, to conclude any thing, ne also instruccion to treate or common in matier of importance, but rather that, under colour of shewing a demonstracion of the grete desire, whiche the Frenche Kinges said mother hathe unto peax, he remayneth here as a spye. In whiche maner of doyng I assure you he contynueth stil, and partely by oon colour and partely by an other, as abydyng of new and new letters, with hoope of better instruccion, hathe, when I have willed hym to departe, desired libertie to the next answer; and in the meane tyme these thinges be succeded in Italye as is biforesaid, so as I can not perceyve or knowe, what they, whiche conceyve suspicion, wolde have the Kinges Grace to do, onles then His Highnes shulde geve them advertisement of more, then ever was intended ment or thought on his partie. For, as I have often tymes and bothe in my last and penultyme letters writen unto you, thEmperour may be sure, what so ever communicacion shulde be had for bringing the difficulties bitwene the Kinges Grace and the French King in to some convenyent trayne and towardnes, the Kinges Highnes was never mynded to conclude any thinge withoute thEmperours consent and knowlege, He doing the semblable for his partie. And, in comprobacion that nothing is done with the said John Joachym, thoughe I have made overture to hym of suche landes and countreys, as I thought his maister shulde departe with, bothe unto thEmperour and to the King, I sende you herewith the copie of the last letters, whiche he receyved oute of France. And therefore, seing ye hitherto have knowen, and also nowe of newe do knowe, the trouthe as it is, ye may plainly and liberally make answer unto al those, that wolde fynde suche doubte or objection, for the satisfying of their myndes and removing of al suspicions accordingly.

And nowe it is highe tyme on the Kinges and my behalfe, with His Graces most condigne thankes, and my most humble recommendations, yee plainely showe and declare unto the Emperour, what hindrance hathe ensued, and daylye dothe, unto the common affayres, by reason thinges bee on that side from tyme to tyme accorded concluded and promysed, whiche have not bene dulye observed fulfilled and performed, and that Hee wolde not be playne with the King what Hee were of power and abilitye to doe, wherunto Hys Grace hathe often tymes instantlye requyred them. For, consydering the grete allyance

[1] Ante, p. 344.

and

and confederation contracted betwene the Kinge and the Emperour, and that His Grace his mynded to gyve to the same Emperour his onely childe doughter and heyre apparaunt, remembering what greate travayles, laboures, studyes, paynes, costes, and inestimable charges, the King hath sustayned for the Emperours sake, reputyng their two causes as one thing, it is thought, the more secret and privy that the King is made of the Emperours state, intente, power, furniture, abilytye, and secretes, the more assuredly theyr both matyers shall prosper and go forwardes; and doyng otherwyse, it is not oonly a small demonstration of integryte and love on that syde, but it is not possible but that the King, meaning well and sincerely, must waste and consume his sayd labour and treasour in vayne, and the common matyers fynally go to ruyne and perdytyon. Wherefore ye shal, on the Kinges and my behalf, most instantely requyre His Majestye to procede with the Kinges Grace of suche sorte, as His Grace hath always done and is mynded to doo with Hym, and not to show a vysage and demonstration of thinges, whych be not in his intent, or, if in his intent, that His Majesty is not assuredly furnyshed to bryng aboute; wherin it is necessarye perfytely to knowe his determination, what is further to be don after, as the successes in Italye, and the procedyng or reterne of the French King, the taking or not taking of trieux at Rome, and other matyers ther, shall requyre; whereof I wrote to you long ago, for as much as then coulde be knowen, it was necessarye the Kinges Higness shulde have been advertysed before this tyme, so that the matyers, being common, may procede by common deliberation and consent, and as well order to have been gyven for thynges to be don this wynter, as for knowlege what shulde be don in the next somer. For this maner of dealyng al matyers be so lately set forth, and so long or mutuall knowlege can be had of the two Princes myndes, that the thinges commenced and enterprised be eyther don clearely oute of season, orels totally oute of good order congruence and reason; and so not onely money and tyme is wastfullye consumed, but also the enemye by little and little rather taketh advantage comforte and rejoyce, then hurte dammage or displeasure. This thing to be loked on in tyme, and no longer to be forslowed or pretermytted; elles, when the King and the Emperour, by this soakyng werre, be exhaust of money and treasure, the common enemye shal be farther off from any towardnes of good honourable or profitable peax, than ever he was before. In which matyer the King for his part can do no more at this tyme, but abyde knowing both of the successes of Italye, and what shall be done at Rome towching the trieux, and of the Emperours mynde avyse and intencyon upon the same; whyche thinges knowen, His Majestye shall fynde,

 that

that lyke as the Kinges Highnes hath alwayes bene glad to advaunce al that myghte sounde to the furtherance of the common affayres, so, being a good and assured grounde taken as shal appertayne, there shal be nothyng pretermytted on the behalf of His Highnes, that may conduce therunto, like as thexperience hath hitherto, from henceforth prove and declare accordingly. In this matyer ye must be playne withe the Emperour Hymself, extendyng and declaryng unto Hym, at grete length, howe necessary it is His Majestye loke hereunto, and frendely playnely and lovyngly to advertyse the King, bothe what He is determyned to do, and howe He may be furnyshed therunto; for ye may be wel assured the Pope, fyndyng the Emperours affayres in som perplexyte, shal not let to promyse maria et montes, so He may by that meanes provoke and excite the Kinges Highnes to do suche things as they wol desire for the helpe of ther oun causes. But as ye shal say bothe unto the Emperour and to Hym, albeit percace they shal thynke by suche meanes to redubbe theyr matyers, and bring them in to better state, yet they may be wel assuryd their opynyon and hope therin shal utterly deceyve them; for, as long as the King shal attempt any thyng for his partie upon hope of the Emperours concurrance, orderyng his affayres and procedyngs as though the same concurrance shulde not fayle, and then when yt comyth to the pointe, eyther for lak of furnyture or other cause the same be not duely perfourmed, not only the Kinges money shal be consumed and spent in vayne, besydes the peryl and daunger that may ensue unto his folkes, but also the Emperour, thinkyng therby to fynde good opportunite to take his avantage, shal be clerely frustrate therof, and his intent utterly disapoynted, to his dishonour losse and hinderance, which shal be a meane to bring thenemy unto more and more elacion, and fynally He shal take suche profyte and fordele therby, that He shal not be of mynde to herken or loke unto any good ways of peax, but rather thynke and studye howe He shal bring a monarchy unto hys handys. For this cause ye shal desyre the Emperour to look substancyally hereunto, and amonges other thinges to note specyally that His Majeste so regarde his affayres of Italy, that the same be not to the dangyer and peryl of other his countreys and state. For verayly, if to his purpose and desyres in Italy He shulde postpone and set apart all other his matyers, it wer lyke to sounde not a lytel unto his daungier; for it is unknowen in what grudge and displesure towardes His Majeste is the realme of Naples; howe ferre from good unyte and assurednes yet is the countrey of Spayne; and what people He hathe bothe of Counsaillours and other his subgyettys in thyse hys Lowe Countreys, who surely, for the grete dysordre of the

the gonners and the obstynate myndys of themselfs, be not unlyke, if the French King shuld attempt any grete thyng agaynst theym, facilly to falle unto his devocyon: whiche daungier, withe diverse other immynent perryls, wolde be as moche or more loked unto in tyme, then the matyers of Italy; and not al theyr studyes to be geven unto that only, as though it wer the fundatyon of the rest, where of trouthe yt is rather to be accompted but as a thing incydent therunto, then otherwyse. Ye shal in your divyses and communications with the Emperour, and otherwyse, enserche assuredly, as nygh as ye can, what is in hys power and abilyte now to do; and findyng Him, as sundry your letters purport, not furnyshed, ne lyke to be, for concurrance with the Kinges Highnes, ye may inferre unto Hym this reason; the Kinges Highnes, who was, and is still, might have contynued in ryght good honorable and profitable peax, perceyving the daungyers then like to have ensued unto the Emperours affayres if He had not hadd good assistance, entred the warres only for his sake, in the whyche His Grace not only hath spent and bestowed an inestimable som of money, but also hathe lost therby al suche benefyte and commodite as myght have ensued unto His Highnes, his Realme and subgyttys, by continuance of the peax, besydys the forferyng[1] *hytherto of al his pencyons and paymentes; and the profyte, that hath growen of the Kinges warres and enterprises, hath always ben converted unto the Emperours benefyte, Who by the same hath recovered dyverse porcions and pecys, and brought Hym self oute of sundry grete bandes and inconvenientys, wherunto He was oblyged and astrynged; so as the thinge nowe to be don by the warrys, of good congruence, wer to put both theyr powers to attayning of som good thyng for the Kinges partye, in recompence of his sayd costes and losses, whyche if it may not be don for lak of the Emperours concurrance, then the hole defaulte therof ys to be ascribed unto the non furniture of His Majeste. Wherefore in that cace ye may say the Kinges Highnes thinketh, in the communications to be had upon trieux or peax, the sayd Emperor shulde have reason and respect therunto, takyng such wayes, that by his meanes and helpe the lak and defaulte in oon thyng may be recompensed and supplyed in other; and suche a convenyent way to be taken, as the King, findyng som egalyte therin, may another time have the better occasyon to do largely for the sayd Emperour, when soever the cace shal requyre; ellis not oonly it may bee thought, that the Emperour lyttel estemeth other hys frendes, so He may have his oun purpose; but it*

[1] Evidently a mistake in the cypher for *forfetyng*.

shal be a meane and occasyon, that the Kinges Highnes shal not be so redy and glad to do for Him, as He ys and hath ben hertofore. Thus be ye instructyd.[1]

(*Signed*) Yo lovyng frende,
T. Carlis. Ebor.

(*Superscribed*)
To my loving frende Master Richarde Sampson,
Dean of the Kinges Chapell, and His Graces
Ambassadour to thEmperour.

CV. Clerk *to* Wolsey.[2]

Please it Your Grace to understand, that the 27th day [*of*] Novembre I received tweyn Your Graces letters of the 11th of [*the*] same. In one of thaym your Grace shewith the Kinges pleasure concernyng the Busshopriche of Sarum, the whiche with [*all*] the difficulties of that matter, and the favours and auctoritie shewyd by your Grace in laboryng to the Kinges Highnes [*for*] my Lord Cardinal Campegius at the Popis instance, I have declaryd unto His Holynes at large, assuring [*your*] Grace that His Holynes is highly contentyd, and gave [*unto*] the Kinges Highnes and also your Grace as great thankes as though the said Busshopriche had been collatyd in His Holynessis own person; geving the Cardinall Campegius merveilous great praises, aswell for his vertu and wisdom, as also for the good will and great devotion, the which the said Cardinall bearith to the Kinges Highnes, to your Grace, and to all ower hole nation: assuring your Grace that the Kinges Highnes and also your Grace hath thankes of many moo great and notable parsonagis besides the Popis Holynes[3]; for ther is lightly no Cardinall, ne great man in this Courte, that metith me, but gevith great thankes and lawdes to His Highnes for the same, offering you ther service, with ther goodes subst[*aunce*] and blood, for the Cardinalles sake, with as good wordes and as good humanytie as can be divised; so that I do th[*inke*] the disposition of this busshopriche

[1] This letter, which is without date, must have been written after the receipt of the advices of Francis's entry into Milan, and before his repulse at Pavia was known.

[2] From the British Museum, Vitellius, B. VI. leaf 244. Slightly burnt at the edges.

[3] Cardinal Campeggio himself returned thanks for his nomination to the See of Salisbury in a letter to Wolsey, dated at Vienna, the 29th of November, 1524. Vitellius, B.VI. leaf 241.

to

to be asmoche to the Kinges honour, as any one thing His Grace dyd a great w[*hile*]. For, beyng a fame spred abrode that His Highnes had promysed it to the said Cardinall, if His Highnes [*after*] so long an exspectation had gevyn it to another, [*albeit*] ther mought have been some pretextes divised to have colouryd the matter (the which I had preparyd my[*self*] to have usid, if your mynde had been otherwise tornyd), yet it shold have been harde to have stoppyd mennys to[*ngues*]; and therfore I was somwhat bolde, as farre as it myght become me, in my last letters to desire your Grace to be good to the said Cardinall.

By the other your Graces letters I do perceive at large the Kinges pleasure and yours concernyng a treux to [*be*] sett forwardes, as a thing veray necessarye now upon the great alteration of thEmperours and the Frence Kinges affaires here in Italye. And for the accomplishement and fulfilling of your Graces pleasure in that behalf, (when tym shalbe) I shall not faill to folowe the instructions gevin in thies and other your former letters, aswell as my pore witt will serve me. Signifieng unto your Grace, that beyng right well assuryd that the Popis Holynes is well mynded, and to nothing more mynded, then to bring about som treux, if it might be by any meanys possible, as a thing most necessarye for the conservation of thEmperours affaires, and also of his owne, the Frenche King preacing so fast towardes Naples; therfore I thought it not necessary to exhorte His Holynes herunto in the Kinges behalf, for fear lest His Holynes, how so ever I had cowchyd my wordes, might have taken some litle suspition that His Highnes had desiryd treux, aswell for his own particular interest as for any mannys ellis. I shewyd His Holynes that, at the retorne of the Duke of Burbon with the armye owt of Provence, and the Frenche Kinges commyng into Italye in His Holynessis name, I wrote unto your Grace, how that, where as the treatie of treux had been differryd a long season in hope of some bettar successe that myght have chauncyd against the Frenche King, and that it ded manyfestly appere that the said Frenche King sholde be dayly rather in bettar caas then in worse, so that the lengar we sholde differre, the worse the said Frenche King sholde be to talke withall; herupon I sayde, that in His Holynessis name I desyred your Grace to be contentyd to condescende to some treux, and how thatt your Grace herupon had written unto me now agayn, that albeit a treux cowde be nothing avauntaigeable to the Kinges particular affaires, upon suche considerations as wer conteyned in your Graces letters, yet at His Holynessis instance, unto whom the Kinges Highnes (as He ever hath been) wilbe evir obedient, and bycause also His Highnes fearith greatly the successis of thEmperours affaires, not onlie in the Duchie of Mylan,

Mylan, but also in the realme of Naples, specially upon suche relation as Joachym made of the Frenche Kinges intendyd purpose, albeit your Grace gevith no great credence therunto, for the conservation of thEmperours peeces, whiche shold seem to be in dangier if the warre shold contynue, the Kinges Highnes is contentyd to herkyn unto this treux; offering mysilf, when other Princes orators shalbe redye, to be in likewise redye to wayte upon His Holynes as mediator, with suche articles of treux as be thought reasonable for the Kinges parte. Wherupon His Holynes demaundyd of me, what wayes of treux your Grace had dyvised. I shewyd that, as towching the Frenche King and the Emperour, your Grace thought that the Frenche King, keping that He hath, myght retorne home into Fraunce with his honour. As towching the Kinges parte, I shewyd that His Holynes knewe the articles affore divised, and how that the Kinges Highnes ded now adde nothyng but one article, vizt. of the pention and cense, the which the Frenche King payd before the warris, that the said Frenche King shold paye the same with the arreraiges durantibus inducijs, declaring unto His Holynes the reasons, why your Grace thought the Frenche King wold not greatly sticke at that mattier, the reasons also why thEmperours Agentes sholde be glad to forther the same mater. His Holynes answeryd me first as tow[*chyng*] this last mattier of the pention, that He thought it w[*old*] be veray harde to be brought abought, sayeng that if the Frenche King, beyng at a farr more afterdeal than He now is, wold not here of that matter proponyd unto Hym by the Imperiallis for ther indempnitie in veray ernest maner, it is to be thought now, beyng at this advauntaige, He wilbe moche further from that purpose. I shewid His Holynes agayn, that it is to be supposyd that the Frenche King wilbe now fayner and gladder of treux, then ever He was; for considering this stiff resistence, that is made here in Italy against Hym, He may be right well assuryd, that He is likely to wyn veray litle honour or proffytt by this wynter warre, and therfor He shold of reason be contentyd with a treux, though ther ware right harde conditions annexed in the same; for it shold be bothe honour unto Hym, and also suertye for his Parson, to retorne saff into France, retaynyng still Mylan, and soche other places as He hath takyn in Lombardye. And I shewyd His Holynes that his said retorne in maner as is abovesaid is as moche as the Frenche King can now looke for; and to attayne that, He shold be contentyd to suffre som other wayes. His Holynes said, that as for a treux under that condition He thought verayly the Frenche King would never inclyne therunto. As towching the Emperour and the Frenche King, His Holynes said, that veray reason wold that it shold be as your Grace saith, quod

quod qui tenet teneat, or at the lest wise bothe parties shold make depositum of certain cities in Lombardye in His Holynes or ellis in some thred mannys handes; but His Holynes said that He cowde perceive no likelyhode to bring any like thing to passe, for the Frenche King demaundith holly the Duchie of Mylan, and thinkith that He doth moche, if He leve the entreprise of Naples. The Imperiallis, they be yet so obstynat, that they will not give Hym one fote of grounde, and sayth they be strong ynough for Hym. His Holynes said He doth all that He can to sterre both parties to conditions of treux, and usith all the pollicie He can to bring it to passe; wherunto I have exhortyd His Holynes, aswell as my witt wold serve, folowing your Graces letters; proponyng the dangiers that shall ensue of the warre, not only to the Emperour, but also to His Holynes, percaas He shold be environnyd with the Frenche King, and have Him at Mylan and also in Naples; so that I am sure His Holynes thinkith nothing lesse, then that I do procure this treux for [*any*] particular affection that I have to the Kinges causes. His Holynes demaundid of me, what your pleasure was concernyng the Kinges monaye. I shewyd His Holynes, that the Kinges Highnes hath been at greate charges, and shalbe at moche more, farre above any mannys estymation, considering the intendid pars[*onal*] mayn invasion now this next Maye, the whiche the Kinges Highnes must neades make, percaas no treux shold be taken in the mean season; for the whiche cause, and because His Highnes thought that the Emperour and the powars of Italy shold be hable and sufficient ynough to maynteyn this warr in Italye by themselfes without any his contribution, I said your Grace had gevin me in commaundement to retourne the monaye agayne into Englonde. Wherat His Holynes fell into a laughter, shoke his hed, and said nothing; saving, that, as towching the invasion of Fraunce this next yere, He said that the Kinges Highnes shold have v[*eray*] slendre concurrence of the Emperour; assuryng me that thEmperour cowde not concurre with Hym, though He w[*old*].

As towching our newis out of Lombardye, albe it I doubt not but Master Secretarye, who lieth at Mantua [*within*] a dayes jornaye of the Viceroye, doith advise your Grace from tyme to tyme moche sonnar of every thing, than any letters can come from me; yet, that notwithstonding, [*in*] writing unto your Grace for other maters I shall a[*lwayes*] certifie your Grace briefly of suche thinges as shalbe [*for*] the season occurrent. Signifieng unto your Grace, that tydinges here been now and then veray dyvers and incertayn, for the Popis Holynes hath one with the Frenche King, and a nother with the Viceroye, whiche bothe of thaym writith so affectionatly, as they be persuadyd by

by thaym with whom they be, that often tymes we have contrary talys, and stonde in great doubt whiche of thayme we maye bileve. Notwithstonding, at this present tyme, as farre as we do knowe, the matters stonde in this maner. First, as towching the Viceroy, Mons[r] de Burbon and the chief parte of the Emperours campe as yet contynue at a place callyd Soncino bysides Cremona, unto whom been now arryved 8000 lance knightes freshly comyn out of Almayn; the Venecians have there bye in a redynes 800 men of armys and 8000 fotemen; the Emperiallis have made all the suyt and labour possible to cause thaym to marshe forwardes, and to come joyne with thaym, but the said Venetians have made great delayes and as yet move not. The Emperiallis have sent one to Venyce, there to call upon that matter with the Signorye, from whom as yet is sent no perfait resolution what they will do. If the Venetians will joyne with thEmperours men, then they shalbe hable to recontre with thennemye, and be utterly determynyd so to do. The Frenche King 6 or 7 dayes made great craakes that He wolde sende a parte of his armye to Naples, and for that purpose ther was by Hym sett forwardes 500 men of armys and 4000 fotemen under the conduct of the Duke of Albanye, and were come onwardes a dayes jornay and more, and were passyd the floode of the Poo; but now we understonde that they be retournyd backe agayne, and, as men thinke, the Frenche King durst not dyvyde his armye, seeyng that our armye was ingrocyd by the newe comyng of thies 8000 lanceknightes. Some saye the Frenche King made a proffer to Naples, and wold a takyn the citie of Cremona, if our men, fearing a like trayne, had not immediatly upon the motion of the Frenche armye sent thither a good bande of men, with soche other thinges as sholde be necessarye for the defence therof. How be it, the said Frenche King styll crakyth that He hath sent for 7 or 8000 Suecis and Grysonnys, and that, as sone as they shalbe come, He will sett forwardes the Duke of Albany agayne with the company afore namyd towardes the realme of Naples, and that He hath an armye by se, that shall supplye the rest. As [*for*] the Pope, doubtles His Holynes wold be right sory [*the*] Frenche King shold take Naples, and therfor, for his [*owne*] interest, He will in craakes and wordes and by pract[*ices*] worke all that ever He can to stop thaym the passaige; but whan it shall come to do any deade, there is no [*man*], thatt can perceive but that His Holynes will suffre and tollerat ther commyng, pactesing with the Frenche K[*ing*] peraventure, when He shall se non other remedye for salvegarde of his peeces and of the Seignorie of Florence.

The Frenche King lieth yet still at Pavia with his hole armye; whiche citie

citie hath right well kepte Hym ta hetherto, and as our men reaport, they saye they have letters from the capitayn therin of the 25th day of the last moneth, that within they had corraige ynough, lacking nothing, but that they myght contynowe, and were nothing afferde of thennemye. If thEmperours men marshe forwardes, they may easy take Mylan agayne, or elles cause the Frenche Kinge to levie his siege from Pavia to come to the defence of the said citie of Mylan. At the departing of this correr, I was with the Popys Holynes, to knowe if ther were any particular matters, wherof He wold I shold certifie your Grace; and in eff[*ect*] His Holynes shewyd me nothing, but that I shold showe your Grace that He had done all that was in Hym possible for the agrement of the Princes, aswell in treating here with ther Orators, as in sending his briefs and messangiers to thaim in Lombardy, and how [*that*] at this hower He sawe suche obstinacie in bothe P[*rinces*], that ther was never lesse likelyhode of treux, then [*now.*] His Holynes shewyd me also that the Datarye was departyd from the Frenche King, and in his journay homwardes; and that by his goyng ther was no f[*eate*] done. And in this communication with His Holynes I markyd well divers poyntis. First, His Holynes said that the Venetians this last yere were veray slowe in settyng forwardes, and nevir joynyd ther army with owers, till they saw in a maner the Frenche men farre under, and ower men to have farre the better hand. His Holynes meanyd therby, that He perceyvyd, and thought, that the Venecians wold now do in lyke maner. His Holynes also said that thEmperour was not well in his parson, and troublyd with diseasis, and besides that, his noblis many of thaym in suspition, and many of thaym not best contentyd, ne bearing best mynde towardes Hym; and that, for this cause moste of all, after thies great and intollerable charges of this army, whiche contynuyth, His Holynes thought that the said Emperour shold in no wise be hable to do any feate for this next somer. And, bycause His Holynes dyd speke nothing of the Frenchemen, ne of nothing that might sownde against thaim, I demaundyd His Holynes what opynyon He had of thaym. His Holynes said that they crakyd fast. I said that as for craakes, owr men wolde crake as fast as they. His Holynes said that if the Frenche King toke Pavia, He thought that ther sholde be litle a doo in the rest, and that Pavia was veray strong, not likely to be takin by force; and bycause His Holynes ment that it might be takyn by famyne, I shewyd His Holynes that our men had received letters owt of Pavia, veray freshe, that they within were in no suche necessitie, and besides that, if the Venetians dyd unyte thaim self with our men, they shold be hable to offre Hym bataill, and so to vitaill the

town, or to compell thaym to fight. His Holines said, if the Venetians wold unyte thaymself, th Emperours matter shold be clere, for it shold be no mastrye for thaym, eyther to recover the citie of Mylan, or ellis to cause the Frenche King to levye his siege from Pavia, and so they shold vitaill thatt; but His Holynes seemyd still to doubt of the Venetians, concludyng that the Frenche King, bycause of the obedience of his subjectes, shold be hable to bettar and lengar contynue, then ower men shold; sayeng that the vit[*aill*] in Pavia cowd not alwayes last; and so in maner His Holynes made the Frenche parte rather bettar then [*the*] Emperours parte concernyng this entreprise of Lombardye. In the whiche matter this is of trouth: ther hath been here in Rome, and through out all Italy, suche plentye of rayne, and other cruell wether, contynually thies monethis, that I suppose the like hath not been seen many yeris; so that the Frenchemen, whiche lie at [*the*] siege of Pavia, must neades be in as evill caas as any men maye be; for Pavia standith lowe, and the wayes be so distroyed, that ther can no maner of cariaige [*come*] to thaym for their vitaill and fuell, wherof ther is great scarcitie in the contraye. Besides this, they lack monay as well as our men, and ther munytion is spent, and they have neyther powdre ne stone. It is trouth that the Popis Holynes shewyd me, that the Duke of Ferrare shold provide thaym bothe. His Holynes also said that He thought that though the Venetians [*did*] unyte themself with th Emperours armye, and by the reason therof our men myght peraventure dispose thaymself [*to*] strike bataill with the Frenche King, yet for all that t[*here*] shold be no bataill strikyn, for the contray ther is soche, that any of the parties beyng not myndyd to fight maye easly fynde place, where they maye, t[*hough*] they be farre lesse in nombre, kepe thaym self from s[*trikyng*] bataill, except the other partye will fight to h[*is*] farre disavauntaige; wherof they be nowadayes w[*are*] ynough. I showyd His Holynes, that this made [*as*] moche for ower purpose, as for the Frenche Kinges. His H[*olynes*] said that it makith most for his purpose, that shalbe lengest hable to contynue, meanyng the Frenche King; whom He thought, beyng here personally, wold use all extreme remedies, rather then faill of all his purposis, and retorne home with nothing, to his perpetuall rebuke and shame. His Holynes shewyd me also, that [*He*] hath had lately veray evill tydinges of the Turke; and said that He thought not the contrary, but that the realme of Hungarye shold be lost this next somer.

I have also movyd the Popis Holynes to write a brief to the King of Scottes, wherin His Holynes shewith to be right glad that the said King of Scottes,

Scottes, by the Kinges Highnessis advise counsaill and help, hath takin the rewle of his realme upon Hym. His Holynes also testifieth, that He knowith the Kinges Highnes to be studious of the said King of Scottes proffet honour and suerty, and exhortith the said King of Scottes to herkin and to inclyne to this right well hopyd peace between realmys. Wherof ther is a nother brief to the Quene; and to thaym bothe all is comprehendyd in the fewar wordes, lest it shold be thought that the said brieffes had been procuryd studiously for some purpose. I send your Grace the brieffes, with the copies.[1] If your Grace do like thaym, ye maye sende thaym forth; and if not, ye maye do with thaym your pleasure, for it is secretly ynough handelyd here.[2]

As towching the Kinges monay, we have made diligente enserche amongst thies bankars here in Rome, and fynde that many of thaym be in soche caas

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[1] The brief from the Pope to the King of Scots is in Vitellius, B. VI. leaf 233 b. It is to the effect described in the text, and is evidently the copy transmitted by Clerk, and not the original. It is dated at Rome the 29th of November 1524, in answer to letters from the young King, (dated on the 5th of October, and printed in Vol. IV. p. 166.) and appears to have reached Scotland on the 14th of January, Ibid. 299. Neither original or copy of the brief to the Queen has been found.

[2] This transaction was not so secretly handled as Clerk imagined, for it came to the ears of the Duke of Albany, and he, by his factor at Rome, made grievous complaint to the Pope of the imprisonment of the Archbishop of St. Andrews and the Bishop of Aberdeen in Scotland. On the 26th of December (Vitellius, B. VI. leaf 257) Clerk makes a long report to Wolsey on this subject, by which the above fact appears, and that in a conversation with the Pope His Holiness informed Clerk He had caused a brief to be prepared, condemnatory of the course pursued by the King of Scots, and exhorting Him to remit the whole case to the Court of Rome. The Pope desired Clerk to inspect this brief, which he did; and he states his objections to it at considerable length; arguing that "a King having a prelate of his realme, upon full prouffes, or upon provable "conjecture, suspected of treason against his person and his realme, is not bownde to suffre this "prelat within his realme at large, untill suche tyme as furst He send to Rome to His Holynes "for remedye;" and, therefore, for the safety of his own person, a Prince in his own dominions might put any prelate under custody, without violating the liberties of the Church. Clerk then enters into an exposition of the state of parties in Scotland; and his arguments were so far successful, that the Pope consented to reform the brief, as to Clerk should seem fit, and in the end assured him that as to either brief or messenger to be sent into Scotland, he need not fear that there should be any thing attempted thereby contrary to the desired amity and intelligence between the two realms, or any other the King's purpose. A contemporary copy of this brief, but much mutilated, is in the same volume, leaf 12. The date is unfortunately burnt off. Clerk concludes his letter with a short sketch of affairs in Italy; that the French King continued his designs upon Naples, and had sent Albany with a large force across the Po for that purpose, and that the Viceroy had marched to oppose him; that both parties were now within the territories of the Church. "Bothe parties take the Pope as ther frende, and sholde "seme to be in contention bytwixt thaymselfes, whiche of thaym shall spoyle waste and take "fastest, and so be boldest upon His Holynes, as upon ther frynde: wherof His Holynes is "veray evill content."

with thEmperour, that if Naples (whiche is in great dangier) shold be lost, many of thaym, whiche have non other assurance of the Emperour for large sommys of monaye, but of his cities and townys in Naples and in the Duchie of Mylan, shold utterly decaye: and therfor we be determynyd to medle with noon of thaym, as we myght with more advauntage, if we wolde joberde with thaym; but we thinke it best to deale suerly, though we have the lesse. I have sent for Master Turcuplyer, and he hath sent worde agayn that he lieth sike of the gowght, so that he can not come. Master Russell and I shall do the best we can; and whatt can or may be done, I cannot yet assertayn your Grace.[1] We trust to deale surely without losse; ther can be no lesse tyme gevin then 4 monethis, [*and*] I feare we shall not gett it so.

I have bespoken your Graces cappis, according to the fourme your Grace sent me last: ther be 2 made according to the sayde fourme; the rest shalbe made and sent by the next. Thus the Almyghty God preserve your Grace. From Rome, the 5th of Decembre.

(*Signed*) Your Grace is most humbyll Chapleyn,
Jo: Clerk, Prist.[2]

(*Superscribed*)
To my Lord Legattis good Grace.

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[1] The money was in the custody of Russell, who removed it to Rome from Viterbo (see page 333.), where it was considered unsafe on account of the factions that existed between the Ursines and the Colonnas, both of which parties "began to speke mutche of the Kinges "money being there." Russell to Wolsey, 5th of December. (Vitellius, B. VI. leaf 243.) By Clerk's letter of the 12th of December (Ibid. leaf 254) it appears the merchants at Rome grew exorbitant in their terms, "for they be not asshamyd to aske 6 monethis, and 15 in every 100." Russell and Clerk therefore took other means, and advanced 10000 crowns to the Turcopolier, to be repayed in England by letters of exchange at six months date, and on like conditions 6000 crowns were lent to a merchant named Jerome Sankys (called de Sensis in Russell's letter of the same date, Ibid. 256.), 3000 crowns to my Lord of Worcester on like letters, and 3000 crowns taken by Clerk himself, to be accounted for in the payment of his diets.

[2] In the State Paper Office is a minute of Wolsey's answer to this despatch, and to Clerk's two next of the 12th and 26th of December (of which the purport is given in the preceding notes). A copy of the same answer is in Vitellius, B. VI. leaf 262. The entire substance of it is contained in Wolsey's despatch to Pace of the 16th of January 1525, printed by Strype, Eccl. Mem. Vol. I. Appendix, p. 32.; and the answer itself is published by Galt, Appendix, p. cxxxiv, with tolerable correctness.

CVI. SAMPSON *to* WOLSEY.[1]

PLEAS it Your Grace. Syns penultime October, that I wrot[2] from Valladolyd to your Grace, I have dyvers tyms spokyn with the Lord Chauncelier, and othir of thEmperours Counseyll, who are all greatly movyd to warre syns the change of thaffayres of Italia and thos parties, espetially, os your Grace considerith (I dowght not) well, preter alios the Lord Chauncelier. And many wordes hath passyd betwix them and me, wher os they wold impute all the faulte to the Kinges Highnesse, that His Grace nowthir sent sufficient money, nor passyd his armie; and som hath seyd expressely, that othirwyse cannot be thowght, but that the Kinges Highnesse and your Grace hath dissimulyd in this passing of the Frence King, having his servant there, and entreating hym in such maner. To this I have aunsword at all tymes, that to think ony such thing, owthir ageinst the Kinges Highnesse or your Grace, they litle remembre the most assuryd and feithfull amitie and love that the Kinges Highnesse hath well schewid at all tyms towardes thEmperour and his affayres, nor yet the feithfull love and diligence that your Grace in lyke maner at all tyms hath usyd in the sam.

And, wher they impute suche faultes to the Kinges Highnesse, in eos retorsi omnia; schewing how that the Kinges armie was allweys in a rydinesse to passe, when soevyr thEmperours armie might be knowne purveyde and assurydly furnischid of men money and othir necessaries, lyke to doo som great exployte: the which was nevyr purveyde owthir off men money or ony othir necessaries, so that, iff the Kinges Highnesse schuld have passyd his armie, owthir He schuld have lost yet oons the thirde jornay, as othir 2 ware lost in the yers past, or els aloon his armie must have doon all; for off thEmperours armie, so destitute off all provisions and no hope off bettir, was no maner off othir trust but that right schortly, beforce, they schuld retorne and leve there enterprise; and yet, notwithstonding that, the Kinges armie was in such a rydinesse, His Grace sent to the eyde of thEmperours armie large money, the which arryved there in such tyme, that noon was els to

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[1] Holograph. From the Chapter House, Letters to King and Council, Vol. V. No. 29. The preceding article in the same volume is a holograph letter from Sampson to Wolsey, dated the 14th of December, stating the difficulty of obtaining payment of Wolsey's pensions from the Bishopricks of Palencia and Toledo.

[2] Vespasian, C. II. leaf 370.

enterteine

enterteine tharmie; nor, whan that was spente, for thEmperours partie, was any more to enterteyne tharmie there. And amonges thes wordes I forgatt not to remembre the Viceroy off Neaples; and to his most especiall freindes I have expressely seyd, that the Frence King hath had no such frende in the worlde at this tym, os hath beyn the sayd Viceroy, nowthir to send fotemen, nor horsemen, nor provision off money, and othir necessaries, os he was commaundyd be thEmperour his mastere; wherffor he was oonly the cause, and to hym is the thing assurydly to be imputyd, and no man so lyke to have intelligence with the enemie, os he. And the enterteyning off the Frence man there, hath oonly beyn to induce some good meanes off peace amonges Christyn Princes, wheroff Christyndom had nevyr more nede. And, Sir, thow that dyvers here are very full off suspitions, and, os I know, hath dyvers tyms spokyn off them yn thEmperours presens, yet His Majestie hath at all tyms aunsword to thos off his Counseyll, that notwithstonding the great presumptions and many, the which they allegyd, He nevyr wyll beleve ony such thing in the Kinge his brodyr or your Grace; so that I am, Sir, assurydly informyd, thow that thinges hath not passyd os He wold, yet His Majestie is os sure and constant in his own mynde, os evyr He was; and seith expressely, that there is noon othir in thes matirs but thaccustomyd crafft off the Frencemen, be there subtelte to use such means that may induce suspitions betwix frendes; and not oonly that, but be colorable means compasse in such maner ther affayres, that be ther dissimulation they may atteyne ther intentes, os now they beleve to have doon. But, os I may perceyve, they wyll here off no maner owthir peace or trewis except the Frence King be clerely owght off Italia; *and yet they be wel content that the Kinges Highnes hath sent commysyon to Rome for trewys tyl May com 12 monythys.*[1] What preparations now here they make towardes the warre both be lond and sees, your Grace schall undyrstond, os they sey, be thEmperours Ambassadour there.

The 27 day of November thArchbisschop of Capua arryvid here, and the 7th of December he departyd from hens towardes Leons, and so in to Englond, os he seyd; and, os I coude perceyve owthir be hym or othir off the Counseyll, he had no great forderance or comfort in his demaundes, they schew them sellff so willing to warre for this reentering of the Frence King in to Italia.

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[1] In the original this passage is in cypher. It is repeated nearly verbatim, without cypher, in the next page.

I have

I have writtin before to your Grace off 2 Ambassadours off Polone here.[1] The 3rd day off December they made oth and homage to thEmperour for the Duchie off Barrie in the reaulme off Neaples. I was there present. The oon is retornid be Fraunce, the othir remaynith here.

Abowght the 10th day off December com hither a servant off thEmperours from Flaundyrs and Ynglond with lettirs: and they sey that afftir my Lady Margarete agreyd to all thinges demaundyd off hyrre, the Kinges Highnesse wold no more here off that enterprise. To this I seid that in my opinion the King my mastre saw the tym of the yere past, except som great occasion ware offryd, and allso knew the retorne off Monsr de Burbon, off whos armie the good occasion schuld aryse; the which so fayling, the Kinges Highnesse had nowthir good oportunitie off tyme to passe ony armie, nor yet ony occasion or good aparance, wherfor in tempore tam adverso et alieno His Grace schuld passe ony armie. And I seyd that my Lady Margarete agreyd to late, when the hope off ony occasion was past.

The preparations off warre, that be now made from hens, your Grace schall undyrstond them be thEmperours Ambassadour; for I perceyve litle, and os litle they have schewid me off thes matirs at this tym. Trewith it is, that provision off money is made in to Italia, thow it be late, os many fearith; and os I have seyd to them that 50000 in tyme wold have doon more then now 300000, the which they confesse.

Newis are here be espyall that the Frence King at the siege off Pavie hath lost many fotemen, with oon yschew off the men of warre for thEmperour, and allso 500 spearis dyscomfete, with many slayne and takyn, both capitains and dyvers gentyllmen, conveying vitaylles from Milaine to the siege off Pavie; and for this cause the Frence King hath sent to Monsr de Lotryke on thes parties, and to all othir his capitains on that syde off Picardie and elswhere, to leve all othir thinges aparte, and with all diligence com to Hym in to Italia, with all the power that they might make. And yet I cannot perceyve, but that they are content here with the Kinges power now sent to Rome for trewis to May com 12 monithis, os now be the seyd lettris they sey to have knowleg from thEmperours Ambassadour there.

Iff it schuld chaunce, Syr, this next yere to be warre, espetially for the great expedition, thow that I am os much bownde to your Grace os any poor man may be, yet, Syr, I wold think that your Grace nevyr deade for me more gratiosly, than it might be your pleasour to send som temperall gentyllman hithir, both to be in the fylde os a man for the warre, and to gyve

[1] They arrived at Valladolid early in October. Vespasian, C. II. leaf 370.

counseyll

counseyll and solicite the forwardnesse off the same. And iff it be peace or trewis, os my prayre is daly, most humbly, os I have in my formar lettirs, I besich your Grace that I may retorne be lond throw Fraunce. Notwithstonding, os it schalbe the Kinges pleasour and yours, at all tyms your Grace schall know me most wylling and desyros to accomplis. Os knowith our Lord, who preserve your Grace in most prosperos helth and honour. At Madryd, the 18 day of December, 1524.

Aftyr the datyng, Syr, off thes lettirs it was seyd here that for the great pestilence in his hoste, the France King was withdrawn bakke to Aste.

Your most humble bedeman,

RICHARD SAMPSON.

(*Superscribed*)
To my Lord Legates Grace.

CVII. POPE CLEMENT VII. *to* QUEEN CATHARINE.

CLEMENS P̄P VII.

CARISSIMA in Christo filia nostra, Salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem. Misimus dilectum filium, Joannem Casalium, Nuncium et Notarium nostrum, ad istum Regem invictissimum, conjugem tuum, pro rebus Christianam Fidem et Rempublicam Sedemque Apostolicam concernentibus[1], cui mandavimus ut cum Serenitate Tua quædam nostro nomine communicaret. Hortamur Serenitatem Tuam in Domino, ut eum benigne audire, fidemque tam illi quam dilecto item filio Melchiori, Nuncio istic nostro, habere velit. Datum Romæ, apud Sanctum Petrum, sub Annulo Piscatoris, die 5 Januarij, 1525, Pontificatus nostri anno secundo.

(*Signatur*) JA. SADOLETUS.

(*Superscribitur*)
Carissimæ in Christo filiæ nostræ Caterinæ,
Angliæ Reginæ illustri.

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[1] Somewhat respecting the objects of this mission is communicated to Wolsey by Bishop Clerk in a letter of the 7th of January, Vitellius, B. VII. leaf 7. Clerk there states that the reasons which induced the Pope to form this amity were that the Emperor had not sent to defend Italy or succour his own army, and being "far off from the jeopardy, might have leysour to counsaill "with his fryndes, but His Holynes had his ennemye in foribus, and eyther He must fyght by "and by, or ellis agree by and by," and therefore thought it best to conclude at once with the French, and promised to send a copy of the articles by the Protonotary through France. He adds that the treaty was to be concluded that day.

CVIII. KNIGHTE *to* WOLSEY.

PLEASITH it Your Grace to understond, that Mons[r] Melchior Langus, Archdiacon of Novare, beyng sent from the Popes Holynesse towardes the Kinges Highnesse and your Grace, arripved here this day. And havyng certayn matiers to be treated and recommended unto my Lady, he thynketh to remayne here two or thre daiys, and aftyrwardes to make spede towardes your Grace. He shewid unto me a lettre freshly dated at Isbroke, conteynyng the newys that foloweth.

In primis. The Frenshmen, beyng beyond the mowntaynys, beseged a towne in Lumbardye called Arona, and aftyr dyvers sawtes gyven, and losse of a thowsand men or more, left the siege and departed.

Dyvers of the Frensh armye had taken a towne and castel called Marignani, whome the Marquise of Piscara expelled owte bothe of the towne and castel.

The saide Marquyse of Piscara is entred into Pavia, with a grete cumpagnie of the Mantuans Florentynys and Neapolitans. A armye of 6000 launceknightes beyng lately mustred at Marano besides Trent, upon the confynes of Italy, marcheth dayli towardes Myllane in ayde of the Duke.[1]

Our Holi Fadre the Pope hath sent unto Millane his portion of money, which He is bownde to contribute by reason of the lege. And the Florentynys hath done lykewise. Lorde Prospero Colunna departed to God the last day of the olde yere. And the same day the Vice Roy of Neapolis entred into Myllane.

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[1] The proceedings of the army under Bourbon are detailed by Pace in a series of letters from Brescia, Mantua, Verona, and Trent, from the 22d of October to the end of the year. They are in Vitellius, B. VI. leaves 215–256. In answer to the last of these Wolsey on the 16th of January wrote to Pace a despatch, which is found in MS. in the State Paper Office, and in the Harleian, Vol. 283. leaf 26, and is printed by Strype, Mem. Vol. I. p. 23. By this despatch he was directed to proceed to Venice for the purpose of persuading that State to adhere to the Emperor's party, by representing to them the danger, which would arise to them, if the French King were lord of Naples and Milan. His proceedings on this mission are reported in his despatches from Venice, between the 8th of February and the 12th of July, in Vitellius, B. VII. leaves 38–176.

In the Record Office are extracts of letters from Sir Gregory da Casale, who was with the troops before Pavia, giving a minute account of their proceedings from the 1st to the 6th of February.

 These

These beth the newys, that the saide letter conteigned. The King of Denmarkes Chaunceler is veari desyrous to know your Graces pleasure in the matier concernyng the King of Denmarkes grete shyp. The Holi Gost preserve Your Grace. At Bruxellis, this 20th day of Janyuere.

Your moost humble bedesman,

(*Superscribed*) (*Signed*) WILLIAM KNIGHTE.

[*The*] Lord Legates good Grace.

CIX. WOLSEY *to* SAMPSON.[1]

MASTER SAMPSON, I commende me unto you in my right herty maner. By the handes of Monsr de Rieux, who as I understonde lay a long season in the West countreys upon his passage for defaulte of a convenient wynde, I wrote unto you my last letters, wherin I advertised you of suche overtures as were made here by the said de Rieux on the Duke of Burbons behalf, and of the answere geven unto hym upon the same, with suche other matier as was then occurrant; declaring amonges other thinges the Kinges ferme deliberacion nothing to pretermyt on this partie, whiche myght conferre unto the avaunce-ment of the common affaires, with the grete desire of His Highnes and of me to knowe and understonde thEmperours mynde, what His Majeste intendeth or thinketh good to be done or sett forthe against the common enemye this yere, in cace som honourable peax or appoyntement do not succeede to their reasonable satisfaccion and contentement. In al whiche matiers, and other then writen unto you, the Kinges Highnes and I attende with grete desire to have answer, considering that the spring of the yere, covenable for preparacions, passeth fast on, and that so grete matiers as thise be wolde be forseen and provided in tyme. In the meane season the Kinges Highnes, putting as good ordre as conveniently may be to the towardnes of his preparacions at home,

[1] Of this despatch there are either the original minute or a contemporary copy in the State Paper Office (from which the text is printed), and several copies in the Cottonian and Harleian Libraries, all of which, except No. 6260 of the latter collection, terminate abruptly with the word "advertise." No. 6260 proceeds, by some strange error, to give as the conclusion of this despatch the last page and quarter of that to Clerk and Hannibal, which has been printed in pp. 302, 303. The former having been published by Galt, in his Appendix, p. clv, would not have been here inserted, but for the important matter respecting De Praet, which is so frequently alluded to in the sequel.

dothe

dothe not ceace by al wayes and meanes that can be studied or divised, as thEmperours affaires do succeede in Italye, to further helpe and avaunce the same; and moche the rather, bicause His Highnes, supposing bifore that thEmperour had geven assured ordre unto the matiers of the Duchie of Mylain, was neverthelas, longe sens the depeche of my last letters to you, advertised oute of Italy, that no letters worde or knowlege was then arrived there from thEmperour, sens the descent of the Frenche King in to the said Duchie; whiche thing the Kinges Grace and I thought veraily to procede either of contrariete of wynde, or by reson of thEmperours late sekenes of fever, or of som other adverse chaunce and mysfortune, and His Highnes mynding, like a most tendre and loving fadre and perfite frende, to supplie the defaulte with as moche helpe as then coude be don on this syde, being advertised that the Frenche King made sundry demonstracions and visages to sende the Duke of Albany with a power in to the realme of Naples, and that the Poopes Holynes beganne to renne in suspicion that He inclyned overmoche to the Frenche partie, doubting also lest the Venecians and other myght do the semblable, after diverse letters at sundry times writen bothe to the Poopes said Holynes, the Infant Don Ferdinand, the Vice Roy of Naples, the Duke of Burbon, and other, comforting and exhorting them to al suche thinges as myght sounde to the benefite of thEmperours causes and the suretie bothe of Naples and Mylayn, not oonly depeched his trusty servaunt Sir Gregory de Cassalis to passe in diligence unto the said Infant, Duke of Burbon, and Vice Roy of Naples, but also sent his trusty counsaillour Mr Richard Pace, then lying at Trent, unto the Seignourye of Venece; wrote furthermore unto the Bishop of Bathe the Kinges Oratour in the Courte of Rome, and appointed Sir John Russell to repayre and reside with the said Duke of Burbon, to suche intent effecte and pourpose, as by the instruccions and letters, the copies wherof I sende you herewith, ye shal perceyve at grete lenght; being so divised ordred and cowched in every point, that by the same may evidently and largely appere, howe, like an assured frende and most kynde fader the Kinges Highnes, as wel in adversite as in prosperite, dothe tendre the hole causes and matiers of the said Emperour. Wherein, as may appeare, His Grace pretermytted nothing that myght be thought to conferre or conduce to the weale therof, and to put remedy to al inconvenientes, if any wer, as by the information and advertisement had oute of Italy there was assuredly, before the depeche of the said Sir Gregory, an apparance of som dangier like to ensue to thEmperours said matiers, if speedy remedy wer not adhibited and provided. For by letters of the Bishop of Bathe it appered that the Poopes Holynes, in his conferences

with hym, shewed Himself in moche more fere and doubte of the French King, alleging sundry reasons and introduccions, wherby myght arise some scrupule or suspicion that His Holynes was not so stedfast in thEmperours causes as was supposed; and besides that it was reaported that the Duke of Albany was set furth towardes Placence, making a countenance to passe in to Naples. Wherupon the Kinges Highnes, doubting lest that some inconvenient myght arise unto thEmperours said matiers for lak of knowlege had in Italy from His Majeste, and being advertised that the French men, under the colour of being here of John Joachym, made their avaunte that they wer well assured of the Kinges Grace, made the said depeches, not oonly therby to stay the Poope, Venecians, and other potentates of Italy, from concluding of any thing with the Frenche King, or at the lest, upon the grete and weighty consideracions mencyoned in the said copies, to withdrawe and allect them from doing any thing passed or promysed to the same Frenche King, if any suche wer, but also to shewe unto them and all other a manyfest comprobation of the Kinges ferme and deliberate mynde, assuredly to leane with al effecte unto the defence and mayntenance of the said Emperours affaires, and to remove al suche opynyon, as, upon reaporte of the Frenchemen, they myght conceyve to the contrarye.

Ye shal either by translacion of the said copies in to Frenche or Latyn, or otherwise, after the Kinges most cordiall and my due and humble recommendations made unto the said Emperour, and after declaration made of the premysses, shewe and notifie at ful lenght unto His Majeste and Counsail, the veray effect ordre fourme and maner of the same; whyche, if mysinterpretations and synystre reaportes do not take more place then the trouthe, must nedes of congruence be in the most thankeful and agreeable parte be by them accepted: wherein ther is on matier of grete and weightty importance, that of veray necessite, in avoiding sundry inconvenientes, whiche that elles myght ensue to the hynderance of the roted love and perfite intelligence being bitweene the King and thEmperour, I am of force and in maner again my will compelled to cause, at this tyme, playnely to be signifyed unto the said Emperour; for if I shuld any lenger hyde the same from His Majeste, I doubte that there myght grete hynderance and detryment growe thereby unto his oune causes and affaires; like as it is to be supposed, that by reason that the matier was not til now here perfitely and thoroughly deprehended and knowen, no litle dammage hathe hitherto ensued in the common enterprises.

It hathe ben of a longe season and from sundry parties reaported unto the Kinges Highnes and to me at diverse tymes, that Monsr de Praet, who resideth here

here Ambassadour for the Emperour, hathe contynually ben a man disposed and inclyned to make in his letters and writinges, bothe to thEmperour and to the Lady Margaret and other, sedicious and sinistre reaportes, faynyng many tymes, upon his oune fantasie suspicion or conjecture, thinges clerely untrue, and compassing at other tymes, when thinges have ben don said or set furthe frendely kyndely and lovingly, so to cowche his reaportes and the circumstances of the doinges therof, as thoughe the gratuities shewed by the Kinges Highnes have, from time to time, ben conduced by the industrie policie and labour of the said Ambassadour; ascribing therfore the lawde and thanke therof unto hymself, wherby he myght adquire the more grace and favour of the said Emperour and Lady Margaret. To thise thinges the Kinges Highnes and I wer not over hasty to geve sone credence, but supposing the said Ambassadour to be a personage of more vertue and inclination to good, then nowe he proveth to be, I wolde som tymes admonishe hym in general wordes of such advertisement, exhorting and avising hym to be wel ware howe he, being a mynistre bitweene 2 Princes so nerely conjoyned in intelligence, shulde attempte or do any thing to the hynderance therof, but rather regarding the office of a good Ambassadour to do that in him is for the norishing and increace of the same: wherin he alwaies made me suche answere, that I conceyved no further suspicion or jalousie towardes hym in that behalf, being therefore the more franke and playne with hym in al my conferences, as he, that, for the singuler good mynde whiche I have alwaies borne unto thEmperours honour weale and suretie, wolde procede with His Majeste sincerely plainely and truely; and as famylierly kyndely and lovingly hathe the Kinges Highnes and I admytted enterteyned and used the said De Praet, at al tymes, as the most herty love betwene the Kinges Highnes and His Majeste dothe require, making him privey, and having hym present, at al suche communications and accesses as have ben of other Princes Ambassadours, or of any matier worthy advertisement or knowlege; to thintent that he, unto whom the Kinges Highnes and I have referred the reaportes of the same, shulde make most credible and playne relacion therof unto thEmperour, and other to whom it aperteyned.

Amonges other, after myne accustumable maner, when I had the 11th day of this instant moneth receyved letters from Mr Pace bering date at Trent the 26th and 28th days of January[1], the copies wherof I sende you herinclosed,

[1] The original letter of the 26th to Wolsey is in Vitellius, B. VII. leaf 28. The purport of both is given by Wolsey in his letter to the King, Vol. I. p. 156. Copies of that from Pace to the King on the 26th, and of one from him to Bryan Tuke on the 28th, are in the State Paper Office.

specifying

specifying suche newes of Italye, as then wer comen unto his knowlege and understanding by the relacion of Brian Tuke, that had sent unto the said Ambassadour a pacquet of letters commen from my Lady Margaret, I sent a servaunt of myne to the same Ambassadour, desyring hym to take the payne in the after none to repaire unto me, aswel to thintente I myght make hym participate of suche newes as the Kinges Highnes and I had receyved, as also to undrestonde whither he had any good newes in confirmation of the same. Unto whom at his commyng, in the presence of the Duke of Norfolke and some other of the Kinges Counsail, and also of the Ambassadour of Mylain who came with hym, I red the said letters and newes, declaring the same unto them formally in the Latten tonge.[1] Wherwith, forasmoche as there was matier therin of right good tenour and effecte, wee al rejoysed and wer glad. And proceding unto the particularities, we devised and conjected upon the making of the 3 briges by the Frenche King over the ryver of Tycyne, whiche we interpred to be don rather for his better commodite to flee, seing his cariages that myght ful wel have served to the fortifying of his campe wer alredy transported, then otherwise. We spake also of the doubtes that myght be, lest thEmperours armye, contynuing long in the felde, shuld lak monie, wherin the said Ambassadour inferred, that those whiche had alredy holpen the Frenche King with money and victailles, namyng the Poope, the Duke of Ferrare, the Florentynes, and other, owe also of good congruence to helpe unto the contynuance of thEmperours armye. Hereunto I answered, that the commyng of Sir Gregory de Cassalis shulde highely conferre unto those affaires, forasmoche as not oonly he shulde bring unto the armye som comforte of money and other good knowlege of the Kinges fast mynde, whiche myght the rather encourage them unto the batail, but that also by the sending of Mr Pace to Venece, and of my letters to Rome, I trusted the Veneceans shuld be the more glad to contynue fast unto thEmperour, and that the Poopes Holynes of likelihode, upon the grete considerations by me alleged, wolde chaunge his copie; saying, as trouthe was, that the said Sir Gregorie, who departed from hens, when the Emperours affaires, as ferre as coude be knowen here (the distance of the places considred), were in most apparance of dispaire, shulde by his commyng, God willing, revive the same; having alwais speciall trust that the Poopes Holynes wolde chaunge his copie as is aforesaid, whiche the state of Cristendome, wel considered, aperteyned unto His Holynes to do,

[1] Vitellius, B. VII. leaf 20, is a Latin document giving the substance of this despatch, so far as it relates to De Praet.

if

if He wolde be a good fadre and hed of Cristes religion: and if, neeglecting the same, His Holynes wolde not do the office of a common fadre, but rather as a private person or a chaplain, as adhering unto France, the Frenche King wolde not faile to make Him, like as I also wrote playnely to be shewed unto His Holynes, on my behalf, by the Bishop of Bathe, as by the copies ye may perceive, then He must be taken according to his actes and merites. Finally it was divised amonges us, and I shewed myne opynyon, what wer expedient to be don, in cace the Frenche King, as the chaunce of batail is uncertaine, shulde either be overthrowen in the same, or be compelled to retyre and flee in to Fraunce. And in this matier I said, expedient it wer that thEmperour and the Kinges Highnes shuld take substancial wayes and meanes for poursuyng of the victory, wherin I doubted not but the Kinges Highnes my master wolde do for his parte asmoche as shulde be requisite; saying that I wolde with al diligence cause an expedicion to be made in to Spayn for this purpose and other matiers, wherin it is necessary to knowe thEmperours mynde with diligence. Thise and other semblable divices we had to this effect; and with the same the said Ambassadour, semyng to be joyeows and wel contented, geving unto me thankes on thEmperours behalf, departed.

Thre dais bifore that, as many tymes is here accustomed, it was appointed that as that nyght folowing, whiche was the 11th day at nyght, a privye watche shulde be made in London, and by a certain circuite and space aboutes it; in the whiche watche, after mydnyght, was taken, passing bitweene London and Brayneford, by certain of the watche appointed to that quarter, one, riding towardes the said Brayneforde, who, examyned by the watche, answered so closely, that, upon suspicion therof, they serched hym, and founde secretely hyd aboutes hym a litle pacquet of letters, superscribed in Frenche: whiche the said watche perceyving, brought the letters unto a man of lawes clerke, being of the same company; who supposing the berer of them to be either a spie, or a messenger from some marchaunte stranger or other, intending to disclose thinges unto thEmperour, and perceyving the said pacquet to be, in the taking of it by the unlerned men of the watche, broken and evil handled, loked in the letters, and thinking the same, by reason of the cifres, more suspect, brought it unto the Kinges Solicitour, being in the same watche; who, not acquaynted with the name of the said De Prate, brought the letters, so opened, unto Sir Thomas More, being in an other watche nere unto the same, and he presented them in the mornyng folowing unto me, being in the Chauncery at Westminster: whiche when I had red, knowing howe ferre theffect of them was discrepant from the trouthe, anon I conceyved the former advertisementes

advertisementes made unto me, towching the said Ambassadours accustumed usage in making synistre reaportes, to be true. And perceyving by the said letters, that albeit the usage is not here, that strangers shulde passe throughe the realme withoute a pasport, yet on of the Fulkers was depeched by the said Ambassadour, the day bifore, with letters towardes Spayn, wherin it was like there myght be as evil or wors reaporte then in thise, I with al diligence sent to coundermaunde the said former letters, or any other depeched at that tyme by the said Ambassadour: and so was taken also a pacquet of his letters directed to my Lady Margaret. Whiche original letters directed unto the Emperour, with copies of those addressed unto my Lady Margaret, viewed and overlooked, and the untrouthe mencioned in them deprehended, I sende unto your handes herwith; aswel bicause thEmperour may knowe suche thinges, as his folkes on this side do advertise His Majeste of, whiche may conferre to the fertheraunce of his affaires, as also bicause the same may hereby the more assuredly and perfitely understonde and perceyve that the said De Praet hathe of likelihode contrived no fewe matiers untrue and fayned in his letters sent of a long season, aswel in to Spayne as in to Flaundres: wherof ther is moche apparance, by reason of suche proceding, strange demeanour, and suspicion, as hathe semed to have ben had towardes the Kinges Grace, bothe on that syde and in Flaundres, of a good season. So that it is evidently to be conjected, that the said De Praet hathe don more hurte detryment and dammage by his evil reaportes in the common affaires, then ever he can be able to redubbe or amende; and surely hathe by the same deserved moche more blame, then I wol reherse. And what the Kinges Grace and his Counsail may thinke by the wordes conteyned in the said Ambassadours letters directed to Mr John Allemayn, fynding excepcion in the Kinges amytie and frendship, as thoughe the same hathe ben either nothing or veray faynte and sklendre, I remyt to thEmperour and his Counsail, after sight of the same letters, to juge and considre; thynking veray strange, that the said Ambassadour wolde or durst so write unto Mr John Allemayn, being so wel acquainted with the Emperours secrettes and privites as he is, onles he had bifore this tyme perceyved semblable opynyon to be imprinted in som of their myndes on that side: whiche if it so be, there is as grete injurie don unto the Kinges Highnes, as ever was to noble and gracious Prince in this worlde, Who for thEmperours sake, and to do unto His Majeste all honour gratuite and pleasure possible, hathe don more then in tyme of mannes memorye can be founde, that ever on Prince hathe don for an other: the particularites wherof shal not nede to be rehersed, forasmoche as they be woll knowen by frendes and enemys throughe

throughe al Cristendome, and that suche rehersal shulde be in maner but an exprobacion, seing also that the Kinges ferme trust and confidence is, the Emperour, of his grete wisedome, and the vertuous and discrete men of his Counsail, have large experience, and do right wel knowe and considre the same, any synistre reaportes, fayned or contrived tales, devised by suche indiscrete and inexperte persons, as the said De Praet is, notwithstanding. And surely if it had not ben, that the Kinges Grace of his goodnes did benignely and lovingly accepte suche mynistres, as thEmperour wolde depute to do his besynes here, withoute making exception at any of them, His Grace, longe bifore this tyme, wolde have advertised thEmperour, that the said De Praet hathe alwais shewed him self a man of insufficient qualities, inexperte, and ferre unmete to suche a province as is commytted to him from so grete a Prince: neverthelas, for thEmperours honour and pleasure, the Kinges Grace hathe lovingly tollerate his inhabilite, and studyed to supplie the same the best that myght be; as he, that wolde not to sone reprove that thing, whiche by thEmperour and his Counsail was thought good and approved. But if thEmperour, knowing the untrue and most perilous demeanour of the said De Praet, who can not be taken here but for a suspect and indigne person, wol stil contynue hym here as his Ambassadour, not oonly the Kinges Highnes and I shalbe in grete drede to cal him to any matiers of importance, but also of likelihode he shal, as ferre as in him may be, do grete dammage to the common affaires, causing the entier confidence that hitherto hathe ben, and, as I trust (his synistre reaportes notwithstonding) yet is bitwene the 2 Princes, rather to decreace and dymynishe then to be augemented; whiche sorte of mynystres is necessary to be removed, and other, mynding the furtherance of good amytie and intelligence, to be subrogate in their places: the orderyng wherof the Kinges Highnes remytteth to the grete wisedome of the said Emperour and his Counsail.

And as to my parte, thoughe it pleased him to write, that in sending for him to me as is aforesaid, I did more honour unto hym, then I have done in the three yeres that he hathe ben here; I am the lesse myscontented with his untrue reaporte, forasmoche as the contrarye is so evident, and wel knowen, and can be so plainely testifyed by other of thEmperours counsaillours and servauntes, whiche hathe ben present with hym, not only at many and many conferences of importance, but also at other tymes, when I myght shewe unto hym honour chere or demonstracion of love for his masters sake, that I doubte not as letle credence shalbe geven therunto, as to the rest of his cifres and open writing, shewing and approving manyfestly his untrouthe, overmoche

trust in his oun wit, and evident dissimulation. And semblably, the obscure and derke wordes cowched in his letter, to ful malicious purpose, concernyng the Poopes Holynes, be as litle to be regarded; whiche wordes, bicause he coude not dilate by any specialties to be of other sorte then good and honourable, he wolde covertly cloke to be interpreted, understanden, and taken to some perverse sence and purpose. Neverthelas, for my parte it suffiseth, and I repute it as a thing whiche was Goddes wille, that by a mysfortune his perelous demeanour is at the last deprehended; wherby thEmperour may have cause to remove any thing, that myght percace be imprinted in his conceyte or mynde, towching suche other evil reaportes, as the said De Praet hathe made heretofore either of the Kinges Highnes or of my proceding, and provyde by his wisedome for avoiding of semblable inconvenientes hereafter.

Ye shal also shewe unto thEmperour, that sone after I had deprehended thise matiers, I desired the said De Praet to comme and speke with me, where were present the Duke of Norfolke, my Lorde Marques, the Bishop of London, Sir Richarde Wyngfelde, and other of the Kinges Privey Counsail, of whom many had herde my conference the day bifore with the said Ambassadour, to whom in good and playne maner I declared the maner fourme and chaunce of taking the said letters in the watche, and by what meanes they camme open, first to those of the watche, unlerned, and after broken and opende unto Sir Thomas Mores handes, and so unto myne, with the occasion moeving me, upon knowlege of the contentes therin, to stoppe and intercepte his other letters, proceding perticulerly unto som special clauses mencioned in the same, wherein me thought the said Ambassadour had don unto the Kinges Highnes and to me expresse injurye and wronge, and of likelyhode had by many former writinges imprinted in thEmperours, my Lady Margarettes, and other their counsaillours myndes, som sinistre opynion, ferre discrepant from the trouthe, considering that in on and in other of thise letters nowe intercepted, be mentioned diverse sedicious wordes and clauses as foloweth.

First, in his letters to thEmperour he writeth this clause, depending upon the matiers towching the Poopes Holynes, the Florentynes, and other: " Et " que silz ne le voulent faire par beau lez i constraindre singulerement le Pere " Sainct en le menassant de le destituer de sa dignite et semblable moyens;" wherin I said he imputed unto me, being a Cardinal and the Poopes Legate de Latere, in maner no les culpe then is crimen lese majestatis. And ensuyngly he hathe cowched fayned wordes touching the depeche of Sir Gregory, as though I shulde avaunte or thinke the victory, if any be, to procede only upon the depeche of the same Sir Gregory, whiche was never by

by me thought; ne the on or other of the said matiers otherwise by me spoken ment or uttred, then is bifore towched in the begynnyng of this letter. And thoughe it were not convenient that any labour shulde be used for translation of the clauses being in cifre, yet the open letters, precedyng immyxt and folowing the same, do geve a grete light and argument to what evil ende the cifres do tende, specially being in his letter to Mr John Allemayn thise wordes inserted: "Si nous pourrons gaigner la batail, tout ira bien lors que nostre "maistre se boute hors de dangier de telz amys et confederez, quil a eut "jusques a cest heure. Et fault encores que je dye quil est peu tenu a eulx "tous, tant quilz sont." Thise wordes be mervelous strange, towching, aswel by the special worde "confederez," as by the general wordes "tous tant quilz sont," not me, but the Kinges Highnes, to whom he wolde afferme thEmperour were litle beholden.

Besides that, in his letters to the Conte of Hoghstrate he writeth these wordes: "Quant les choses succedent bien, il ne scet que dire, et quant "elles vont aultrement, il dist merveiles, et semblable que luy et les siens "facent le tout, et que tout la rest ne serve de riens; jespere de voir une "foix nostre maistre vengie. Car il est de grant partie cause de tout le "male, que Sa Majeste a pour le present; et si je ay une foix le commande-"ment, je ne fauldray de mettre le tout per escript pour le bailler au Roy; "et vous asseure que lay bien mys en ma memoire." Howe thise wordes sounde, and whither in my procedinges I have deserved suche thanke of thEmperour, or that His Majeste shulde be ons revenged upon me, whiche may be taken by those wordes, "luy et les siens," I reapourte me to al wise men. Over this, what a suspicion he wold my Lady Margarett shuld conceyve by the Kinges commyng to Bridewel, bicause John Joachym was lodged nere to the same, his letters directed to Monsr de Tholouse do declare. And as wel by other his letters directed to the same De Tholouse as by those writen partely in cifres to Monsr de Hoghstrate, appereth howe evil pleased the said De Praet is with the commyng hither of the Ambassadours, nowe, as it is said, depeched from my Lady Margaret; fearing of likelyhode that they shulde deprehende som parte of his untrue and perelous dealing. Wherfore, after objeccion unto hym of the premysses, I desired him to shewe, by what meanes he coude pretende to justifye any parte of the said reaportes, and to put in writing suche thinges as he affermed in his said letters to Monsr de Hoghstrate he had in his memory to be showed unto the Kinges Highnes my master; saying furthermore, that His Grace is a Prince of suche grete wisedome knowlege and experience in his affaires, that I, whome His Highnes dothe put in

so singuler trust and special confidence, wolde be lothe to say or do any thing in so grete matiers as thise be, bifore I had first well and substancially knowen the mynde and pleasure of His Grace, and ben by the same commaunded so to do; ne I may or wol of my self take uppon me, withoute the auctorite knowlege and expresse commaundement of His Highnes, either to do or undo, wherby the said Ambassadour or any other myght take grounde to write or reaporte that I coude be the cause of any evil, that His Majeste hathe at this present tyme; but rather it shulde seme that the said Ambassadour wolde thinke or meane that either my master is a Prince of so smal knowlaige or counsail, that I may do in his grete affaires what I woll; orelles he wolde impute covertly unto His Highnes that thing, whiche openly he arrecteth unto me. For what fervent and tendre zeale and affeccion I have, in all my procedinges and doinges with His Highnes, borne at all tymes unto thEmperours causes and maters, no person lyving can better judge, then the King my said master can: concluding therefore, that sens the Kinges actes and merites towardes thEmperour have been of suche sorte, as is not unknowen throughe all Cristendome, the said Ambassadour coude do no wors service unto his master, than thus to studie conspire and imagyne, howe he maye sowe jelowsie suspicion and unkindenes bitwene His Majestye and his best frende; semyng to be a thinge proceding of an untrue disposicion of the said De Praet towardes thEmperour, whose affaires can not more be hindred by his grettest enemye, than by suche meanes, rather than of any good mynde that he hathe to conserve or increace good love and intelligence bitweene the bothe Princes. And whither the Kinges excellent gratuities, shewed unto thEmperours Majeste, be to be recompensed either with ons delyverance of Hym from suche frendes and confederates as the Kinges Grace is, or with trust ons to be revenged, as the said Ambassadour writeth he dothe hoope, I reaporte me to the judgement and discretion of al good and wise men. And for my parte I had wel trusted, and yet do (the sedicious reaportes of the said De Praet notwithstonding), that thEmperours Majeste had and dothe otherwise interprete and accepte myne actes and procedinges, than it semeth the same De Praet wolde they shulde be accepted; orelles I myght have cause to thinke many labours travailes studies and paynes taken, with most glad herte to do unto His Majestye al honour service and pleasure to me possible, not so wel collocate, as I supposed, and in maner thinke and fervently beleve them to be. Wherin thordre to be used by His Majesty for punyshement of this grete errour and offence commytted by the said Ambassadour, shalbe a grete demonstracion light and apparance hereafter.

Herunto

Herunto the said De Praet, being not a litle abashed, ne without cause, made first excepcion at the intercepting of his letters, as he that wolde not geve credence to the maner of their intercepcion, and the openyng of them by a fortunate errour, as is aforesaid; saying that Ambassadours do write unto their Princes that whiche in their conceyte is thought good, referring the judgement unto others. He affermyd also that til this tyme, it coude not ne shulde be ever founde in any his letters, that he hath made any evil reaporte, either of the Kinges Highnes or of me, as by his originall letters, whiche he said he desired and wolde be glad shulde and might be shewed, he wolde be judged; and that the cause and occasion, moeving hym thus to write at this tyme, was onely the being here of John Joachym by 8 monthes, the difficultie made to condescende unto the trieux purposed at Rome, the not avauncing of an armye on this syde as was spoken of, and the refusal of the Kinges Highnes to contribute any thing to the defence of Italye. To this I answered, I coude not a litle mervaile that he, whom the Kinges Highnes and I have alwaies made privye of the successes, wolde or coulde suspect or judge any evil herin, considring that, as to the commyng hither of John Joachym, I, at the being here of the Archebishop of Capuau, shewed unto the said Ambassadour, and wrote semblably to you to be declared unto thEmperour, that where the Poopes Holynes made overture of a trieux to be taken at Rome, the King my master was not mynded to condescende therunto, but with three thinges: on is, that thEmperour wer first agreed and contented with the same; secondely, that ther myght be an apparance, howe in the tyme of trieux myght folowe a good peax bitwene al 3 Princes; thirdely, inasmoche as herde and almost impossible it shulde be to make the Poopes Holynes so ripe in the Kinges particuler causes as were nedefull, that on shulde be sent hither from the Frenche King, or at the lest from my Lady Regent of France, whiche myght make offres for the Kinges partie, and the same founde reasonable, to advertise thEmperour therof, to whom the Kinges and myne opynyon was, an other person shulde be also sent for making of semblable offres unto His Majeste for his partie; so that both Princes pleased, the peax myght be concluded at Rome by mutuel consent, and the Poopes Holynes to have the honour as auctour and conducer of the same. Upon the retourne of the whiche Archebishop of Capuau throughe France, the saide John Joachym, shewing hym self to be a merchant and commen for his oun causes to Boloigne, with mynde to repaire in to thys Realme for merchandise, desired a saufconduyte so to do; and albeit I suspected that it myght be but a colour,

and

and that he wer some personage sent by the Frenche Kinges consent, for whiche cause the saufconduyte was graunted, yet neverthelas in 8 dais after his commyng he never disclosed unto me what he was, but covertly shewed himself desirous that some good way wer taken bitwene the Princes. Assone as, upon my straite examination, he discovered him self, and that he was sent from the said Lady Regent, I made Mons[r] De Praet privey therof, and of his sklendre charge, with the answer geven unto hym upon the same; praying hym to advertise thEmperour and my Lady Margaret, as I also wolde do, and did, the semblable. And, from tyme to tyme sens that season, I have not failed to make the said Ambassadour privey of al that hathe ben don spoken or commoned with the said Joachym, who was loged in a house within the Blak Freres belonging to M[r] Larke, whom ye knowe, to thintent I wolde have an yee unto hym being sent from an enemye, that he shulde, as he can not, ne dothe, sende or receyve any letters or messages but by my knowlege. Howbeit, against the Kinges commyng to Bridewell he was removed from that loging. And what I have writen unto you herin to be signified unto thEmperour, my sundry letters, if they be saufly arrived, can bere witnes. The Kinges Highnes and I also contynually in this tyme have made the Poopes Holynes privey to every of the premisses; showing alwaies that for no messenger, ambassadour, or other that myght comme oute of France with offres, whatsoever they wer, His Grace wolde ever conclude any thing with the Frenche King, but with the Emperours expresse knowlege consent wil and agrement; being mynded rather to contynue his enterprises against the common enemye to the uttermost, then otherwise. Wherfore seing that neither the Poopes Holynes ne thEmperour, wel regarding the premysses, coude thinke any thing to be don herin but to the best purpose, I merveiled howe the seid Ambassadour, to whome the trouthe and proceding here is so wel knowen, could take any colour to excuse his said evil reaportes upon that grounde.

As to the not condescending to take the trieux proponed at Rome bifore the decease of Mons[r] de la Roche, I was sure there was neither thEmperour, ne other that loved the King my master, whiche reasonably coulde or wolde arrect default or blame in me therin, thoughe I, like a true servaunt, gave counsail unto my said Master to the contrary; considering howe moche that trieux, proponed for a long season, that is to say 4 or 5 yeres, rebus stantibus ut tunc steterunt, shulde have ben to the extreme losse and prejudice of the King my masters affaires. For, albeit as I then said and wrote, and as trouthe was, suche a trieux, if it wer perpetuel, myght have ben most beneficial for

for thEmperour, having in his handes the hole Duchie of Mylain, the Seignorye of Jeanes, the citie and territorye of Tourney; with Naples, Navarre, and Fontrabie delyvered from dangier of the Frenchemen, being also discharged of the pension of Naples, of the mariage with the Frenche Kinges doughtter, and of al other inconvenientes wherunto His Majeste was bounden by the treatye of Noyon; the indempnite also of the Kinges Highnes not answerd ne paid: yet neverthelas there coude nothing be divised more prejudicial and derogatory unto the Kinges causes and matiers, Who by that meanes, having then his preparacion in redynes for the werres, shulde give thenemye tyme to respyre, had nothing won or recovered of the thinges belonging to His Graces right and enheritance; had also susteyned and spent excessyve charges and treasour for thEmperours sake in thise werres: there was furthermore no maner ordre taken, ne apparance, howe the said indempnite shulde be answered, and fynally, nothing of profite or goodnes myght or coude arise unto His Grace by that trieux. Wherfore, if I shulde, for the pleasure of any Prince lyving, have geven, at the first, counsail unto the Kinges Highnes to accepte and agre to the said trieux, it myght have ben wel thought I had ben no good servaunt or counsaillour to His Grace, ne I shulde have acquyted my self according to my most bounden duetie unto His Highnes, afore and above al other erthely Princes; but rather it was expedient that the Emperour, who by my masters good helpe had attayned so many grete peces, shulde then sumwhat trayne Hym self in concurring with His Highnes or otherwise, so as there myght be some likelyhode of more egalite in the successes of their enterprises, bifore they shulde comme unto suche an unreasonable trieux. All this notwithstonding, when the Kinges Grace was advertised that there was not sufficient furnyture of money on thEmperours behalf for entertaynement of the werres, and that there began to be some doubte and peril, lest, the trieux not taken, thaffayres of Italy shuld empayre, the Kinges Highnes, by deliberate advice of me and other of his Privey Counsail, for the tendre zeale and affeccion borne towardes thEmperours causes, al the said inconvenientes that shulde ensue thereby unto His Grace notwithstonding, postponyng al his oune matiers, was contented and sent commyssion to Rome in al possible diligence for concluding of a trieux til May come twelvemoneth; whiche, if it had not ben only for thEmperours sake, and for conservacion of his honour, His Highnes wolde never have condescended unto. And therfore the said Ambassadour had ferre over passed hymself to write say or thinke that, by any thing don on thisside in refusale of the said trieux, thEmperour had cause to be revenged.

Over

Over this, as to the not avauncing of an armye on this side, as was spoken of, it is wel knowen that the Kinges Highnes at al tymes playnely declared and determyned, that His Grace was not mynded, ne wolde sende over any suche armye that tyme of the yere, onles then His Grace myght be sure of 2 thinges: on was, that the armye then being in Province wer passed the river of Rodan with entente to perce the harte of thenemyes contreyes; an other was, that the Captain General of the company of horsemen and fotemen, to be sent by the Lady Margaret, wolde condescende to passe in to suche partes of France, as to the Kinges Lieutenant shulde be thought most convenient; withoute whiche 2 thinges the Kinges Grace alwais expresly declared none armye shulde be avaunced at that tyme of the yere. And over this the Kinges Highnes perceyved, by relacion of thEmperours oune folkes, that there lakked money on thEmperours partie for contribucion to the said armye in Province; whiche was an evident argument that, where it was capitulated that thEmperour shulde bere the hole contribution after an armye wer ons avaunced on this side, the hole enterprises shulde of likelihode perysshe in defaulte of money in Province, when the contribution of the half was not perfourmed; and consequently the armye on this side shulde either be in extreme dangier, or elles compelled to retourne with reproche losse and dishonour, besides the wastful consumpcion of treasour. Besides that, the armye in Province not passed the river of Rodan, smal good or assistence coude be geven by them unto the armye on this syde, and the Burgonyons, refusing to promyse to passe by suche ways as the Kinges Lieutenaunt shulde divise, if they shulde contynually kepe nere to their oune frontiers, after the accustumable maner, no grete good or profit coude arise of that journey. Wherfore, seing that the sending of the said armye was never promysed or intended by the Kinges Grace, but under the fourme aforesaid, it was thought more expedient for thEmperours benefite, that the Kinges Highnes shulde contynually contribute unto the armye in Province, lakking money, rather then sending an other on this side to put bothe in apparance of extreme dangier; and consequently the Emperour had cause to geve most herty thankes unto the Kinges Highnes, whiche so moche tendred his affaires, mynding to have contributed unto the sustentation of tharmye in Province al this wynter, and to set forthe some other good entreprises, to their comforte, the begynnyng of the yere; and not to be revenged of thise good and frendely dedes, as the said De Praet wolde provoke His Majeste to be. And to that intent, after the Kinges contribution expired, His Grace, over and above his convencion, sent by the handes of the Turkuplier (who

was

was thought a most mete and secrete person for that purpose) the som of 50000 crounes, appointing that Sir John Russell shuld have receyved the same at Trent, so to be conveyed streight unto the armye in Province; whiche armye, by than the money was commen so ferre as Trent, was clerely dissolved, and the money sent in to Italye, there to remayne in redynes, if any necessite therof shuld chaunce in the Emperours affaires. And albeit the Kinges Highnes (as the certainte of thinges don in Italye can not be here at the first knowen) supposed that good ordre had ben geven by thEmperour for defense of the same, and theruppon commaunded the said som to be retourned by exchange; yet neverthelas, uppon knowlege had that no worde was arrived there from the said Emperour sens the descent of the Frenche King in to those parties, the Kinges Highnes, of most herty and tendre mynde towardes thEmperour, sente the said Sir Gregory de Cassalis depeched with the charges biforehand, who had also in commaundement that, if he myght perceyve thEmperours armye to lak money, he shulde employ and delyver then the said 50000 crounes by way of lone, and, rather then faile, clerely to geve unto them the same; whiche som, any reaporte made to the contrary notwithstonding, is yet remayning there, in suche handes, that albeit practise was made for exchange therof, wayes be divised howe to have the money upon the sight, thoughe the said Ambassadour, after his accustumable sinistre interpretacion, wolde afferme that the said money was sent but for a colour, and that it is totally retourned by exchange; whiche is clerely untrue, as shall appere. Wherfore his fayned reaporte herin was and is to be taken as proceding of his perverse fantasie, withoute grounde of reason trouthe or apparance.

And as to the contribucion of Italye, albeit he knewe wel that there was never capitulacion passed bitwene the Kinges Highnes and thEmperour for that purpose, ne His Grace knewe what thEmperour intended to do therin, or whither the Imperialles, solicited by the Poope, wolde have commen, or yet wol comme, unto a trieux or not, and that also Monsr de Rieux, at his being here, confessed errour and untrue demeanour to be in the Vice Roy of Naples, and that the Kinges Grace hathe ben from many good places advertised, that there were, and yet be, practises bitwene the Frenche King and the said Vice Roy for appointment to be taken with thEmperour, as in my last letters I wrote unto you more at large, so that His Highnes coude not certeinly knowe by what meanes assistence shulde be geven to the said Vice Roy; yet, what His Grace hathe don by his diverse and many letters to sundry partes, and nowe of late by Sir Gregorys depeche, at suche tyme as the said Emperours affaires in Italy

semed there to be in most dispaire, no man coude better testifie and bere recorde then the said Ambassadour. Wherfore, to write that I wolde ascribe the victory, if any wer, only to the Kinges Grace, or that I wer cause of al the evil that thEmperour hathe, or that His Majeste dothe al thinges alone, and hathe no cause to geve thankes but to God and his oun servauntes, and that no Prince can be better served by the Vice Roy and other then He is, and that His Majeste is litel beholden to any his frendes and confederates al what so ever they be, and that he trusted to see His Majeste ons revenged, or that there were apparance that the Kinges Highnes, for speking with so symple a parson as John Joachym is, or also with the said President, coude fynde non other meane, if His Grace wer so disposed, but to comme unto Brydewell, specially the said President being lodged in a chanons house at Westminster, I coude not a litle merveile; saying, that herby the said Ambassadour had showed manyfest apparance, that he hathe a corrupte mynde and perverse intent, studying rather to bring thise 2 Princes in to jalousie and suspicion, then to norishe good love and intelligence bitwene them. To this he coude make none other answer but that he wrote his fantasie, remytting the jugement to wiser men then he is. And, provoked to put in writing suche other thinges as he affermed he coude produce against me, he answered that this was the effecte of al, and that when thEmperour shal commaunde hym he wolde so do. Herupon, having respect unto thEmperours honour, I desired hym to forbere writing, til such tyme as he myght knowe further thEmperours pleasure, and semblably, his repairing to the Kinges Highnes or to me, onles he had newe matier by any letters that shulde comme; saying that the Kinges Highnes and I wolde advertise.[1]

CX. Wolsey *to* Clerk.

My Lord of Bathe, I commende me unto you in my right herty maner. I have receyved your letters bering date at Rome the [2] day of the last moneth, perceyving by tenour of the same that in the great and weighty

[1] See note p. 386.

[2] Clerk, in his letters of the 13th and 14th of February, states that he had declared fully Wolsey's sharp though affectionate letters to the Pope, and "His Holyness hathe takyn this "sowir saws, sweetly powdered, as I trust to some edification." Vitellius, B. VII. leaf 43.

maters

maters lately committed unto you, at the depeche of Sir Gregory de Cassalys[1], ye so discretely and prudently have conduyted and ordered your self, aswell with the Popes Holynes as otherwise, that surely your accustummed wisedome, perfite intent, and diligent indevour is dailly more and more, by contynuall experience of your doinges, largely shewed and approved, to the Kinges singuler contentacion, and, for the herty good will that I beire unto you, to my great rejoyse and gladnes. And forasmoche as at this tyme the maters semyng to requyre no grete delaye, it shalbe but superfluous to make long recapytulacion of theffect of your said letters, to you well knowen and fresh in your rememberance, specially for that in the waye ther may be some difficultie of conveyance; I therfore, to shewe unto you the somme and veray effect of the Kinges mynde and pleasure in breve wordes and sentences, advertise you that, forasmoch as at the date of thise letters is here known, it shuld seme that the Frenche King intendeth and myndeth, if He might be so suffred, to fatigate and wery thEmperours armye, putting theym unto the wors, not by stroke of batail or conflict to be experymented with theym, but with consumyng of theym by long tract of tyme, for lak of money and enterteynment. The Kinge and I also considre and note, that, at the date of your said letters, the 200000 ducates appointed to have ben sent by the Emperour were not arrived; and a common fame is here, that som letters of exchange sent for that purpose were intercepted by thenemyes; by the mean wherof, if other remedy were not provyded, the Frenche King might the more facilly attayn his purpose, and thEmperours affaires ther totally disapointed. You write also, and so dothe Sir John Russell, what order hathe bene taken with the Kinges money lately being in the handes of the same Sir John, not like by a great some to be recovered ther at this tyme, so that expedient nowe it is to seke other waies of remedye, and that in tyme. For whiche cause the Kinges Highnes, mynding to pretermyt nothing that may conferre to the benefite of the common affaires, in the prosperite wherof shall undoubtedly, God willing, ensue the weale of all Christendome, woll not ne is mynded that the Emperours armye, whiche so valiantly have behaved theym selfes unto so good and so vertuous a pourpose, shal nowe perishe or declyne, for lak of that thing, whiche His Grace may reasonably and honorable supplye and conduce to good effect. Wherfore His Grace, by deliberate avice of his Counsail, hathe caused all the waies and meanes possible to be experymented, howe from hens som honerable aide of money may be geven to thEmperialls for

[1] Da Casale and Russell arrived at Rome on the 11th of February. Vitellius, B. VII. leaf 43.

thair better contynuance and entertaynment, to susteyn demore and abide the Frenche Kinges malice at this tyme. Neverthelas redy money can not be conveyed without great danger and long tract of tyme, and the merchantes here, not knowing the successes of Italye, be in doubt, howe to take or promyse to pay money by exchange. For whiche cause order is taken, that by the bankes of Antony Vivold, Januay, and Nicholas Dodo, Venecian, ther shal the some of 40 or 50, and percace 100000, ducates be provided at Venice, by suche convencion as Mr Secretary, now being ther and having commodite to knowe the valuacion and price of gold and money in those parties, shal make with thair agentes respondentes; the same to be repayde here, for as moche parte therof as shalbe by you taken to the Kinges use, upon receipt of your or Mr Pace acquitance, mencionyng the receipt of the same and price of the same; wherin I have writen to Mr Pace, as by the copy of my letters to hym directed[1], whiche I send you herwith, ye shall perceyve more at large. Ascertayning you, that first the Kinges mynde and intent is, to asmoche as conveniently at this tyme may be done for furtherance of thEmperours affaires in Italy, and to put remedy that the Frenche King shal not, as He thinketh, consume the Emperialles for lak of money, but that they may be by the Kinges assistence rather able, God willing, to consume Hym. And for that cause, the maters being in disposition for that purpose, His Grace woll that the 50000 crounes, alredy promysed to theym, be answered, according to suche purpose and meanyng as by my former letters ye have bene advertised, that is to say, batail striken or not striken, and victory had or not had, if that money may conferre unto thair demore for outlaying of the Frenche King or conservacion of the Duchy of Mylayn and thair armye to gedre, ye shal deliver hyt unto theym. And over that, if ye shal fynde such thing to chaunce that thair contynuance and the weale of thEmperours affaires ther shal depende only for lak of money, and that the somme of 5, 6, 8, or, rather than fayle, 10000£ sterling, over and above the said 50000 crounes, may be the refuge and remedy therof, ye shal not stik, in cace of extreme necessite, also to give unto theym the same, over and above the said 50000 crounes, ether by lone upon suretie of bankers to be repayde, if suche suretie may be had, or otherwise; and at the uttermost for lak of commodite to be repayde, absolutely

[1] This despatch has been printed, but very incorrectly, by Fiddes, Coll. p. 146. There are three MS. copies of it, one in the State Paper Office, and two in the Museum, Vitellius, B. VII. leaf 73, and Harleian, Vol. 283. leaf 22, of which the last is the best. The despatch to Pace being dated from the King's Manor at Bridewell, on the 5th of March, probably gives the date of the letter in the text also.

and

and clerely to geve it unto theym for the purpose bifore specifyed. And for the furniture of suche money as ye shal nede in this behalf, ye may perceyve by the copy of the letter directed to Mr Pace, what ye shal do; that is to say, to send unto hym for as muche as ye shall nede, over and above the money that can be had and recovered of the 50000 crounes lately being in Sir John Russelles handes, to thentent that with the one and the other, ye may furnish your self of asmoche as shalbe, after the maner aforesaid, requisite in this behalf. This thing is devised here for a remedy, in cace the maters be in trayn, that this provision may be the helpe therof, and upon suche knowlaige as for the tyme may be had here. Howebeit, bifore the receipt therof, som other thinges may be chanced, whiche may totally alter thaffaires from the state they were in at the date of your last letters, wherin non instruccion can be geven you from hens, but that ye, knowing the matiers ther and the Kinges mynde for conservacion mayntenaunce and supportacion of thEmperours affaires after the maner and forme bifore specified, must by your wisedome order your doinges accordingly; wherin I have writen to Mr Pace to geve you his best avice and counsail, bicause I knowe you so wise, that ye wol gladly here the opynyon of others, not for that ye shal nothing do herin without his avice, but bycause if he, knowing the disposicion of the Venecians, can advertise you therof with his further opynyon, ye may therupon order every thing towching the premisses, as by your wisedome shalbe thought to conduce unto the Kinges purpose. All whiche matiers, after this advertisement, I remyt to your discretion, to be ordered accordingly.

As touching the conferences that ye have had with the Popes Holynes, with the residue of the matier conteyned in your said letters; inasmoche as at this tyme al dependeth upon the mayntenaunce of thEmperialles in the Duchy of Mylayn, and that this remedy provided, requireth acceleracion; knowing also that in the meane tyme ye woll pretermyt nothing, whiche ye may do with the Popes Holynes to the furtherance of the present maters; I shal therfore deferre the rest unto my next letters, forbeiring also to write unto Sir Gregory or Sir John Russell, aswel because I knowe, if they be present, ye wol make theym participant of all, hering thair avice and opynyon in the premisses, as also because I am in doubt, whither they be departed to the campe or not: trusting that I shall here som good newes from you, howe the matiers ther succede and prosper; wherin I am sure ye wolbe diligent of advertisment, after your accustomed maner, as shal appertain. And thus &c. At &c.

CXI. RUSSELL *to* KING HENRY VIII.[1]

PLEASITH Your Highnes to understand that I receyvid letters from my Lord Cardinall, wherein is mentioned that Your Highnes pleasure is, that I shuld repaire unto the Duke of Bourbon, to thentent that I shuld advertise Your Highnes and His Grace how all the affaires here doth succede. I had ben here with the saied Duke long synse, but that the Ducke of Albanny, who pretended to goo to Naples, lay in my way, and his companny sparcled there aboutes, so that I could not passe; nevertheles, whan I herde that the battail was gevyn, I in dilligence by post did repaire hither, thinke yt requisite one to be nere the said Ducke at this tyme. I finde hym fermely prefixed to fowllow his interprise against the Frenche King; and never better willing, saying that, if Your Highnes wol, he woll set the crowne of Fraunce upon your hed, and that shortly; and that there may more be don now with a hundreth thowsande crownes for thoptayning of that, than before might have ben don with fyve hundreth thowsand, bicause the King, with the most part of al the nobles and capitaines of Fraunce, be taken and slayne. Wherefore his desier is, that it wol please Your Highnes to fornish payment for 12 thowsande fotemen and five hundreth men of armes for too monnethes, wich amounteth unto too hundreth thowsande crownes; and he hym self wol fornish the said army of payment for one moneth at his being in Fraunce, with wiche companny he wol repaire and passe too and thorough Dolfine, bicause that by Scavoye and Bourgoigne he can nor may carry none artillery owte of Italye. Yf Your Highnes pleasure be, that he marche in too Fraunce, he sayeth he woll trust onely to Your Highnes, and to no man elles; for, if contribution be made to be paied by the Viceroy or others in these parties, he sayeth they wol handle hym as they did at his being in Provence, and rather than he wol take and suffre suche dishonour as he did there, he had

[1] From Letters to the King and Council in the Chapter House, Vol. V. No. 18. It seems necessary for the purpose of giving some account of the battle of Pavia to insert this letter, although another despatch from Russell to the King, dated two days earlier, containing for the most part the same matter, but varying in some not unimportant words, is printed by Ellis, 2d series, Vol. I. p. 297. A like letter to Wolsey of the 16th is among his correspondence, Vol. X. fo. 19, but it omits the two first sentences. The same volume also preserves the last sheet of Russell's letter to Wolsey of the 11th.

lever

lever be dede. Notwithstanding, he sayeth he wol observe and kepe all suche promessis, as he hath made to Your Highnes, and to thEmperour, to the uttermost of his powear. In case he wold passe by Bourgoigne, he wotteth not how to have artillery to follow and mayntaine his saied interprise, oneles Your Highnes might so deale with thArcheduke, that he woldbe contented to let hym have artillery with monytion in a towne called Brisack within the Countie Ferrat, where he hath goode store. If he graunte thereunto, men must be levyed there for the conveyaunce of the same in to Bourgoigne. Wherefore Mons[r] de Bourbon sayeth that good it were, Your Highnes shuld demaunde of thEmperour to have certaine pieces of thartillery here wonne of the Frenchemen, which is in good redines alredy, and so to passe with the same thorough Dolfine. Yf it please Your Highnes this to be doon, he pretendith to have those men with hym, which alredy hath betyn the Frenchemen, and rekeneth the same a greate advauntage, for thei be greatly dred in Fraunce. He desiereth to know where, and too what parties, Your Highnes wol repaire with your army, so that he, if case requere, may yoyne with Your Highnes. Further he thinkith that your own shall doo muche in this affaire. Also Mons[r] de Bourbon sayeth, that in this case dilligence woldbe used, considering the late overthrow, that the Frenchemen hath had here in Italye, and that also they in Fraunce cannot so shortly be provided to resiste against ther ennemys; and whan the too armes be there, they shall have no laisour to make no provision; and also thei ar evil provided of good capitaynes.

ThEmperours army thought to have come and assayled the Frenche King in his camp in the mornyng betymes, every of them having a white shert upon his harnoiz; whereof, or yt wer midnight, He was advertised, Who than removed owt of his camp into the playne filde, and ordayned his battailes the same night; so that, whereas thEmperours army thought to have set upon them being incamped, they founde them in araye and good ordre, marching towardes them, having wel forty pieces of artillery, which did muche hurt. The Frenche King layeth now fault in his Suyses, for that He hath lost the battail, and sayeth that they did not there part as they shuld hav doon. His launceknightes fowght very well against ther owne nation Richard de la Poole was ther capitaine, who was slayne there, and also few of them scaped. Besides this of 14 hundreth men of armes, wiche He had there, there escaped not past 4 or 500, but wer eyther taken or slayne. Yt is saied here there was slayne in the felde 12 thowsande men, besides divers that wer drowned in the Tyzyn fleing, which be founde dayly, and of greate

greate nomber. There was taken prisoners ten thowsand; and the most part of them wer men of werre, and the other rascall, to whom Monsr de Bourbon hath given passeportes. And of thEmperours part there was not lost past 1500 men, or nere there aboutes. Notwithstanding, He hath bounde the gentilmen and the cappitaines by there othes, that they shall make no werr nor bere no harnoiz in Fraunce against no man this twelve monethes, and the others men of werr for 5 monethes, and the residue for thre monnethes. And asfor the greate parsonaiges that be taken, yt is agreed betwene Monsr de Bourbon, the Viceroy, and the Marques of Piscara, that none of them shalbe put to no ransome as yet, nor until they know further of the Emperours and Your Highnes pleasures in that behalf. They give Monsr de Bourbon a greate praise, and sayeth he did very mannely the same day, and that he was wonne of the causers that the saied battaile was wonne, for if he had not ben, there had ben no battail given, but a truse taken; which shuld not have ben neyther honorable nor proffitable to thEmperour, to Your Highnes, nor to hym. The saied Duke sayeth that now is the tyme, and that shortly Your Highnes may, accomplisshing the saied Dukes demaunde before rehersed, optayne all your right and inhereditaunce, which the Frenche King hath; and never so wel as now. He sayeth that he declareth not this for the recouvery of his owne there, but considereth wel that Your Highnes may now have by peace somme part of your right, and dowteth not but by the same peace he shalbe restored unto his.

This notwithstanding, he thinketh it best, seying that yt so may be, to take and ynyoye aswel al, as some. And this offre that he maketh, he sayeth it is onely to do Your Highnes service, and to helpe you to recouver your right in accomplisshing his promesses made unto Your Highnes afforetyme. This hath ben as greate a victory as hath ben sene manny yeres, for of al the nobles of Fraunce be scaped no more but Monsr Dalanzon, and very fewe Frenchemen escaped besides them that wer in Myllan. The Spaniardes, after the battail wonne, poursuyed and chased the Frenchemen almost a hundreth miles, kylling and slaying them without mersy. And thus Jesus preserve Your Highnes in long life and continual prosperite. Writtin at Millan, the 13th daye of Marche.

(*Signed*) Your humle subget and servant,

J. Russell.

CXII. KNIGHTE *to* WOLSEY.[1]

PLEASITH it your Grace to understond, that my Lady Margaret hath shewed unto me that, ensuying your Graces pleasure, she hath ordeigned that Mons[r] de Praett shall no lenger occupye the rome of Ambassatour; but shall returne unto thEmperour, and Mons[r] Jehan de la Shaw shall remaigne there tyll thEmperours pleasure be ferther knowen. Moreovyr, she entendyth shortly to send a good personage towardes thEmperour, to solicit and to procure that thEmperour do folow the Kinges pleasure and youres in this grete entreprise, and in all othre. Syr, the actes of Mons[r] de Praett have bene so hayneuse, that no man hereth of theym, but abhorreth bothe the dedys, and the doer; nevyrthelesse yt ys thowght that your Grace ys so honorable and so affectionat unto thEmperour, that ye will regarde muche more the Prince that he representyth, then de Praett, which oonly hath offendyd. We say here that a gentleman of Englond, beyng not long sythyns Ambassatour with thEmperour, speking and writing veari ungodli of thEmperour, and that knowen, was presented at his departing with 4000 ducats in a cup, which was oonly for the honor of the Kinges Highnesse and your Grace. The Holigoste preserve your Grace. At Bruxelles, this 27th day of Marche.

Your moste humble bedesman, &c.

(*Signed*) W[M] KNIGHTE.

(*Superscribed*)
To my Lord Legates good Grace, &c.

CXIII. THE POPE'S NUNCIO *to* . . . . . .[2]

DIE Dominicæ preteritæ, qui fuit vigesimus sextus dies Martij, profectus sum ad Pizighiton, ut exequerer mandata Sanctissimi Domini Nostri circa

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[1] From the Wolsey Papers, Vol. VII. p. 74.
[2] Record Office. Copy.

visitationem Regis Christianissimi nomine Sue Sanctitatis; quem in lecto conveni, nam die Lune in mane ad eum perveni, suique moris est tarde assurgere, utpote qui existimat infelicitatem suam longe minorem, si quando quiescendi gratia custodum presentiam evitare potest. Interea ego colloquebar cum Domino Alarcone, quem ferociorem ceteris omnibus inter loquendum reperi, sed paulo post in sermonis progressu mecum egit humanissime. Ubi primum intelleximus Regem paratum esse, ut ad sacrum prodiret, ad Suam Majestatem a quodam mei adventus premonitam obviam profecti sumus, qui postquam me conspexisset, lætum vultum prestare conatus est, licet revera altum premeret corde dolorem; illi vero ego reddidi breve Sanctissimi Domini Nostri, quod perlegit attentissime, illudque perlectum Capitaneo Alarconi statim tradidit, excusans, asserensque hunc hominem sibi esse a secretis assignatum; atque una cum illo aderant multi Hispani. Rex enim ab initio predixerat, non licere mihi quicquam apud Suam Majestatem agere, nisi illis presentibus; quam ob causam non potui eam consolari copiose, quemadmodum fecissem, si seorsum ab alijs solum Regem alloqui potuissem. His tamen in consolando modis usus sum, quos Sue Regiæ Majestati placituros, et circunstantibus Hispanis satisfacturos judicavi. Rex vero Christianissimus tria respondit. Primo, dixit Sanctissimum Dominum nostrum non minorem habere causam suam fortunam condolendi, quam Cesaris victoriam Domino Viceregi gratulandi; sciebat enim eandem inter se et illius Sanctitatem intercedere animorum conjunctionem, que inter eam et Cesaream Majestatem. Secundo, summe rogavit Sanctissimum Dominum Nostrum, quod, si quid unquam apud Cesarem et ceteros Christianos Principes sedulo egit, nunc presertim pro viribus curet pacem inter Christianos. Tertio, gratissima mente accepit oblationes, quas Sanctissimi Domini Nostri nomine illi obtuli, summisque precibus rogabat, ut id prestare conaretur, quod ego de sua liberatione pollicebar, una cum conservatione rerum suarum tractanda per Sanctissimum Dominum Nostrum apud Cesarem, apud quem confidebat illam plurimum posse. Ipse autem interim bene sperabat de probitate Cesaris, quam ad omnem occasionem, prout dicebat, cupiebat addi a Sanctissimo Domino nostro. Ad id ego addidi quedam, que putavi placitura Sue Majestati, et nullo pacto irritatura circunstantes. Postmodum Regem deduximus ad sacellum nigris pannis velatum. Rex vero veste cinericij colore, pellibus martirum non admodum preciosis suffulta, vestitus incedebat, hancque vestem nunquam voluit post captivitatem cum alia commutare. Statim ad Evangelium assurrexit, dextraque manu capiti imposita, presse illud fricare cepit. Nullum ego aliud solliciti animi signum in eo notavi, peracto sacro, e sacelloque egressis.

egressis. Dominus Alarconus facultatem mihi, quamvis renuenti, ne suspicioni essem, concessit cum Rege, remotis arbitris, colloquendi, qui ubi a tergo Alarconem non interesse vidisset, summa statim attentione perscrutatus est, quo pacto Albanïe Dux se haberet. Illius successus breviter exposui, arbitrabarque ad id tempus classem solutis velis abijsse; quo intellecto, restitit animi admodum suspensi, coegitque rem eandem iterum narrare, Gallice exclamans, "Etty possibile?" Mox interogavit de Domino Joanne de Medicis, an ego illum vidissem; quem ego non multo ante vidisse respondi, sperabamque brevi illum posse equitare, cetera vero omnia desperata esse asserui; ad quod dictum maxime concitatus est, dixitque nihil aliud credendum esse, quam ita futurum. Cum quo sermone ego conveniens, hoc adjeci, "percutiam pastorem, "et dispergentur oves." Nihilo plus, aut minus sùmu[*s*] soli colloquuti, statimque Sua Majestas ad prandium accessit, cujus primis epulis Dominus Alarconus propinavit, mappamque porrexit ad tergendas manus. Statim post prandium redij ad Suam Majestatem, ut me ab illo expedirem, et post multa hinc inde coram omnibus prolata, petij an quicquam aliud juberet mihi ad Sanctissimum Dominum nostrum. Respondit in hec verba formalia Italice, "Non altro racco mandatemi a nostro Signor la fortuna," id est, nihil aliud, commendetis me Sanctissimo Domino nostro, fortuna; et ex abrupto avertit oculos a me, et cuidam parieti defixit, adeo ut potius respondentem me audiret, quam recedentem conspiceret. Res profecto ultra modum misericordia digna, que omnia ut Sanctissimo Domino nostro inservirem sum exequutus, sed spontanea electione, nemo humani cordis est, qui libenter sustineret tale spectaculum; eo maxime, quod non videtur Cesaris captivus suorumque capitaneorum, sed potius quibusque satellitibus subjectus, omnes enim jus in illum sibi tribuunt. Rex tamen cum omnibus humanissime, liberalissimeque, prout rerum status patitur, se gerit, atque jocatur, putatque non minorem esse virtutem posse huic fortune se accommodare, quam regno, ut consueverat, imperare. Dominus Memorancii est illi unicum refrigerium. Mediolani, die 29 Martii.

CXIV. King Henry VIII. *to* Tunstall *and* Sir Ri. Wyngfeld.[1]

Instruccions geven by the Kinges Highnes unto the Right Reverend Fadre in God, his right trusty and right welbeloved Counsailour the Bishop of London, Keper of the Kinges Pryvey Seale, and to his trusty and right welbeloved Counsaillour and Knight of the Ordre, Sir Richard Wingfeld, Chaunceler of the Duchy of Lancaster, whom His Highnes at this present tyme sendith, on speciall ambassiate, unto his derest and best beloved Son Brother and good Nephieu the Emperour.

(*Signed*) Henry R.

First the Kinges said Ambassadours taking with theym not only the Kinges severall commissiones[2], under his Great Seale, amply divised and geven unto theym for the pourposes and intentes hereafter mencioned, but also all suche letters of addresse, bothe of the Kinges oune hand and otherwise, as be directed unto the said Emperour on the Kinges behalve; and semblably letters from my Lord Legate of his oune hand, and others directed to the Lord Chaunceler, Countie of Nassowe, and diverse of the said Emperours Counsail, with all suche originall writinges, and copies of treaties, convencions, bandes, and mynutes, as may be requisite for the porposes hereafter specified, shal, in as convenient diligence as they commodiously may, repaire and take thair waye unto the said Emperour; to whom at the tyme of access and audience to be geven unto

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[1] From the original in the State Paper Office. A copy is in the Museum, Vespasian, C. III. leaf 29.

The State Paper Office contains two original despatches from Wolsey to Tunstall and Sir Richard Wyngfeld while engaged on this mission, dated the 3d and the 7th of April, which it is deemed unnecessary to print in this work, as they have been published by Galt, Appendix, pp. clxxvii and cli, though in an inverted order, and the first with several errors, and modernized orthography. The second is nearly correct, except in substituting 50000 for 500000 ducats as the amount of the offer from the Italian potentates. The Museum contains two copies of each, the first in Vespasian, C. III. leaf 49, and Harleian, Vol. 297. leaf 206; the second in the same volumes, Vespasian, leaf 51, and Harleian, leaf 208.

Clerk's letter to Wolsey of the 19th of March, of which a copy was transmitted in the second of the above-mentioned despatches, is in Vitellius, B. VII. leaf 84, from whence a great part of it's contents has been printed by Ellis, 2d series, Vol. I. p. 305.

[2] Contemporary minutes of these commissions are extant in Vespasian, C. III. leaves 23–28, and 150–154 b. They are all dated "London, 26 March 1525, Anno Reg. 16°."

theym,

theym, they, taking with theym Doctour Sampson, the Kinges Ambassadour resident with the same Emperour, shal deliver in due and requisite maner the Kinges said letters to His Majesty directed, and semblably those of my Lord Legate, and after that at convenient tymes to deliver unto the said Chaunceler and others of thEmperours counsail, the letters to theym directed as is aforesaid.

The said Ambassadours, at the delivery of the Kinges letters to thEmperour, shal first, with as good and herty wordes as they can devise, make unto Hym the Kinges most cordiall and affectuous recommendations, with congratulacions, not only of the good recovery of his healthe, and convalescence from the dangier of the quarteyn, wherwith the Kinges Highnes, to his greate ingrete and hevynes, understode that His Majesty was right lately visited, but also for the fortunate and prousperous successe ensued by overthrowe of the Frenche armye in Italye, and taking of the Frenche King prisoner; wherin, after lawdes and thankes to be geven unto Allmighty God, the said Ambassadours shal greatly commende the prudence ordre and provision taken and divised by the said Emperour and his Counsail, with the valiant acquitaile vertue and strenuite of the faithfull and good capitains servauntes and subjectes, in the honorable defence of thaffaires and interprise of Italye, shewing the inward rejoyse and consolacion that the Kinges Highnes dothe take for the same; whiche, for the honour ensued unto the said Emperour therby, with the suertie of the matiers in Italye, and the greate benefite like to folowe therupon unto the common causes and generally unto all Christendome, hathe ben asmoche to the Kinges highe comfort and gladnes as coude be thought or divised: trusting verayly that, sens Almighty God of his infinite grace hath thus provided for the repressing of the inordinate pryde and insaciable ambicion of Hym, whiche was the common enemye and generall disturbar of all peax rest and tranquillite, ther is nowe evident apparance that thEmperour and the Kinges Grace, taking good and substanciall waies by conformyte, shall conduce and bring thair common causes unto high and notable effect, to thair great honour and benefite, and to the repose and quiete of all Cristendome.

And considering that, after the long continewed warres, and the manifold great charges susteyned by thEmperour and the Kinges Highnes, the matiers be nowe, by the providence of Almighty God, brought unto that poynt, that the hole stay weale and trayne of thaffaires of Cristendome shal and ar like to depende upon thair procedinges; who, being associate and unite in werre peax and all other thair common accions and doinges, have in thair handes and

and power at this tyme, eyther by high polycye discretion and wisedom to establish the same in wealthe and prosperite, to thair greate merite lawde and honour, or, pretermytting the commodite and occasion nowe offred and geven, to suffre the pestiferous and cruent werres discordes and discencions rather to encreace and augment, than to be remedied and dyminished; the Kinges Highnes, aswel for the inwarde zeale charite and fervent desire that His Grace hathe unto thencreace of Cristes religion, nowe greatly hindred and dymynished by reason of the intestine werres that long hathe continued in the same, wherof the Frenche King and his antecessours have ben the only auctours cause and occasion, as also for the tendre mynde and entier affeccion that His Highnes beireth unto thexaltacion honour weale and suretie of his said derest son brother and good nephieu, is right inwardly desirous, and by greate and profounde deliberacion studied and divised, what is nowe to be done in this great and waighty matiers and affaires.

And surely, if ne were that the said Lord Legate groweth nowe to great age, and may not without his extreme danger endure to travaile and passe the sees bitween England and Spayne, his Grace wolde not have failled to have repaired at this tyme on ambassiate from the Kinges Highnes unto the said Emperour, for the pourpose before specified. Nevertheles, inasmoche as the said Lord Legate may not for the cause abovesaid take upon hym self the said ambassiate, the Kinges Highnes, mynding to communicate with the said Emperour the hole botom of his hert and mynde, as largely and entierly as though His Grace had personal conference with Hym, hathe elected and chosen the said Bishop of London and Sir Richard Wingfeld, of speciall confidence, to take this province upon them, being as largely and amply informed of the Kinges veray intencion hert and mynde, touching the premisses, as can be. Wherfore His Grace most cordially desireth the said Emperour to be as frank liberall and open with his said Ambassadours, making theym pryvey of his intent pourpose and deliberacion in al the present occurrantes and affaires, as His Majesty wolde be with Hym self, if His Grace were there present; so as the Kinges Highnes may nowe perfitely understonde th Emperors avice and good opynyon what is further to be done in this behalf; wherin His Grace, as He hathe alwaies hitherto done, wolbe glad effectuelly to concurre with the said Emperour for the common benefite of thair causes, and the generall weale and commodite of all Cristendome.

This at the first accesse declared and shewed unto the Emperour, as is aforesaid, the said Ambassadours shal here make a pawse, noting substancially what

what answer shalbe made unto theym upon the same, for the first tyme; and as they shall see the cace to require, either that thEmperour be disposed to have more ample conference with theym at that season in the particularities of thise matiers or otherwise, so shal they order theym selfes; not doubting but that, bifore thair commyng unto thEmperours presence, they shal, aswel by the said Doctour Sampson as by others, be partely advertised what thEmperour, upon knowlaige had of the said good successes in Italy, hath somwhat discussed and divised to be done for this present somer, and what ordre He is mynded to take with the Frenche Kinges Person, whither He shal remayn in Italye or be conveyed into Spayne: whiche thinges shalbe a great light unto theym, to knowe moche the better howe they shal procede in the declaracion of thair charge, by suche degrees ordre forme and matier as shalbe requisite; wherin they shal so endevour theym selfes, that they may first, if it be possible, here and understonde what thEmperour and his Counsail, upon the said declaration made at thair first accesse, or after, wol disclose and shewe unto theym, touching his intent and pourpose, with his avice and opynyon what shuld be done for the Kinges parte; so as, knowing a plat and likelihode of thEmperours mynde and inclination, they may the better be riped in al thair doinges with Hym and his Counsail, touching the overture and declaration of the secretes of thair charge.

Neverthelas, if peradventure the said Emperour and his Counsail, keping thair intentes close, shal require first to knowe the Kinges mynde and disposicion, saying that they wold be glad to here and understonde the Kinges avice and opynion in the premisses, and what He intendeth to do for prosecucion of his pretences in Fraunce; than, taking some convenient pawse for conference and communicacion to be had at good lengthe, wherin they shall observe this maner and fourme that foloweth.

First, they shal say that the Kinges Highnes, Who sens the tyme that Almighty God called Hym unto his croune and dignite roiall hath affixed and established the fundacion of his intent and porpose, like a most vertuous Prince, to do some notable service unto Cristes religion, groundly pondring and divising with Hym self, and the most profunde and discrete folkes of his Counsail, upon the present state of the same; having also due consideracion and respect to the infinite troubles discencions discordes and contentions, whiche of a long season have depended bitwene Cristen Princes Potentates seignories and countreys in Cristendome, by reason wherof, the same being in so great division within it self, not only innumerable occysions destruccions devastinges and depopulations

depopulations of countreys, with other infinite inconvenientes, have ensued to the high displeasure of Almighty God, but also therby commodite hathe ben geven to the Turkes, enemyes of Cristes faithe, mervelously to encroche extende and ampliate thair usurped empire and domynion, to the notable dymynucion of Cristes said religion; having, besides other thair excellent conquestes, nowe lately subdued and adquired into thair domynion the twoo chief and most sure propugnacles of Cristendome, by reason wherof not only the realmes of Naples, Cicile, and other partes of Italye, on thone syde, but also the realmes of Polone, Hungary, and other partes of Germony, on thother syde, lye open, redy in maner to the pray and entre of the sayd infydeles to destroye and vaynquesh all the rest of the same; remembring furthermore the dampnable heresye of the Lutheriane secte, sustitate and brought up in the tyme of this division, tending principally and chiefely to the withdrawing of the obedience of the Churche of Rome, and also of the governaunce regyment and suppreme dignite of Princes and al nobilitye; in such wyse, as, if by the speciall grace of Almighty God some direct perfyt and most prudent waye be not taken and remedy adhibited unto thise great inconvenientes in tyme, not only greatter and more sore punishementes, adversities, sklaunders, warres, hostilities, with generall trouble descension and division, not able to be remedied by the hedes and princes, ar like to arise in breve tyme, but also, if God put not his helpe herunto, the hole Cristendome is in evident danger of utter perdicion and ruyn: the Kinges Highnes therfore, having most tendre remorce and respect unto the premisses, knowing furthermore that the high orgule pryde and insaciable ambicion of the Frenche Kinges, whiche of many daies have contended by usurpacion upon the countreys patrymonyes and rightes of all other bordring upon thair confynes, to aspire unto the monerchy of Cristendome, hathe been the chief principall and in maner only grounde cause and occasion of all the said inconvenientes, can not thinke imagyne or beleve otherwise, but that by the thraldome, captivitie, overthrowe and taking of the said Frenche King, Who of his oune nature is inclined to asmoche arrogance and extreme ambicion as ever was King of Fraunce, it is the pleasure of Almighty God to ordeyn and provide a waye meane and introduccion, howe the tyranny oppression and excesse of those that, directely or indirectely, be enemyes of Cristes faithe, may be suppressed and extinct, and the religion of Cristendome againe to florishe increace and augment; whiche occasion offred by Almighty God, if by the proceding of other Cristen Princes at this tyme, into whose handes it semeth this matier is by God put and committed, the same shuld not be duely amplected

amplected embraced and folowed, it is to be feared that God should take high indignacion against theym, executing his terryble sworde of correccion and dredeful punishment upon theym for the same.

For whiche cause it hathe ben thought unto His Highnes, that, in accompleshement of his duetie unto God and the world, His Grace oweth and is bounden first to serche examyne and inquire wher shuld rest the culpe, blame, default, and occasion of so many evilles, to thentent that, the cause ons removed and extirped, theffectes of the same may also be disapointed. And verayly His Grace, revolving with Hym self and his said Counsail asmoche as may or can be by theym thought or studyed herin, can not fynde or perceyve but that aslong as the realme of Fraunce, scituate and constitute in maner in the hert and myddes of all Cristendome, shall remayn in thandes of those, whiche can not, ne never wyl, ceace to applye thair wittes, powers, thoughtes, and studies to ampliate and extende thair lymytes and dominion, never saciate ne contented with inogh, ther can never be rest quiete ne tranquillite in Cristendome, but that only the ambicion of Fraunce shalbe alwaies an occasion to bring all Cristen Princes and countreyes unto warre hostilitie and division. For it is facile and easy to considre, that a tirant, usurping and encroching upon his neighbours and other mens rightes, can not thinke to conserve defende and maynteyn his injust querel, onles than he seke waies and meanes howe to sowe discorde and discencion amonges theym; and what great patrymonyes countreys and dominions the Frenche King and his auncestours have deteyned hitherto from others, is wel known.

For first it is notarious and manifest that the Kinges Highnes pretendeth by just title of enheritance to have the hole crown of Fraunce, as that whiche oweth to descende unto Hym of veray right and succession; as largely may be proved and justifyed by sufficient matier of trouthe and recorde, over and besides particuler treaties, whereby His Grace is justely intitled unto the same. Besides that, if His Grace had never had any suche title of enheritance to the hole croune of France, yet it can not be by no man rightfully denyed but that the duchyes of Normandye, Gascoign, Guyen, Angeowe, Mayn, Poytowe, and other great patrymonyes injustely deteyned by the Frenche King, owe of right to belong unto the Kinges Highnes by lyke lyniall discent and succession.

Furthermore, what noble countreys and great dominions the French King wrongfully hathe and kepeth from thEmperour, His Majesty and his Counsail do best knowe; and semblably what oder peces He hath belonging to diverse persons, pretending title and interesse in the same.

Over this, not contented with all the premisses, it is not unknown howe

long the realme of Fraunce hath contended to have the duchy of Mylain, Ast, Jeanes, the realme of Naples, with other great territories in Italye; and drawing unto thair devocions the Venecians, the Florentynes, the Lukeys, with other potentates of the same, hath studied nothing more than howe they may aspire to the said monarchy.

On thother partie, the Kinges Highnes considreth howe, sens the Kinges in Fraunce have by litle and litle thus increaced thair domynion, and have had intromedle and intelligence in Italy, they have converted thair studye, with all effect, to dymynish and decreace dailly, more and more, the state rightes and jurisdiccion of thEmpire, joynyng and combynyng them selfes alwaies with suche countreys cities townes and places, as be the verray territorye of the Empire, to thentent, that by the comfort and aide of Fraunce, they might take and chalenge, as they do, libertie and exempcion; withdrawing theym self from the subjeccion of thEmpire, in suche wise as by meane hereof it hath ben seen that non Emperour of many yeres passed hath attayned his crown and right to the same Empire duely belonging, ne ever thEmperour nowe present, or any other, shal be able to recover and quietely to conserve and kepe the same, aslong as the realme of Fraunce is so puissant, and hath so many great peces joyned therunto, as nowe were in the Frenche Kinges obeissance and possession.

And albeit the Frenche King ys, God be thanked, for this present tyme in captivite, as is aforesaid, by meane whereof it might be thought that He and his realme may be induced unto suche a conformite, that they shal not only be contented to redeme Hym with a great rawnsome in money, but also condescende to restoure somme portions and peces by theym injustly deteyned; yet nevertheles every wise man may facilly knowe, that whatsoever they graunt promise deliver or conforme theym self unto in this tyme of adversite, the Frenche Kinge, ones retourned home, shal not faile, in breve tyme after, to innovate newe matiers, and reviving by litle and by litle, shal convert his mynde and power bothe to the revenging of the displeasour nowe by Hym receyved, and also to the recovery of the said portions and peces, with enterprising newe demaundes and pretences, as alwaies heretofore He and his auncestours have ben accustumed; from the whiche, neither pacte, convencion, aliance, or other thing that can be contracted with Hym, shal cause Hym to forbeire and absteyn: by reason whereof thEmperour shalbe no les in danger, whatsoever may nowe be had by appointement, to lose the same again, than ever He or his predecessours and progenitours were before, and consequently the commodite and oportunite, nowe offred, lost and neglected, the state of Cristendome shalbe nothing hereby meliorate, but rather come from evill unto wors,

wors, to the great offence and displeasur of Almighty God, and the daunger and ruyn of the same.

Wherfore, thise thinges by the Kinges Highnes profoundely digested and considered, the said Ambassadours shal say, that first, for the service of Almighty God, who hathe of his infinite goodnes sent this oportunite, secondly, for the universal weale of all Cristendome, and thirdly, for that it toucheth so nere the state of thEmpire, besides the Kinges particuler enteresse, wherunto of reason respect shuld be had, His Highnes, by deliberate and substanciall avice of his Counsaill, thinketh undoubtedly, that ther is no waye or meane that can be excogitate or divised, howe to put remedy unto the present inconvenientes and immynent dangers aforesaid, and to establish thEmperours and the Kinges affaires in perfite and perpetual suretie, aslong as the Frenche King, or any other of his ligne, may reigne in the realme of Fraunce, and be restoured therunto by rawnsom, composicion, with departing from certain portions, or otherwise, but that above all other thinges, He, his ligne, and succession, descended from suche as have usurped and encroched upon others, be to be aboleshed removed and utterly extinct. And this shalbe the onely meane howe to remove the occasion of werre and hostilite in Cristendome, to conduce and bring thEmpire of Rome unto the former dignite and astate, to recompence all suche Princes and other, as nowe taking injury can not be contented to susteyne the same, and finally to answer and satisfye unto that thing, whiche it semeth God hathe ordeyned and provided for the defence justifying and exaltacion of his cause and the Cristen religion.

At this point the said Ambassadours shal eftsones make a convenient pawse, to thentent they may, bifore they procede any further in the more secretnes of thair charge, perceyve howe thEmperour and his Counsail shal accept and take this commencement of thair overture; wherin it is to be thought that the said Emperour and his Counsail shal incline and leane unto oon of the twoo waies folowing, that is to say, either they wol herken and geve ere unto the total disapointment of the Frenche King and his ligne from the croune of Fraunce, orelles restoure Hym unto the same, upon his rawnsom, and other pactes and conventions, suche as may be passed for that purpose.

As to the last of those 2 poyntes, the said Ambassadours be bifore sufficiently instructed howe to disuade that mater, for the great dangers and inconvenientes that may arise therby, more than ever afore; whiche they shal extende the best they can, being thinges not like by any good reason to be avoided or confounded.

And as to the first of the said twoo waies, that is to saye, the Frenche King ne his ligne to contynue any lenger in possession of the croune of

Fraunce; ther may percace many difficulties arise therin, and by the said Emperour and his Counsail be moved unto the said Ambassadours.

On is, howe and after what forme the same may be feisible and conducible.

An other is, the said Frenche King and his ligne so removed, who shuld succede in that kingdome.

Thirdly, they may percace, as it is not to be beleved, make some mocion of the Duke of Burbon to aspire therunto.

Fourthly, they may peraventure think that the realme of Fraunce, being in the Kinges handes, having so noble and puissant a realme nere adjacent therunto, as this is, the same inconvenientes be to be doubted, touching the hindrance of thEmpire, and the ampliacion of the lymytes of Fraunce, as is bifore rehersed.

In all whiche poyntes, and suche other doubtes as may insurge, it shalbe expedient that the said Ambassadours be amply and sufficiently instructed for answer to be made unto the same, as the cace shal require.

First, howe it may be feisible and conducible utterly to extinct the regyment of the Frenche King and his ligne, or any other Frenche man, from the croune of Fraunce: the said Ambassadours shal say, that it may wel be known the same can never be conduced or brought aboute by any composicion or consent, either of the Frenche King, or of the peres and astates of that realme; and therfore to speke or treate with Fraunce therof were but vayn and superfluous. Wherfore to bring that matier to effect ther is no way to be divised, but only by force violence and puissance; whiche thing, the said Frenche King nowe remaynyng in captivite, his noble men capitains and hole army vaynqueshed slayn destroied or taken prisoners, and consequently the realme of Fraunce remaynyng without an hede, destitute of corage good counsail abilite or power, is more facile to be done at this tyme, than at any other that ever hath ben known or herd of; and specially if the Kinges Highnes and thEmperour, according to the convencions and treaties passed bitwene theym, do make thair personal invasion into Fraunce this somer, as they be bounden to do; whiche, if it were thought sufficient to attayn the intended purpose for vaynqueshing of the Frenche King, or attaynyng the overhande on the realme of Fraunce, whan the Frenche King with his nobilite and puissance was within the same, must nedes nowe be thought to be moche more able and of power so to do.

And in this matier the said Ambassadours may say that, thEmperour being contented to make the said personal invasion on that syde, suche waies may be taken,

taken, leving fortresses and strong holdes, that thEmperour may come with his armye unto Parys, wher the Kinges Highnes wol not faile, God willing, to mete Him; supposing veraily that ther shalbe none impediment, by any power of Fraunce, wherby either of Theym shuld be impeched thus to do. At whiche Parys, after the said personal meting, the Kinges Grace may in this cace take the croune of Fraunce; and the same had, His Grace, to shewe mutuel correspondence of kindnes unto thEmperour, shal geve unto Hym all effectuel assistence for attayning of his croune Imperiall: wherin the said Ambassadours shal use thise degrees;

First, they shal say the Kinges Highnes can in this cace be contented to geve thEmperour 5000 archers at the Kinges charges, for 5, or, rather than faile, for 6 monethes, or in the lieu and sted therof, the somme of 100000 crounes.

The seconde degree is, that the said Ambassadours shal graunt therunto the somme of 150000 crounes.

Thirdly, 200000 crounes: and fynally, if by none of thise offres thEmperour can be induced to invade in person, meting the King at Parys as affore, they shal say, as of theym selfes, that they doubt not but, the croune of Fraunce ones had, the Kinges Highnes wolbe contented in his oun Person to accompany thEmperour unto Rome. And if suche generall wordes wol not satisfye thEmperour and his Counsail, the said Ambassadours shal not let, all the residue of the Kinges desire in this poynt concurring with the same, to conclude the Kinges personall accompanying of thEmperour unto Rome, ther to see the Croune Imperiall set on his hede, geving his best assistence aswell therunto, as to the recovery of all suche droites and rightes as apertain to thEmpire, wherof Italye is the chamber: of whiche glorious voiage the said Ambassadours shal say is like to ensue unto thEmperour the hole monarchy of Cristendome; for of his oun enheritance He hathe the realme of Spayne, and a great part of Germony, the realmes of Cicile and Naples, with Flaunders, Holand, Zeland, Brabande, and Henalde, and other his Lowe Countreys; by election He hath thEmpire, wherunto apperteyneth almost al the rest of Italye, and many townes imperiall in Germony and elleswher; by the possibilite apparant to come by my Lady Princesse He shuld herafter have England and Irlande, with the title to the superiorite of Scotland, and in this cace all Fraunce with the dependences: so as the said Emperour, performing this voiage, and taking this way, shuld in processe be peasible lord and owner in maner of all Cristendome; whiche the Kinges Grace can be contented thEmperour shal have, He concurring effectuelly with the King for recovery of his croune of Fraunce.

And

And rather than faile, if the said Ambassadours shal perceyve that thEmperour can not invade with so great a power as is capitulate, they shal say, His Majesty, considering the present imbecillite and weiknes of Fraunce, may entre with a lesse nomber, suche oon as He Hym self shal list to aventure his Person with; so that in that cace He cause my Lady Margaret, and his countreys on this side, whose contribucion forborne and spared here can not be to any his proffit on thother syde, to geve assistence of 3000 or 4000 horsemen and three thousand or 4000 footemen, or at the lest, rather than faile, 3000 horsemen and oone thowsand fotemen, to the Kinges armye; whiche neverthelesse shalbe of 30000 fotemen and at the lest 4 or 5 thowsand horsemen besides; and thise 2 puissances set forthe on this side, thEmperour shall mowe make his intre into Fraunce with a les power than is capitulate, thother being sure to fynde no resistence, but to adquire as great honour, as by any acte that ever His Majesty enterprised.

Furthermore, if alleging any excuse the said aide on this side can not be had at thEmperours charges, considering that He wolbe contented to invade on that side, the said Ambassadours, fynding therin no remedy or hope after long stikking and demaunding of the same, shal say, that the Kinges Highnes, to shewe all pleasur possible to thEmperour, wolbe contented to beire the charges of the said aide, so that the same levied in thEmperours Lowe Countreys to the use of His Majesty may be defalked and deducted of suche money as by thEmperour is due and owing unto the Kinges Highnes, of the money owing for thenterprise of Fenlowe, and of the indempnite; and so they shal labour to bring that aboute, if it be possible, whiche can not reasonably be denyed, considering that by this doing thEmperour shalhave the honour of that bande, be sure to be the more strong at his meting with the Kinges Grace for his accompanying to Rome, if He wol take any of the same with Hym, and yet the charges shalbe the Kinges, forasmoche as shal concerne thenterprise in Fraunce.

And in cace thEmperour, by no persuasion to be made by the said Ambassadours, can be induced to invade in his oune person as is aforesaid, they shal propone unto His Majesty and his Counsail, that, inasmoche as his armye being presently in Italye be in no perfite redines, and that the Duke of Burbon must nedes be enterteyned, being of good mynde and intent to prosecute this victorye, exponyng his person, and, asmoche as he may do herin, having also sworne and accepted the Kinges Highnes as King of Fraunce, in cace thEmperour, causing substanciall furniture of money to be made for the same, wol enterteyn at his oune charges and avaunce the said armye of Italye to descende into Fraunce by suche waies and places as the said Duke of Burbon hath

hath divised with Sir John Russell, mencioned in his letters directed to the Kinges Grace, the copy wherof is delivered to the said Ambassadours, geving order for artillary to be had at Brisake, whiche artillary thArchduke lately offred, as in the same letters is mencioned, and give an aide oute of thise Lowe Countreys unto the Kinges army of 3 or 4000 horsemen and as many fotemen, the same to passe with the King into suche partes of Fraunce as His Grace shal assigne: this really and actuelly done with effect, thoughe the same shal not so moche conferre, ne is equivolent, to the personal invasion of thEmperour; the Kinges Highnes, rather than faile, wolbe contented to accept the same, if thEmperour can be in no wise induced to make the said personal invasion, whiche in this cace the Kinges Grace is contented His Majesty, if it can not otherwise be, shal spare and forbeire; not doubting, but that He wol make some excourses on that side for the more annoyance of the enemye, and the better assistence of the Kinges Grace and his armye on this syde. Whiche thing if thEmperour wol consent unto, his personal invasion not being possible to be atteyned, the said Ambassadours shal accept and capitulate without further advertisment from hens; shewyng unto Hym, howe it is not to be doubted but that the Popes Holynes, the Florentynes, the Venecians, the Duke of Ferrara, and diverse other states and potentates of Italye, may and shuld of good congruence be induced largely to contribute herunto; by meane wherof thEmperours charges shalbe greatly dymynished, and percace be veray small, and the aide of his Lowe Countreys shalbe no maner over charge unto His Majesty on that side. Wherfore this, being a thing so necessary, semeth to have no maner colour howe it may be refused: but, if the said Ambassadours shal fynde difficultie therin, they shal, rather than faile, seing no other remedy, condescende that the Kinges Grace shal beire a 100000 crounes towardes the said invasion to be made by the Duke of Burbon; and if that can not be admitted, they shall offre 150000 crounes, so that either of the same sommes alwaies be paiede and assurydly furnished by thEmperours order, and to be defalked of the somme of 30000£ last of all had of the Kinges Highnes, and yet due unto the same.

As to the seconde, who shuld succede in the realme of Fraunce, the Frenche King and his ligne removed? the Kinges Highnes verily trusteth that, his just title and right therunto remembred and considered, thEmperour, sens the treaties and aliances passed bitwen the Kinges Grace and Hym was never, ne is, of other mynde but fermely to joyne with His Highnes for recovery of the said croune; wherin the said Ambassadours may, a parte unto Hym self, put Hym in remembrance of his secrete promise made, aswel unto the Kinges Highnes as to my Lord Legate, at sundry places and tymes: wherfore

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in this matier ther is no questyon or ambiguite which may insurge, but that, the Frenche King taken or not taken, his army vaynqueshed or not vaynqueshed, oon of the chife and principal thinges intended and convented by thair confederacion hath alwaies ben to expell the Frenche King from his usurped occupacion of the croune of Fraunce, and to conduce the Kinges Highnes, as right requireth, unto the same.

And as to the third, though for answering of al doubtes ther is mencion made of it in thise present instruccions, yet it is veraily to be thought the same shal never be moeved to the said Ambassadours; forasmoche as therin is neither honour, reason, lawe, right, congruence, or possibilite to be brought aboute, without the greatest trouble in Cristendome, that ever hath ensued; ne, the Frenche King and his ligne excluded, thEmperour can ever or ought of good congruence or reason condescende see or suffre, that any other, whiche may be more to the annoyance of Hym and his posterite particularly, and to the disturbance of all Cristendome generally, as doubtles Kinges of Fraunce descending of that nacion and countrey wolbe, shuld ever aspire or come unto the croune of the same; wherby all the inconvenientes bifore specified shuld be newly resuscitate revived and greatly augmented, and not only a meane of contynuance of enemyte wher it nowe is, but also to bring discorde and division amonges frendes, to the totall subversion of all good ordre in Cristendome. Wherfore that matier, having so many thinges to disuade and confounde suche intent and mocion, can be sufficiently answered and avoided by the said Ambassadours, if any overture or mencion shuld be made therof, as ther is no doubt that any suche thing shuld be spoken of, by any personage of honour wisdom or reputacion.

As to the 4th, ther be to be considered, first, the Kinges title to the croune of Fraunce; secondly, the mutuell concurrance, that hitherto hathe ben bitwen the King and thEmperour for recovery of either of thair rights and enheritances detcyned by the Frenche King; thirdly, the apparant possibilite that thEmperour is in, to enherite in the right of my Lady Princesse, the Kinges only doughter, all realmes and countreys that do belong unto the Kinges Highnes; and fourthely, this thing conduced and brought aboute, it is not the Kinges mynde ne entent to reserve and kepe in his handes so many peces adjacent to the realme of Fraunce, as nowe be occupied by the Frenche King, but to participate with the said Emperour, and also with the Duke of Burbon, suche notable portions as shalbe highly to thair contentment, that is to say, thEmperour to have Province, Langedok, and so up to Tolouse, with the Duchy of Burgoyn; the Duke of Burbon his oune patrymonyes, and Dolphyne; and the Kinges Highnes the rest: wherby the realme of Fraunce, so moche dymynished

dymynished and wayked, and thEmperour so moche increased and fortified, having also the Kinges Grace to his most tendre and loving fadre uncle and perfite frende, that doubt is clerely absolved and removed.

In this matier ther may percace arise a newe difficultie, whiche is this: thEmperour and his Counsail, fynding the premisses some parte to thair satisfaccion, may say, that thanswer to the said 4 poynt is to be approved, if His Majesty might be in suretie of mariage with my Lady Princesse, wherin they percace shal object that communication hath ben had for like mariage, bothe with the Frenche King nowe of late, and also with the King of Scottes; wherfore they shal desire and require that, commyng unto suche invasion as is bifore specified, they may have delivery into thEmperours handes of my said Lady Princesse.

As herunto the said Ambassadours can largely declare, that neither with Fraunce ne with Scotland the Kinges Highnes hath admitted any overture, that might be made touching mariage with my Lady Princesse; and though the Scottes have desired the same, offring therfore to abandonne Fraunce for ever, yet nevertheles expresse refusall and denyall hath bene made unto theym; saying that ther be suche pactes and convencions passed betwene thEmperour and the Kinges Grace, that my Lady Princesse shal not be geven in mariage to none other person lyving, but only to the said Emperour. And as to Fraunce, ther was never, sens the warres, suche intelligence or entre of communication with that partie, wherby they might have corage to move or desire suche mariage; ne the Kinges Grace, sens the treaties passed with the Emperour to the contrary, ever thought or intended to dispose my Lady Princesse, but only to His Majesty: wherfore ther is no cause of suche doubt to be conceyved, that difficultie is answered and removed.

And in cace thEmperour and his Counsail, not contented with this answer, shall contynually stik upon the delivery of my said Lady Princesse, so that the said Ambassadours, without that, can in no wise induce Hym to the said personall invasion, and to concurre with the King effectuelly for attaynyng of the croune of Fraunce, never putting the said Frenche Kinge to rawnsom, they shal inferre thise reasons folowing:

First, they shall allege her tender yeres, with the respect that is to be had unto her noble person, not mete as yet to be transported over the see, ne to endure the paynes of the see, ne also to be brought up in an other ayre, that may be daungerous to her person; dilating that matier the best they can.

Secondly, if that consideration can not be admitted, they shal shewe this

demaunde to be ferre discrepant from reason, that so noble a Princesse, in her tendre yeres, having so many excellent qualities, shuld, bifore the yeres of consent, be delivered, onles than ther wer more perfite suretie, than yet is known, howe she shalbe intreated, and that the mariage undoubtedly might take effect.

Herunto peradventure they shal make answer, offring to make capitulations for that pourpose as shalbe reasonably desired, and saying that thEmperour, being at age, is bounden, and can not discent from the mariage, if my said Lady Princesse, at her ful age, consent unto the same.

To this the said Ambassadours shal saye, ther is no capitulation sufficient for so great a matier as this is, ne can be equivolent or countervaile the actuel delivery of so greate a personage as my Lady Princesse is: nevertheles, rather than thEmperour shuld conceyve any diffidence, thinking that the Kinges Highnes were not mynded to this mariage, and for that cause wolde allege the premises only for a colour and delaye, they shal say that if the Emperour woll deliver into the Kinges handes the Frenche King, so to remayne til the said mariage be performed and my Lady Princesse at full age, albeit the Frenche King may percace in the meane season dye, and as the cace nowe standeth with Hym may be thought an insufficient pledge and suretie for the person of so great a Princesse; yet the Kinges Highnes, having Hym, can and wol, for thEmperours sake, be contented to deliver my Lady Princesse, and to be bounden neither to rawnsome, or put to libertie the said Frenche King, ne to make any convencion with Hym, or take peax trieux abstinence or other opoyntment with them, without thEmperours expresse consent and agrement; but to deliver Hym unto thEmperour or his assignes, after my Lady Princesse commen to lawfull age and the mariage performed as is aforesaid: whiche answer is thought shalbe so vehement, that therby onles they wol performe this, it is like they shalbe therin put to silence.

Albeit, if they shal make any suche allegacion, wherby it may be perceyved that all the premisses can not reasonably satisfye theym, ne induce the Emperour to comme unto the personal invasion, and to helpe the King actuelly and really to attayn the crown of Fraunce, without delivery of my said Lady Princesse; than the said Ambassadours shal say, that thEmperour proceding to this personal invasion, and meting the King at Parys, His Grace wolbe contented to transporte my Lady Princesse thither; and, the Kinges Highnes ones crowned in Parys King of Fraunce, to deliver her unto the Emperour according to his desire: and so His Grace to passe to Rome, or concurre with thEmperour for attaynyng his Crown Imperiall, as is aforesaid. Whiche thing

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if thEmperour refuse to condescende unto, it is a signe that neither He intendith to comme unto Parys, ne to helpe the Kinges Highnes to be crouned King of Fraunce.

And if percace thEmperour and his Counsail, for answering herunto, shal say, that it shalbe a long season before this thing can be brought to passe, and the Kinges Highnes and He to mete at Parys; than the said Ambassadours shal say, they doubt not but that thEmperour and his Counsail, of thair great wisedome, thinke it discrepant from all good reason, that the Kinges Highnes shuld absolutely deliver my said Lady Princesse, all the said considerations notwithstanding, without any suretie howe she shulde be intreated and ordred touching her mariage to thEmperour, whan she commeth to full age; demaunding and inquiring of theym therfore, what other sufficient bandes, and delyveraunce of townes, or hostages of Princes and noble personages, they woll delyver for that pourpose; whiche known, they wol advertise the Kinges Highnes of the same, and upon knowlaige of the Kinges pleasure, make theym reasonable and spedy answer accordingly. In the communication wherof, whan the names of suche hostages or townes shalbe by thEmperour and his Counsail proposed unto theym, they shal, as reason requireth, not spare alwaies to speke and say, that many great tounes princes and noble personages shalbe litle inogh to countervaile unto this pourpose; endevouring theym selfes that the townes and personages to be named may be as great men and as many of theym, as they can conduce and bring to passe, wherby the Kinges Grace fynding some towardnes of a reasonable offre may the rather condescende unto the same.

By the premisses the said Ambassadours be sufficiently instructed, what they shal say and do touching the personal invasion this yere to be made, and for inducing thEmperour to be content to forbeire rawnsomyng of the Frenche King, or making any composicion with Hym or his realme, but utterly to exclude Hym and his ligne with all other from the croune of Fraunce, except only the Kinges Highnes, to whom the same rightfully dothe appertain and belong. In whiche matier, if thEmperour be contented with any of the waies bifore specified, the said Ambassadours may conclude and capitulate without tarying for any other knowlaige from the Kinges Grace, Who in the meane season wol not faile to make al his preparations for the said personal invasion on this side, so as, upon knowlage had from the said Ambassadours that the capitulations be passed, His Grace may incontinently set forthe accordingly; forseing alwaies substancially, that ther be evident apparance howe thEmperour, according to his capitulations, may be furnished and wol really and actuelly performe the same.

Nevertheles, if thEmperour shal allege, that by reason of the excessive charges of the werres in Italye He can not be furnished to make the said personal invasion this yere, neither with a gretter ne with a smaller nomber, offring to do the same the next yere, in whiche meane tyme bothe the Kinges Highnes and also His Majesty shall mowe be the better furnished for the same; in this cace the said Ambassadours shal say, that nowe is the veray tyme for thEmperour to experyment the uttermost gratuite and benevolence of his subjectes: who seing this great conqueste apparent to ensue, wol not spare, as it is to be thought, to strayn theym selfes as farre as they possibly may do; wher as in putting over the tyme may be many daungers, and newe thinges of contrariete may insurge and arise, that may be to the totall disappointment of this matier; and the Italyons, who be not the best disposed to be under the dominion of the Emperour, but lyve at libertie and exempt, may in the meane tyme seke unto theym selfes newe frendes, taking rather assistence of the Turke than to obaye the jurisdiccion of thEmperour; besides other practises that may be made to the prejudice of this matier. Wherfore they shal by this and al other wais possible induce His Majestye, that, remembring the premisses, He do not in any wise deferre or put of this voyage at this tyme. And rather than faile, if there be non other impediment, but that the Emperour can not be so sone redy as is mencioned in the treatie, to persuade His Majesty to be redy by all June or by July, and at the furthest at the begynnyng of August; trusting that, the debilite of Fraunce considered, this enterprise shalbe accheved in right breve tyme, and the voyage of Rome to be performed with all diligence upon the same; wherunto if the said Ambassadours can induce thEmperour, they shal also conclude and capitulate with Hym to this effect as affore; geving knowlage with all celerite to the Kinges Highnes therof, or what soever they shal capitulate, by any of the former waies, to the intent His Grace may accelerate or stay his preparations as shal appertayn.

And if fynally by no manner introduccion they can cause thEmperour to invade this yere, erly ne late, as is aforesaid, but that He wol stik unto the invasion of the next yere, than they shal desire to have respect, to advertise the Kinges Grace therof, and so shal forbeire capytulacion for the yere next, till upon suche advertisment they shal knowe the Kinges further pleasure in this behalf; sayinge, that inasmoche as thEmperour is bounden to the personal invasion this somer, and that the Kinges Highnes hath made al his preparations for the same, if they nowe shal advertise the King of thEmperours desire and mynde to protract the said invasion til the next yere, it shalbe requisite that thEmperour bynde Hym self, that in the meane tyme

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He shal neither rawnsome the Frenche King, ne make any capitulations with Hym of peax trieux or other convencion; whiche bonde had, they shal saye they may the better write unto the Kinges Grace to differre his personall invasion, for thEmperours sake, till the next yere accordingly.

And forasmoche as all the premisses dependeth uppon thEmperours conformitie and contentment clerely to exclude the French King and his lygne, with al other, except the Kinges Grace, from the croune of Fraunce; if peradventure, for any cause or matier what so ever it be, the said Ambassadours, after sundry and many conferences had with thEmperour and his Counsail for this purpose, and all the persuasions possible induced for the same, they shal expresly perceyve that thEmperour can not be induced to condescende unto suche exclusion of the Frenche King and his ligne, but is mynded and wol that the same do continew in the possession of the crowne of Fraunce; than, after declaration unto Hym, what injurye and dammage He dothe unto Hym self, lesing all the commodite and possibilite aforesaid, putting also the state of thEmpire and of his oun affaires into apparance to come herafter to as great danger, as they have bene at any tyme hitherto, wher as nowe all may be brought unto perfite suretie; shewing furthermore that His Majesty, for the great love and intelligence beyng bitween the Kinges Grace and Hym, oweth of good congruence to have better respect unto the Kinges right, Who, if the Frenche King had fortuned to have commen in his handes, wold not failled to have had all regarde possible to thEmperours right: the shal say, it may be thought by wise men that inasmoche as, by the treaties passed, neither thEmperour may take any appointment with the Frenche King without the Kinges consent, ne the Kinges Grace without thEmperour, and that better it were to have the Kinges Grace, being thEmperours assured friend, to reign in Fraunce, than an auncient or reconciled enemye; alleging also thapparant atteyning of the monarchy of Cristendome, by bringing the King unto the croune of Fraunce; fynding that al this, ne any other introduccion to this pourpose, wol serve to take effect; shal than geve ere and herkynnyng, what other mocion and overture shalbe made for recompence to be geven unto the Kinges Grace of some peces or portions deteyned by the said Frenche King, wherin they shal come unto the degrees following, stikking a long season upon the first; and that utterly failling, and not possible by no industrye and polycye to be opteyned, to procede unto the seconde; and so gradatum from thone to thother, in maner and forme as foloweth.

First, commyng unto particion of suche portions, the Frenche King remayning in possession of the croune of Fraunce, they shal demaunde for the Kinges partie the Duchy of Normandy, the Duches of Gascoigne, and Guyenne, Angeowe,

Angeowe, Mayne, Poytowe, with all suche partes as belong unto the Kinges enheritance, and have ben in the possession of his progenitours, not having the croune of Fraunce, according to suche treties and writinges as be delivered unto the said Ambassadours for knowlaige of the specialties of the premisses. They shal also require the Duchy of Britayne in recompence of other rightes that the King shal forbeire, and in consideration that it lieth bitween the said other peces most mete for the Kinges Highnes having the rest, and right commodious to the Kinges and thEmperours pourpose to kepe the Frenche King bace and lowe; forasmoche as, Britayne being oute of his handes, He shalbe able to do no feate on the see, ne so sone to respire and inquiet thEmperour and the Kinges Grace in thair portions, as elles He shuld do, having the same; and semblably in this particion they shal also demaunde Pycardye for the Kinges Highnes, lying most commodiously for His Graces pourpose.

The 2de degree to be proponed, whan they shal see extreme dispaire in the first, is, that to thentent the King and thEmperour may the more assurydly kepe the portions nowe to be departed unto Theym, better whan they lye nere unto thair oune realmes, than whan they be farr distant from the same; the Kinges Grace can be contented, rather than faile, to depart with thEmperour asmoch of the countreys of Guyene and of the dependances lying next and most commodyously into Spayne, as shalbe equivolent unto the value of Pycardye; so that the Kinges Highnes may, besides Pycardye and suche townes as be over the water of Som, for his confynes towardes Fraunce on that syde, have also Tirwyn; all whiche may be bothe a good propugnacle and defence for thEmperours Lowe Countreys against Fraunce, and also a great stay to kepe the French Kinges alwaies bace and lowe as is aforesaid; and than thEmperour having Navarre in his handes, like as He nowe may also have the contrey of Berne, the King of Navarre being his prisoner, the said parties of Guyene shalbe a mervelous strength and suretie unto Hym on that syde; and what other peces or portions thEmperour, besides Burgoyne, shal demaund of the Frenche King for his oune parte, must be referred unto Hym and his Counsail, who knowe what is most to thair appetites and contentementes; and semblably for the Duke of Burbon, who must be honerably remembred in this behalf; thinking veraily that, if the Frenche King and the Peres and States of Fraunce do condescende unto this division, and that it be done by thair auctorite, and the actuel possession of the same taken, the Frenche King shal not be able herafter to do annoyance unto his neibours.

The 3^{rde} degre, wherunto the said Ambassadours shal procede, if after long stikking this can not be opteyned, shalbe, rather than faile, for Pycardye and

and the having of Britayne and Normandye, to departe with thEmperour all Gascoigne and Guyene, with the said dependences holy and entierly, and the Kinges Grace to have no more by this composition but Pycardy Normandy and Britain, lying next and most commodious for His Grace, like as Gascoigne and Guyene with the said dependences do for thEmperour. And in this article they shal in like wise stonde and stik therunto a long season, till such tyme as they may perceyve the same in no wise conducible ne possible to be brought aboute; shewing and alleging as many reasons as they can accumulate for that pourpose, as by thair great wisedomes the Kinges Highnes doubteth not but they can and wol do accordingly.

The 4th degre, whiche, thother three utterly refused and in dispaire, and not affore, shalbe proponed by the said Ambassadours, is, that having Pycardy and Normandy alone, if Britayne may not be had, at the lest to have Brest and 3 or 4 good havon townes of the same, with the territoryes therunto belonging; so as by meane therof the Frenche Kinges power alwaies may be the more sklender upon the see, to do empechement unto the Kinges Grace and the Emperour, as is aforesaid.

Fyvthly, the havon townes in Britayne not possible to be had or opteyned, the said Ambassadours shal leve the demaund of theym, procedyng to the resydue specifyed in the said fourthe degree.

Syxtely, all thise failling, and perceyving the Frenchemen in no wyse mynded to departe with Pycardy, they shal propone in all the said degrees the delivery unto the Kinges Grace of Gascoigne and Guyene, with the said dependences, without Pycardy.

Sevonthly, fynding that they can neither attayn Pycardye, ne Gascoigne Guyene and the dependences, ne also Britayne, ner the havon townes aforesaid, they shal fynally, for the last and uttermost thing that they have auctorite to speke in, demaunde the hole Duchy of Normandye, with 100000 crounes of annual cence pencion and tribute oute of the croune of Fraunce, to be geven unto the Kinges Highnes and his heires Kinges of England for ever. So that therupon may be made sufficient treatics, capitulacions and bandes, by consent of the Peres and States of the realme of Fraunce, to be ratifyed and confermed by the Popes auctorite at the request of the Frenche King and of the said Peres and States, under paynes of incurring into the censures of holy churche, with as large clauses for the suretie therof as can be divised; and semblably bondes to be made in any of thother former degres, if any of theym can be had and attayned, with delivery of actuell possession accordingly.

Neverthelas, if the said Ambassadours shal perceyve, in this division and particion of the said porcions, the Frenchmen to be confourmable inogh to departe

departe from Pycardy, and that it can be brought aboute that Fraunce wol rather condescende to leve the same, than Normandy; in this cace, the said Ambassadours shal not at the last, lakking a better waye, refuse to take Boleyn and the territorye therof, Abbevile Mowtrelle and al hole Pycardy, with the townes to and along the ryver of Somme bifore mencioned, and Tirwyne, if it may be had, without either Normandy, Britain, or any other countrey; having alwaies the said annual pencion tribute or cence of 100000 crounes to the King and his heires for ever, over and above the premisses, as is aforesaid.

And in any of thise degrees, fynding the Frenchemen and thEmperour condescended and agreable therunto, after extreme refusall of thEmperours personal invasion this yere, or the next, and effectuel concurring with the King to attayn the croune of Fraunce, and to exclude the Frenche King and his ligne from the same for ever, and after advertisement geven to the Kinges Highnes, in diligence, of suche extreme refusall, to thentent His Grace may stay his preparations intended for that pourpose; the said Ambassadours shall mowe conclude and capitulate with the Frenche King and the astates of Fraunce, upon suche of the said degres, as may be most beneficially conduced and brought aboute, to the Kinges honour proffyt and avauntage.

Fynally, if none of all the premisses can be had or atteyned, but that the offres shalbe lesse than having of Normandy or Pycardy with a cence tribute or pencion of 100000 crounes to the King and his heires for ever, the said Ambassadours in that cace, differing to condescende unto suche offres, shal advertise the Kinges Grace of the same; to thentent His Highnes, by deliberate avice of his Counsail, may make unto theym suche answer as shalbe requisite and expedient; putting alwaies thEmperour in mynde, that the more whiche shal come unto the Kinges Highnes by this treatye, the more it shalbe unto the said Emperours proffitt: first, by reason that the Frenche King shalbe so moche the more bace and lowe: secondly, for thapparance and possibilite depending upon my Lady Princesse as is aforesaid, whose deliverance unto thEmperour they shal in no wise condescende unto, but only in cace of invasion and excluding of the Frenche King, with his ligne and all other, save the Kinges Highnes, from the croune of Fraunce; and that either the Kinges Highnes, having the said croune, and meting thEmperour at Parys, shal, that had, transporte and deliver her as is aforesaid, orelles, the same invasion proceding, the Frenche King may remain, as pledge or hostage for her, in the Kinges handes, till she come unto lawful age, and the mariage solempnised in maner and forme bifore specifyed: and thirdely, for saving of thEmperours bande touching the Kinges indempnite, wherin He is bounden to pay the Kinges Highnes 40000 merkes yerely, till suche

suche tyme as His Grace shal have attayned so moche of his rightes and enheritances in Fraunce above all charges.

In all the said degrees the said Ambassadours shal have oone speciall consideration, whiche is that, having restitution of any of the said countreys, the same may be so taken, that they may be clerely exempt and delivered from any subjeccion to the Frenche King, or his heires Frenche Kinges, or to the croune of Fraunce; but the Kinges Highnes to be suppreme and chife Prince and Lord of the same, without recognising any superior, or having resort to any place court or parliament, or doing homage service or fidelite to any Prince for the premisses; and also that in taking of Pycardy only with 100000 crounes of pencion to the King and to his heires, they note specially 2 thinges, first, if it may possibly be had and broughte aboute that the Frenche King do deliver the same Pycardye holy and entierly to the Kinges Grace, with all the cities, townes, castelles, signiories, countreyes, villages, landes, and patrimonyes, and territory of the same, to be in the Kinges oune propriete as his demeane landes, and to be used kept or disposed at the Kinges pleasure, to his most proffyt and avauntage, excluding al other meane lordes, possessioners, enheritours, and owners from the same or any parte therof, and they to be recompensed by the Frenche King elleswhere in consideration of suche other greatt patrimonyes as the Kinges Grace in that cace shuld forbeire: and hereupon to stikk a long season bifore they comme to any lower demaunde. Neverthelas, if fynally it can not in nowise be had, they shal see that the Kinges Highnes, having in Pycardy no more but as the Frenche King nowe hathe, and having it exempt from recognising any superiour as afore, suche addicion of landes may be made therunto next adjacent to the same, that, if Pycardye it self extende not to such yerely value to the Kinges purse, as may beire the ordinary charges of the garnisons and keping therof, so as the 100000 crounes of yerely pencion besides may come clerely to the Kinges purse, Pycardy kept, the resydue commyng by suche addicion as may supplye and serve the same; elles the Kinges Grace, by suche composicion, shulde be in moche worse cace than His Highnes nowe is, having thEmperours bonde to pay His Grace yerely 40000 merkes for his indempnite, til suche tyme as His Grace shal have recovered landes to the yerely value therof above all charges, or shal take some other composicion with France to his contentment.

The said Ambassadours also, commyng unto any treatie with France, shall specially remember the matier of the Frenche Quenes[1] dower, taking suche order that speciall clauses may be past for that pourpose, aswell for her yerely

[1] Mary, widow of Lewis XII. See Vol. I. p. 27.

paymentes in tyme to comme, as for recompence of tharrerages passed sens thise last werres; alleging herin, that neither by lawe honour ner conscience she may be avoided from her said dower, considering that she is in no blame ne default of any warre depending bitween the 2 Realmes, and that also the same was graunted unto her peasibly to enyoye it, into what countrey or place so ever she wold divert unto; wherin commission and instruccions be geven to the said Ambassadours by the said French Quene in full ample maner, theffect wherof, as farre as it is not repugnant to thise instruccions, they shal followe, endevouryng theym self to conduce the same by all the good waies and meanes to theym possible.

Thus the said Ambassadours, knowing the Kinges intent and preparacions made on this side, be full amply instructed of the Kinges mynde and pleasure, what waye the Kinges Highnes thinketh good to be taken for the universall weale of Cristendome, upon the victorious successe and fortunate overthrowe of the Frenche King, wherin the Kinges Grace doubteth not, but that they wol use all dexterite possible, as they, which having good experience of the state of the world, can well considre the necessite and importance of the maters to require. Howbeit, inasmoche as ther hath not lakked, whiche lately have made sundry interpretacions of the Kinges procedinges, and wolde afferme that the Kinges Highnes semed partely to declyne in his constant demeanour towardes thEmperour, whiche suspicion proceded somwhat the rather by reason of the sending hither of John Joachym, and last of all of the President of Roan[1]; the Kinges said Ambassadours, who perfitely understonde and knowe all that hath bene done here with John Joachym and the President, with the maner of thair repaire hither, not without intymacion therof made before to the said Emperour, and being also riped in all such thinges as the Kinges Highnes hathe done towardes the Pope, the Venecians, the Archduke, the Vice Roy of Naples, the Duke of Burbone, and other, for setting forthe of thEmperours affaires in Italy, shal and can right well declare the same for the Kinges justificacion; for which pourpose they shal take with theym the copies of the instruccions and letters passed with Sir Gregory to Mr Pace, to Rome, and to Sir John Russell, doubteles whereof like copies were lately sent to Doctour Sampson, to thintent, if the first be not savely arrived, they may reasorte to the seconde, for thair more ample knowlaige and remembrance; not doubting but that, every thing wel known, thEmperour and his Counsail shall have cause to think that the Kinges Highnes, not only hath pretermitted nothing of his promise pactes and convencions, but also that His Grace, like

[1] John Brinon. See Vol. I. p. 158.

a most

a most loving and tendre fadre and uncle, hathe done moche more than He was astringed unto, sparing nothing that His Grace myght thinke to conferre unto the said Emperours benefite; whiche the Kinges doinges, with other his infinite gratuities, His Grace trusteth the said Emperour wol have in his remembrance accordingly.

And in this matier the said Ambassadours shall inferre and shewe, that ther hath not lakked overtures and mocions unto the Kinges Highnes heretofore, ne yet do, to take waies and meanes profitable unto the Kinges Grace, if the same were mynded or coude be by any persuasion induced to declyne from the lest parte of his amyte with thEmperour, as may largely appere by newe overtures nowe, sens the conflict in Italy, made unto the Kinges Grace on the Popes behalve, theffect wherof is mencioned in a letter sent from the Bishop of Bathe, the Kinges Oratour resident in the Court of Rome, the copye wherof, with an other original letter of the same Bishops, mencyonyng sundry discourses and matiers by hym had and done with the Popes Holynes, thEmperours Ambassadour at Rome, and other, bifore the said conflict, be delivered unto the Kinges said Ambassadours; so that what soever hath ben or shalbe spoken or reaported to the contrary, the veray acte and dede hathe and shal alwaies proved of what vertue constance and entier mynde the Kinges Highnes hath and wol, aswel in adversite as in prosperite, be towardes the said Emperour, his honour weale suretie and exaltacion: trusting to fynde in Hym semblable correspondence, and that like as the Kinges Highnes hath studyed, taken payn travaile charges and infinite incommodities, to do unto the said Emperour gratuite and pleasure, so His Majesty woll like a vertuous Prince at this tyme have respect therunto, in geving the Kinges Highnes and other Princes cause and occasion to thinke, that thair benevolent and loving myndes, borne to the said Emperour, hath not ne can be amysse employed and bestowed.

Over this the said Ambassadours, fynding thEmperour mynded to invade in his Person, or to condescende to the invasion to be made by the Duke of Burbon with the army of Italy as bifore, shal demaund not only shippes of thEmperours Lowe Countreys, at thEmperours charges, for the Kinges transporting, in recompence of thEmperours transporting into Spayne according to the convencions passed in that behalve; but also that order be geven that horsemen, fotemen, cariages, vitailes, lymoners, and other requisites be had out of the said Lowe Countreys, at the Kinges charges, as shal appertayn.

Fynally, if at the arrivall of the said Ambassadours into Spayne, or at any tyme after thair abode there, they shal fynde and knowe thEmperour to be resolved and utterly determyned to take his voyage streight unto Rome, for

attaynyng of his croune Imperiall, not mynded to mete the Kinges Grace at Parys, and so from thens to passe unto Rome, but first to attende unto the having of the said croune, and really to make the said voyage, the personal invasion set apart; in that cace the said Bishop of London and Sir Richard Wingfield, shewing unto His Majesty that, at thair departure from the Kinges Highnes, His Grace had no maner knowlaige of suche voiage to be taken streight unto Rome, ne thought upon any suche thing, by reason wherof thair instructions were no farder, but the matiers not perfited in Spayne, to retourne unto the Kinges Grace, shall in good and most loving maner take thair leve of Hym; saying that, albeit they had no knowlaige of the Kinges mynde for contynuance of any of theym aboute thEmperour, His Majesty passing to Rome, yet bycause in that noble voyage it shalbe honerable that He be accompanyed with an Ambassadour of the Kinges, they wol take upon theym and condescende, that Doctour Sampson shal geve attendance upon His Majesty, and passe with the same in that voyage: whiche the said Mr Sampson in this cace shal do accordingly; taking with Hym, to be kept secrete unto hym self without suffring thEmperour, or any of his Counsail, or any other lyving person but only the said Ambassadour, to knowe it, all suche commissions writinges and instruccions, as be delivered to the said Bishop of London and Sir Richard Wingfeld for thair depeche: to thintent that commyng into Italye, in cace it shalbe thought by the Kinges Highnes to commyt any thing to the said Doctour Sampson to be done touching those matiers, he may be furnished of commyssion, whiche shalbe more in redines, than newe to be sent from hens. Neverthelas he shalbe aknown of no suche thing, ne use any part of the same, without further commaundment and knowlaige had from the Kinges Highnes in this behalf. And so in this cace the said Bishop of London and Sir Richard Wingfeld, after thair leve taken, shal retourne accordingly.

In all and singuler the premisses the Kinges Highnes hath hereby riped and instructed his said Ambassadours, asmoch as upon knowlaige yet had here can be divised. The rest is, that they, whom His Highnes singulerly trusteth, wol procede to thexecucion of the same; wherin His Grace doubteth not but they wol acquite and order theym selfes in the best maner, as those, whiche His Highnes singulerly and specially trusteth, and that knowe the botom of the Kinges herte and mynde in this behalf, whiche thair acquitaile, the Kinges Highnes wol in the best maner considre and remember accordingly.

(*Signed*) HENRY R.

CXV. SAMPSON *to* WOLSEY.[1]

PLEAS it Your Grace. Os I wrot in oon off my formar lettirs be Rogier Basing, thEmperours Majestie hath had, and yet hath, great desyre off the commyng now off thAmbassadours from the Kinges Highnesse. I wrot allso to your Grace that Monsr de Rieux was sent hens throw Fraunce in to Italie, and off suche articles as he bare with hym to demaunde for conditions off peace. From Leons the seyd Monsr de Rieux hath sent a Secretarie off his, be post, with a aunswer gevyn be the Frence Kinges modyr and othir off the Counseyll off Fraunce, to the seyd articles; not oonly uttirly refusing the sam, but allso with hight wordes schewing them sellff yet redy to defende the reaulme, thow the King be prisonier; and morovyr seyd that, if thEmperour wold treate uppon the redemption off the King, they wold herkyn to that; but to delyver any fote off londes, Fraunce was not yet so basse.

Wherfor, Sir, afftir this aunswor, thow that thEmperour trustith right schortly to here off the Kinges Ambassadours, yet onlesse that ony tym schuld be lost, now His Majestie dispachith to advertise the Kinges Highnesse off his mynde, and lykewyse to know thadvyse off His Highnesse and your Grace, what now best schalbe thowght to be set forth be commune consent.

And os I may perceyve, they rest here in 2 or 3 poinctes, whethir that it schalbe best to enterteyne tharmie off Italie, the which is yet entiere, to invade with commune contribution, and to renforce the sam, iff it schalbe thowght expedient; wherunto they seme here to be much inclynid, seying that this armie victoriose schall, with Goddes helpe, be sufficient so to subdue Fraunce, that they schall accept all conditions appoinctid or demaundyd off them; or els thEmperour to maynteine that armie, and the Kinges Highnesse to set forth a nothir be that syde; or els to enterteyne tharmie off Italie with commune contribution, and yet nevyrthelesse on both sydes to advaunce som thing agenst the commune enemie.

Os concerning the personall invasion, the Lord Chauncelier seyd to me expressely, that he thowght it not well possible to be doon this yere. Notwithstonding I schewid hym, Sir, that assurydly, for the King my mastirs parte, I thowght, iff thEmperour might and wold the same, it schuld not be faylid; for the Kinges Highnesse before knowlege off the victorie, preparyd all thinges for the sam, and syns much more, schortly, with Goddes eyde, to

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[1] Holograph.

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ende the warrys. The Lord Chauncelier seyd, that in this mean tym, thEmperour had susteynid to great charges. I can writ noon othir thinges, Sir, of thEmperours Majestie, but off os good loving mynde towardes the Kinges Highnesse, os may be desyryd. I fynde allso the Lordes off this Counseyll very good. Os knowith our Lord, who preserve Your Grace in most prosperos helth and honour. At Toledo, the 2 day off May, 1525.

Your most humble bedeman,

RICHARD SAMPSON.

(*Superscribed*)
To my Lord Legates Grace.
En Ynglatierra.

CXVI. THE EMPEROR CHARLES V. *to* KING HENRY VIII.

TRESHAULT, tresexcellent, et trespuissant Prince, treschier, et tresame bon pere, frere, cousin, et bel oncle; a Vous, si cordiallement que faire pouvons, Nous recommandons. Nous envoyons presentement devers Vous le Commandeur Penalosa, present pourteur, pour, avec le Sieur de Praet notre Ambassadeur, Vous dire et faire entendre aucunes choses, qui grandement touchent et impourtent au bien et adresse des affaires commungs de Nous deux. Surquoy, treshault, tresexcellent, et trespuissant Prince, treschier, et tresame, bon pere, frere, cousin, et bel oncle, Vous prions avoir bon regard, et croyre lesdits de Praet et Penalosa de ce quilz Vous diront de notre part; comme vouldriez faire notre propre Personne; et sur le tout faire si bonne et prompte deliberacion et expedition, que veez la matiere le requiert; et que par dilacion ne tumbons en non pouvoir recouvrer james la belle occasion et opportunite, que Dieu Nous a donne. Treshault, tresexcellent, et trespuissant Prince, treschier et tresame bon pere, frere, cousin, et bel oncle, Nous prions Dieu Vous donner ce que plus desirez. Escript a Tolledo, le 3me jour de May, anno 1525.

(*Signé*) Vr̃e bon ally, frere, et neveu,

CHARLES.

(*Contresigné*) LALEMANDE.

(*Suscrit*)
A treshault, tresexcellent, et trespuissant Prince, notre trescher et tresame bon pere, frere, cousin, et bel oncle, le Roy dAngleterre, et de France; Deffenseur de la Foy; et Seigneur dYrlande.

CXVII. Pope Clement VII. *to* King Henry VIII.[1]

Carissime in Christo Fili noster, Salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem. Cum ad Nos quotidie de apparatu consilijsque Turcarum nuncij et litere perveniant, quibus significetur impetum ab illis in Illiricum et Ungariam præparari, que provincie, auxilijs copijsque desertæ, in maximo sunt periculo posite; non possumus, quo graviora et propinquiora Nobis et universæ Christianitati imminent mala, non sollicitiore animi studio ad pacem adhortari; et quod unum remedium afflictis rebus ostenditur, pacis videlicet et tranquillitatis, id quantum nobis licitum est procurare et suadere, presertim cum atrocioribus malis domesticis et intestinis quam externis etiam conflictamur. Omnis enim Germania, validis et plurimis referta nationibus, ita, ob scelus et impietatem eorum qui novas et nefarias hereses aut seminaverunt aut foverunt, tumultibus et seditionibus involuta et subversa est, ut concitatis plebum et rusticorum turbis omnis nobilitas, et omnis ordo ecclesiasticus, ad exitum vocetur. Ita Nos, in tanta circumfusa undique rerum calamitate, ad Deum et Dominum nostrum conversi, pacem ab eo et veniam exposcimus. Teque, Fili carissime et invictissime, cujus mentis et voluntatis in Dei rebus eximiæ tot habemus pignora, enixe obtestamur, ut quando plurimum in omni pacis et concordiæ consilio tua potest auctoritas, velis ad eam curandam et conficiendam tuam operam et opem conferre. Qui hostes tui erant, memorabili prelio victi, remiserunt jam contencionem et spiritus pristinos. Quid autem sit quod stabile ex victoria queratur, preter laudem et rerum suarum securitatem, ignoramus; cætera enim omnia non tam sedatio sunt preteritorum laborum, quam concitacio sepe futurorum. Nihil autem est in magno et inclito Rege tam laudabile et gloriosum, quam moderationis et prudentiæ existimatio. Sed hæc tu sapientius cogitabis. Illud, quod ad fidem Christi, quod ad salutem pertinet Christianitatis, quonam modo, sine pace domestica, poterit expediri et provideri? In quo Serenitatem Tuam summo animi studio adhortamur in Domino, ut se ad omnia concordie consilia benignam clementem facilemque prebere velit, ut, familiaribus malis incommodisque depulsis, occurrere periculis gravibus que imminent, et salutem ferre populo sancto Dei tua inprimis virtute et magnanimitate interveniente possimus: sicut de omnibus tecum latius dilectus filius Melchion Langus, Nuncius noster, nostris verbis aget:

[1] Entitled "Copia Brevis ad Illustrissimum Regem Anglie, Fidei Defensorem."

cui

cui Serenitas Tua fidem omnem habebit. Datum Romæ, apud Sanctum Petrum, sub Annulo Piscatoris, 7 Maij, 1525, Pontificatus nostri anno secundo.

CXVIII. Fitzwilliam *and* Sir Rob. Wyngfeld *to* Wolsey.

Please it Your moost Reverende Grace to bee advertised, that the 9th day of this present moneth we wrote unto the same our last letters; and though that now we have noo newes worthy writing, but such as bee rather unworthy to bee writen concernyng the Luteryns, which encreace dailly in nombre and evyll dedes, and that for the socour of Lorreyne Fraunce dooth paye the 6000 Almayns, which passed this weye into Fraunce, and 200 men of armas, to serve the Duke for two monethes of the six monethes, which they bee retaigned for to serve in Fraunce; and that my Lady is advertised, how a bende of the said Luteryns been entred into the Countie of Bourgoyne, and there have spoyled certain abbeys: yet, bycause that Mr John de la Sawte hath shewed us this daye at dyner, that he entendeth to begynne his journey this night towardes the Kinges Highnes and your Grace, we doo write these by hym, who sythens his commyng hider hath not oonly made good reapport, and shewed hym self right affectionate to the furtheraunce of owre charge here, but also hath made us a greate supper at his house: where was present the Cardynall of Lyege, the Countes of Bure and Houghstrate; all which, and in likewise the Archebisshop of Palarme, and Monsr de Berghis, have made us greate dyners at severall tymes in their owne houses. Of which we doo advise your Grace, to thentent ye maye make thankes to the said Maister John de la Sawte, and the remanent, when ye shall thinke moost mete. Also we doo advertise your Grace that the Squier Button, otherwise called Monsr de Courtbaron, before he departed towardes Lucembourgh, desired us to make his moost humble recommendations unto the Kinges Highnes and your Grace; also to shewe that, yf it shall please the King to levye any horsemen in these parties to serve Hym in the warre, he will bee as glad and redy as any other to serve His Highnes with as many, or as fewe, as shall please His Grace to appointe. And in likewise, sythens the writing of our said last letters Monsr de Castyrs hath desired us to make his like recommendations unto the Kinges Highnes and your Grace, and like offre to serve the King, either on horsebak or on foote, with charge or without, as it shall please His Grace; for

for he hath shewed us that in consideration he hath had greate rewardes of His Highnes for small service, he is at this tyme fully determyned to serve His Grace with his person, as he that is right well contente to dye in the same, and fortune soo require, though he have no charge at all. And bycause the said De Castyrs, who taryed here but 3 dayes, but reatourned again into Hollande, desired us moch instantly to make his said recommendations and honest offre to serve; we doo advise the Kinges Highnes and your Grace of the same, to thentent we may knowe your pleasures, how they, which have moeved us in such matiers, maye bee aunswered. And, bycause that the before named Mr John de la Sawte can shewe unto the Kinges Highnes and your Grace all such newes, as been occurrent, in more ample forme then we can write, we shall make an ende of these; beseching our Lord to graunte your moost reverende Grace prosperoux helth with long lif to his pleasure. Written in the towne of Malyns, the 13th day of Maye, 1525.

Also I, Sir William Fitzwilliam, doubt not but that the Kinges Highnes and your Grace bee contented, and have resolved or this tyme, for my commyng home; for here I doo nothing but lye and spende the Kinges money and myne own to my no litle charge, wherof I have no nede. And yet, yf I were at home, I might doo His Highnes sum service there, and also put my self in arredynesse to goo furth with his vaundegarde, or otherwise, as His Grace shall commaunde me.

(*Signed*) WYLLM̃ FYTZWYLLM̃.
WYNGFELD R. S.[1]

(*Superscribed*)
To the Lord Legates moost reverende Grace.

CXIX. THE ARCHDUCHESS MARGARET *to* KING HENRY VIII.

TRESHAULT, tresexcellent, et trespuissant Prince, treschier et treshonnore Seigneur, et Cousin, je me recommande humblement a Votre bonne Grace.

Treshault, tresexcellent, et trespuissant Prince, et Monseigneur, lEmpereur monseigneur et nepveu, supposant le Seigneur de Praet estre encoires vers

[1] Their instructions on an embassy to the Regent of Flanders are in the Museum, Galba, B. VIII. leaf 140, which volume contains a joint despatch of the 3d of May from them and Knighte (Ibid. 153); and three despatches from them, without Knighte, of the 8th, 19th, and 20th of that month, Ibid. 160; after which date the correspondence is carried on by Sir Robert Wyngfeld alone.

 Vous,

Vous, a fait expedier lettres et instructions sur luy et le Seigneur Pegnaloze[1], Commandeur, et lung des capitaines de son armee dYtalye, pour matiere pregnante

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[1] A letter of the 31st of May from Sir Robert Wyngfeld, at Brussels, to Wolsey (Wolsey's Correspondence, Vol. XV. No. 101. A.) contains the following passage respecting Penalosa's mission: "And where in my last lettyrs to the sayd Mastyr Twk, whych baare date the 28th day of this "monthe, I advertysyd hym of the Comawndour Pyneloosys aryvall at Malins the day before; "so yt was, that my Lady remevyd from thence to thys towne the same daye, and the next daye "folowynge she was honnorabylly acompanyid to the Towne Halle, wheere she sawe the pro-"cessyun of the towne and many pagentes passe before hyr, so that yt was paste oon of the "clok or she whent to dyner, which was ordynyd fore, in the sayd Towne Hall, by the Governours "of the Towne, where satt at hyr borde the Cardynalle of Lyege, the Lady of Hoowstrate, the "Count de Bwre, the Archbuschop of Palerme, the Lorde Ravestayne, the Lorde Beerghys, and "the Lorde of Hoowstrate; of which compeny I was oon, and satt next unto my Lady: and aftyr "dyner she shewyd me that, wheere the sayd Comawndour Pyneloose was come from thEmperour "and the Vyce Roye of Napyles through Fraunce with lettyrs from theym boothe in zyphirs, "which axyd leeyser to be dyssyphird, and that hyr voyage from Malyns hethyr had cawsyd "that she had not gevyn audyence to the said Comawndatour, but had apoynted hym to be afore "hyr and thEmperors Cowncell theere, or she shuld depaarte thence; and farthermoore said, that "whanne she had harde hys charge, she woold shew me of the same. And thoose wordys fynyschid, "she, with thoose of thEmperors Cowncell before namyd and dyvarce oothirs, went into a chamber "aparte, where the said Phynoloose declaryd hys charge, so that they contynuyd theere uppon "twayne howrys, or my Lady cam ought agayn. And in the meane whyle by a secrett freynde "I was advertysyd of the Frenshe Kynges secreet conveyaunce by waatyr into a castyll callyd "the Castell de Love, stondynge in the see within twayne myles of the cyte of Napyles, and "that he thinkyth the sayd Phyeneloose shall passe to the Kynge, of the which I advertysyd the "sayd Mastyr Bryan as sone as I was retournyd to my lodgynge, becawse the postmastyr avysyd "me the same tyme of a packet commynge from Rome dyrectyd to the sayd Mastyr Bryan. "Wherefor I wrote a short lettyr in hast unto hym to acompany the same, for yt was 7 of the "clok, or my Lady was retournyd to the Paleyce, who shewyd me, or I departyd from hyr, that "the sayd Comawndour had declaryd much matter to be consultyd uppon; wherefor she sayd "to have ordeynyd the Cowncell to assemble the next daye to debate uppon the same, and that "folowyngly she woold cawse me to be advertysyd of the hoole. Howbeyt, now the day beynge "paste withought hyeringe oony more wurde eyther of the hoolle or of parte, and that I knowe "not or can esteme that I shall here oonny more tyll they have dyspeetchyd asmuch as theym "lust to thEmperors Embassadours resydent with the Kynge, and thanne shew me what shall "please theym."

In a holograph despatch of the 3d of June (Galba, B. VIII. leaf 169) Wyngfeld continues his narrative thus: "Veryly as towchinge the sayde assemble of thEmperors Councell, it was nott "oonly observyd, for the daye which the sayde Laady apoyntyd, but also hathe ben contynuyd "every daye syth, at convenyent tymys, tyll this nyght 6 of the clok. At which howre the "sayde Laady sent for me, and whanne I was com to hir presence, she faylyd nott to maake a "laady lyke excuse, in that she had spook with me noo sonner; and the reason why, she sayde, "was, that syth my last speekynge with hyr, Rycharde the post was com from thEmperor through "Inglonde. And that excuse maade, she sheewid wheere before, at my last beinge with hir, she "had avysyd me of the Comawndor Pynelose commynge from thEmperor, and that he had "ben with the Viceroy, and soo from thence comyng through Frawnce hethir; she now sheewid, "that for troowthe, whanne he had spokyn with the Frensh Kyngis modyr at Lyons, and shewid "hir his instructions from thEmperor to the sayde Vyceroye, concernynge his mynde that the "Frensh

pregnante et de grosse importance, et qui grandement touche lhonneur et bien commun de lEmpereur et de Vous, et pour ce requiert favorable et briefve expedicion, si que dudit Sieur Pegnaloze pourrez entendre. Et combien que je tiengue que en ceste consideracion Vous donnerez bonne et desiree responce a la charge dudit Sieur Commandeur, pour ce toutesvoyes que la matiere touche tant lEmpereur et Vous, desquelz je desire lhonneur et bien autant que le myen propre; je suis par obligacion, et pour mon debvoir vers Vous deux, Vous requerir de ainsi le faire. Et par cestes Vous en prye, et me faire savoir, en quoy je Vous pourroye complaire ou servir; et de bon cueur je my employeray. Notre Seigneur le scet: Que je prye, treshault, tres-excellent, et tres puissant Prince, treschier et tres honnore Seigneur et Cousin, Vous donner bonne vie et longue. Escript a Bruxelles, le dernier de May, lan 25.

(*Signé*) Vře humble cousine,

MARGUERITE.

(*Suscrit*)

A treshault, tresexcellent, et trespuissant Prince, et mon treschier et tres honnore Seigneur et Cousin, le Roy dAngleterre.

" Frensh Kynge shulde be conveeyid to Napyls, becawse the same procedyd of his owne desyre " to be removid ought of the Dwchye of Meleeyn, the sayde Comawndour beinge paartyd from " hyr, and passyd forthe on his weey, tyll he cam to the town of Shamery in Savoye, he sent all " such charge as he had receeyvid of thEmperor, to the sayde Viceroye, by a proppyr messenger, " and cam hym sylffe through the Counte of Borgoyne, and the Dwchye of Loorreyn, streeyght " hethir. Also she sheewid that the chaarge, which the sayde Recharde hath broowght, is but a " very dwplycate of the sayde Comawndors charge, and that tomorow betymys he shall sett forthe " with the same towarde the Kynge, to sheewe the sylf same to Hym: and farthermoore sayde " that, thoow the Emperour had ordeeynid that she shulde sende Monsr de Prate with the sayde " Comawndour, to thentente that they to gyddyr myght declare unto the Kynge thEmperors " mynde, yitt she sayde that in concyderation the sayde De Praate is nott moost estemyd and " favord with the Kyngis Highnes and youre Grace, she woolde aventure to dysobbeeye " thEmperour in that matter, and commytt the hooll charge to the sayde Comawndor. Which " charge (as my Laady sayde) is" that the Emperor was desirous the late victory should be brought to perfect conclusion by force of war; that He, having but little money to carry it on, looked to Henry VIII. to furnish sufficient, and if that fail "thEmperor wull raather alye Hym " sylffe in the farthest paarte of Crystendome, thanne leeve his enemy unconfowndyd."

CXX. Ce sont les demandes et offres faictes par le Sieur Commandador Spinalosa et autres Ambassadeurs de lEmpereur, estans en Engleterre de la part de Sa Majeste, au Roy, le 7me jour du mois de Juing, lan 1525.[1]

Premierement. Que le plaisir de la Majeste du Roy feust danticiper le temps determine par les traictez faiz et passez par entre leurs deux Majestes sur la delyvrance de la Princesse, et la voulloir promptement envoyer et transmectre en Espaigne; et ce pour les raisons, qui luy ont este exposez par lesdits Ambassadeurs.

En aprez que son plaisir feust de delyvrer et fournyr aussi promptement le dot constitue par lesdits traictez a ladite Princesse, pour employer a lentretenement de larmee, que lEmpereur entend faire marcher et entrer en France du coste dEspaigne, et oultre encoires faire delyvrer audit 200000[2] ducatz pour faire entrer larmee dItallye pareillement en France.

Et en cas de reffuz de la prompte delyvrance de ladite Princesse, de voulloir a tout le moins fournyr ledit dot, et lesdits 200000[2] ducatz; assavoir 200000 ducatz prestement, et les autres 400000 en quatre mois ensuivant, a chascun moys 100000 par egale portion.

Et si la Majeste du Roy faisoit difficulte de fournyr lesdits sommes a la cause que dessus, que son bon plaisir feust les voulloir faire fournyr par veoie damyable prest, et si la somme luy sembloit trop excessive, que a tout le

[1] It appears from the despatches of the English Ambassadors in Spain of the 2d and 16th of June (Vespasian, C. III. 158. 135.), that in consequence of a rumour in Spain that the Princess Mary was about to marry the King of Scots, the Council had moved the Emperor to take another wife not being a Frenchwoman, that the Ambassadors denied that the Princess had been promised to James V., whereupon the Emperor on the 4th of May wrote to his Orators in England to demand the Princess and her dower, or else for Henry VIII.'s consent to the Emperor's marriage with Isabella of Portugal, whom it was expected that his nobles would ask Him to espouse; that the Emperor's despatch was received in England on the 22d of May, and that his Ambassadors had immediately gone to Windsor. From these circumstances, compared with those which are stated in the note to p. 442., there can be little doubt that this was the despatch which is there stated to have been sent by "Rycharde the Post." De la Sauch probably in the absence of Du Praet and Penalosa did not feel himself justified in acting upon it, but awaited the arrival of Penalosa. From the entire omission, in the paper in the text, of all reference to the Portuguese marriage it is manifest that that marriage must have been the subject of the long deliberations mentioned by Wyngfeld, and was the cause of the alteration in the instructions made by the Archduchess, alluded to hereafter in the despatch of the 11th of August, p. 456.

[2] This is a clerical error for 600000.

moins

moins en fist delyvrer les 400000; assavoir deux cens mil prestement, et les autres deux cens mil es deux prouchains moys ensuyvans, a chascun moys 100 mil, le tout sans deduction ou deffalcacion, que le Roy pourroit pretendre voulloir faire a cause des sommes quil maintient luy estre deues par lEmpereur; pour laquelle somme Sa Majeste bailleroit telles seuretez raisonnables et possibles, que le Roy adviseroit.

Item, que moyennant les choses dessusdites, ou lune dicelles, lEmpereur entrera en Personne en France a tout une bonne armee, et y fera entrer celle dItallye, ou la pluspart dicelle, pour se joindre avec Luy et son armee en tel lieu qui Luy semblera convenable.

Et affin que le Royaulme de France soit assailly de tous coustez, ont requis au Roy, disans que lintencion de lEmpereur estoit telle, quil voulsist passer en France avec une bonne et puyssante armee.

Et que a cest effect lEmpereur Luy fera fournyr a ses despens 3000 hommes a cheval, et 1000 hommes de pied, dont Madame sa Tante a traicte soubz son bon plaisir.[1]

CXXI. Ce que Don Hugho de Montcade, Capitaine General de la Mer Mediterrane, et Capitaine de cent hommes darmes des ordonnances de Naples, a dit a lEMPEREUR nostre Seigneur, que le ROY de FRANCE luy avoit divise pour la paix.[2]

QUE lEmpereur luy donne a femme la Royne de Portugal, Madame Leonor, et la fille delle au Daulphin.

Le

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[1] There is a minute of a letter from Henry VIII. to the Emperor, dated at Windsor 11th June, stating that the Ambassadors with the Emperor (Tunstall, Richard Wyngfeld, and Sampson) were instructed to answer these proposals.

[2] The original paper transmitted by the English Ambassadors in Spain to their own Court appears to be in the Museum (Caligula, D. IX. leaf 319), which has two notes written by Henry VIII., but the edges are burnt. The text is printed from a copy in the State Paper Office (written by the same hand as the Emperor's letter of the 11th of August), which supplies the lacunæ, but is corrected from the original.

The following account of this paper is given in the despatch of the English Ambassadors at Toledo of the 16th of June. (Vespasian, C. III. leaf 135.) "The 9th day of this monyth the "Chauncelour sente for us to come to the courte to the Cowntie of Nassowe chambre; where we "founde the saide Chauncelour, the saide Lorde Nassowe, Monsr le Graund Maister, and Mr John "Almayn,

Le Roy de France se contente quil soit veu par justice sommairement la difference, que lEmpereur et Luy ont sur la Duche de Bourgoigne; et sil est trouve, que ce soit la justice, et droit de lEmpereur, Il Luy restituera librement.

Et en cas que Sa Majeste Cesaree ne tienne droit ou justice sur ledit Duche, ledit Roy de France se contente quen traictant ledit mariage, la possession dudit Duche soit donne a lEmpereur, moyennant quil le donnera en dot a la Royne sa soeur; et que ayant ledit Roy[1] de France enfans masles delle, quilz succedent audit Duche; et si par cas ladite Royne moroit sans enfans masles, succede audit Duche le filz second de lEmpereur.

Et si lEmpereur moroit sans enfans, ledit Duche parvienne au filz second dudit Roy de France, lequel se devra marier avecq une fille de lEmpereur; et en cas que tout ce que dessus est dit nadvint, ledit Duche retourne audit Daulphin, et aux filz quil aura de ladite Royne.

Que ledit Roy de France renoncera desmaintenant tout le droit quil

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" Almayn, where the Chauncelour shewid unto us, howe they had in commaundement of " thEmperour to participate with us suche newis as late He had receyved, and the state of his " affayres at that tyme, and to demaunde our advyse upon the same; showing unto us, howe Don " Hugo de Moncada, whiche was arryved hither 3 daies past, cam from the Frenche King, and " had brought with hym certayn articles drawne by hymself, in the Castilian tonge, for his better " remembraunce, in the presence of the Frenche King and the Vice Roy of Naples: whiche " articles doo conteigne certayn overtures for the Frenche Kinges redemption, whiche He willed " to be made at suche tyme as He knewe He shulde bee conveyde to Naples. Whiche articles " He desiryd hym to shew to thEmperour, willing hym to goo by my Lady his moder, and to " shewe her the same, and to use her counsell in further avaunsing of them, like as he had " doon; and she had willyd hym to shewe them to the Bisshop of Ambroun, Ambassadour here " fro Fraunce, who arryvyd here 2 daies past, to the intent that he myght further solicite the " acceptation of the saide offres, whiche, she seyde, she wold nedir approve nor reprove: of " whiche we sende Your Highnes a copye herin enclosyd, translate into Frenche, by whiche Your " Highnes shall parceyve that the Frenche Kinges high herte begynnyth to come lower; whiche, " as we understonde, dyd soore appaule, after He knewe that He shulde bee had to Naples, and " there by be eloynyd fro thEmperours presentes, where his ardent desyre was to bee brought."

" Opon all whiche matiers we saide wee wold advertise Your Grace with diligence, desiring " of them, if it might stonde with thEmperours pleasure, to have the copy of the articles of Don " Hugo de Montcada, and the articles of thEmperours answer to the cities upon their motion of " the mariage of Portingale; whiche we thought shuld greatly open unto Your Grace the " sinceritie of thEmperours proseding: wherin they saide they wold knowe thEmperours pleasure. " And after, they shewid us a letter wrytten with the Frenche Kinges hande to thEmperour, " praing Hym to have pytie upon Hym, in right humble maner, comytting Hymself to " thEmperours clemence and magnanimitie, & subscribyd thus: *By your good frynde, broder,* " *and sclave,* FRAUNCOYS."

[1] In the margin of this passage is a note written by Henry VIII., but it is so mutilated by fire, that it is impossible satisfactorily to ascertain it's import. It may be conjectured to have been that Burgundy should go to the second son of the King of France.

pretent

pretent au Duche de Millan; affin que lEmpereur face dudit estat comme Luy plaira.

Que le Roy de France renoncera tout le droit, quil pretent a lestat de Gennes, en faveur de lEmpereur.

Que ledit Roy de France renoncera tout le droit, quil pretent au Royaulme de Naples, et les pensions, que pour ceste raison Luy seroient deues.

Quil quictera et relaxera pour tousjours la souverainete de Flandres et dArtois, et le fera approuver au Parlement de Paris et aux Estatz de France.

Quil restituera la ville et chasteau de Hesdin, avecq leurs appertenances.

Quil renoncera a tout le droit, quil pretend a Tournay, en faveur de lEmpereur, et de ses heritiers et successeurs de Flandres, en perpetuite.

Quant a la riviere de Somme, et autres choses que lEmpereur pretend que sont du Conte dArtois, le Roy de France est content den payer ce que lEmpereur et Madame la Regente en determineront.

Quil aidera a ses propres despens a lEmpereur avecq la moietie de lexercite que Sa Majeste mectra en Italie, ou en Allemaigne, payant en deniers la moietie de la despens dudit exercite, soit pour sa coronation, ou soit pour quelque autre emprinse que lEmpereur vouldra faire en Italie ou en Allemaigne, pour Luy, ou le Sieur Infant Don Fernand son frere, contre quelque prince, potentat, ou autre personne sans aucune exception; et a toute requisition de lEmperour ledit Roy viendra en personne pour quelconque des effectz dessusdits.

Voeullant lEmpereur venir en Italie, ledit Roy Luy donnera son armee de mer, tant galleres comme galleons et naves; et si ladite venue doibt estre en cest este, ledit Roy mectra sadite armee en Barcelonne pour tout le mois de Juing prochain.

Semblablement voeullant lEmpereur faire emprinse contre les infideles, ledit Roy contribuera la moyetie de la despens, et ira en sa personne avecq lEmpereur. Et en cas que lEmpereur ny voise personnellement, ledit Roy yra, et laissera en protection son Royaulme, sa femme, et ses enfans, a lEmpereur.

Le Roy de France payera au Roy dEngleterre tout ce que Luy est deu des pensions, conferme a la capitulation dentre lEmpereur et ledit Roy dEngleterre, dedans le terme que samblera honeste a lEmpereur; et rendra Sa Majeste indempne de quelconque promesse, que sur ce il aura fait audit Roy dEngleterre.

Ledit Roy de France restituera au Duc de Bourbon ses estatz, pensions, et offices, comme il les avoit et tenoit par avant, et luy donnera femme fille de

Roy

Roy de France, avecq le dot acoustume de donner a fille de Roy de France. Et quant le Roy de France devra envoyer exercite pour le service de lEmpereur, non y allant la personne dudit Roy, Il est content que ledit Duc de Bourbon voyse avecq ledit exercite pour son Lieutenant General.

Et se doit traicter briefment des seuretez, qui convient quil y ait, affin que la chose soit pardurable.

[1]Over the articles above written, at the first reding unto us they declaryd oon other, which is not compri[*sed in this*] copie, whiche was that, where the Duc of Burbon [*claimed*] title onto the contry of Province, the Frenche King sho[*wed Him*] self to bee contented that thEmperour shulde be judge in th[*e case;*] whiche article we thinke was lafte owte by necli[*gence*] of the wryter. METHYNKYTH THES ARTYCLES BE TO *THE*] FREN KYGES PARTY, OR ELS THAT HE INTENDYTH NOT [*TO KEPE THEM*] THYS MAN WHYCHE IS

CXXII. KING HENRY VIII. *to* POPE CLEMENT VII.[2]

BEATISSIME Pater, post humillimam commendationem, et devotissima pedum oscula beatorum. Non possumus non summopere laudare pientissimum Beatitudinis Vestræ erga Christianam Rempublicam animum, ac sollicitam illi opitulandi curam, que ut ab amatissimo omnium parente proficiscitur, sic mentem istam bonam Deo acceptam proculdubio futuram confidimus. Vestræ enim Sanctitatis ad Nos Breve[3] ubi accurate perlegissemus, publico statim nomine mirum in modum lætati fuimus in tanta rerum omnium perturbatione, tam optime voluntatis, perspicacissimeque prudentie Pontificem Christianitati obtigisse, ex quo modo, in tot mature reprimendis malis, equa semper ratio justusque modus (re vera adhibeatur) omnino eveniet, ut in capitalis exitij locum solida succedat pax, securaque in commune pullulet tranquillitas; ac ea semel comparata, perpetuo ab omnibus servetur, mutuisque benivolentie adminiculis augeatur, id si non ante probe curetur Vestra Beatitudo salutaris ac necessarij, quod molitur, operis, debile quodque statuerit fundamentum, et ex sanctissimi sui desiderii impulsu rei conficiende, quancunque obviam

[1] This passage is in the handwriting of the clerk, who copied the despatches of the English Ambassadors. The passage in capital letters is in that of Henry VIII. It's termination has been destroyed by fire.

[2] Copy from the Vatican Papers.

[3] This is not found.

admiserit

admiserit rationem, verendum certe est ne non multo post universa Christianitas in graviora recidat pericula; paternum deinde Sanctitatis Vestræ erga Nos animum, sincerissima consilia, et amatissimos monitus (quorum effuse per reverendum Dominum Bathoniensem, Oratorem nostrum, nuper Nos certiores efficere dignata est) non alio accepimus animo, quam obsequentissimi filij officium exposcebat, ob quam summi perspectissimique amoris significationem immensas eidem Vestræ Beatitudini gratias habemus. Reliqua autem probe examinavimus, ac super his alijsque multis a suo Nuncio Nobis expositis, partim ex ejus litteris, partim vero ex dicti Oratoris nostri relatu, animum, judicium, consiliumque nostrum sigillatim et uberrime cognoscet; cui ut perinde, ac loquentibus Nobis, certissimam in omnibus fidem habere velit, impense rogamus. Et felicissime valeat Beatitudo Vestra, quam Deus altissimus longevam tueatur. Ex Regia nostra Windsore, die xiiij. Junii, 1525.

Excellentissimæ Vestræ Sanctitatis
devotissimus atque obsequentissimus filius,
Dei gratia, Rex Angliæ et Franciæ, Fidei
Defensor, ac Dominus Hiberniæ,
Henricus.

Sanctissimo, Clementissimoque
Domino nostro Papæ.

CXXIII. Sir Ri. Wyngfeld *to* Wolsey.[1]

Myn owne good Lord. This my dedly wrightting unto your Grace at this present shall be oonly to desyer your Grace, that lyke as you have ben ever in

[1] From Wolsey's Correspondence, Vol. XV. No. 52. This is the last letter extant of Sir Richard Wyngfeld, whose signature is written with a very tremulous hand, and without the R. K. usually subjoined. This letter is thus alluded to in a holograph one from Tunstall to Wolsey (Vespasian, C. VII. leaf 82): "He hath written a letter unto your Grace, commendyng unto the same his "wyff and hys chyldern, which gretly ran in his mynd in his seknes." "His seknes had welnygh "overthrawn me also for lake off rest and slepe, when he drew nygh to hys end, so that 8 days "affter I was not in tempere, nor could recover slepe. My compagnion Mr Sampson, the morow "affter hys deth, fel into a febre, and ys not yet wel recoveryd. I was, not longe before "Mr Wyngfeld seknes, brougth so low by a fluxe, that my legges began to fail me, and my "stomake and strenght was goone. Yff the fever had comen, as offte it foloweth that dysease, "surly I had not escapyd. But lovyd be God, now I am bettyr, and Mr Sampson past the "worste."

in my lyffe good and gracious Lord unto me, and the meane and help of myn advauncement to suche honour, as it hathe pleased the Kinges Highnes to calle me unto in my lyfe; so it may please your Grace to be good unto my poore wyfe and childern after my deceasse, in suche matters as they shall have from tyme to tyme, beyng well assewered that they shall have great nede of your gracious favour and helpe. And thus I besetche Almyghtty God to send unto your Grace the accomplisshement of hartys noble desyres. At Toletho, the 22 daye of Julye.

Entierly yours,

(*Signed*) WYNGFELD.

(*Superscribed*)
To my Lord Legates [*Grac*]e.

The circumstances of Wyngfeld's death and funeral are thus detailed in a despatch from Tunstall and Sampson to the King of the 28th of July, Ibid. leaf 78: "Pleasith it Your Highnes to "understond, that the 15th day of this monith our companyon Maister Wyngfeld, Chancelour of "your Duchie, fell syk in to a flyx, and the next day we were convided to a greate feste to the "Busshop of Avila, whider we went, and Maister Wyngfeld with us, thinking hymself strong "ynough therunto; where he dud ete millons, and drank wyn without water unto them, and "afterwardis dranke bere, whiche is made here by ferce bytter of the hoppe, for to be preservyd "the better agaynst the intollerable hetis of this contrye. And albeit he did ete but verey "moderatly, yet after our retourne home, not oonly his flux began to encreace upon hym, but also "the fever toke hym farvently. Wherupon phisicions were callyd for help, who after they "perceyved the fever to bee contynuall without intermission, and the flux to encrease to a voyding "of blud, mynestred unto hym suche medicynes as they thought moost convenyent; and after, "thEmperour hering of his disease, sent all his phisicions unto hym to vysyte hym: but for no "thing that all they cold doo the fever could be remedyed, nor yet mean founde to make hym "slepe, or sleke his perpetuall and ardent thurst. Wherupon he made hym mete to God, and "receyved all the sacramentis of holy churche, and the 22th day of this monyth, whiche was "Mary Magdalens day, departyd owte of this transitory lyf: of whom Your Highnes hathe a "merveilous great losse, seing the great wisdom and experience that he had in all your affayres."

"Surely we never sawe nor herde in our lyf any man, of any degre or condicion, make a better "or more devout ende of his lyfe towardis God, then he dyd. He made suche a declaration of "the goodnes and mercy of God, and so humble a summyssion of hymself unto the same, which "he dyd bothe in Frenche and Italyon, that the curate, and those of other nacions, ther being "present to a good nombre, were movyd all to teris. We pray Almyghty God to have mercy "of his soule, and to graunt us grace, when He shall call us to His mercy, to folow thexample "that we have sene in hym. A lytill before his dethe he wrote a letter unto Your Highnes to "pray the same to bee good and graciouse to my Lady his wife and his childer; whiche Your "Grace shall receyve herwith. We have buried hym as honorably as we could devyse of thinges "to be had here, bicause he was bothe of your Ordre, and your Ambassadour. His will was to "bee buryed at the Freres Observauntes, bilded in this citie by the late King of Aragon and "Quene Elizabeth pro sepultura Regum, wher no man is buryed without lycence of thEmperour. "For thopteynyng wherof, after we sent to know his pleasure, He not oonly gladly gave lycence, "but also comaundyd he shuld be buryed within the cyrcuit of the quere, whiche place is foundyd "and reservyd for buryall oonly of Kinges. Whiche thinge He dyd in the honour of Your "Highnes, and never bifore was grauntyd to no pryvate person."

CXXIV. TUNSTALL *and* SAMPSON *to* KING HENRY VIII.[1]

PLEASITH it Your Highnes to undirstonde that the 29th daie of the last monith thEmperours Chauncelour sent unto us a pakete contenyng a letter of yours in cifre, datid at Hampton Court the 3rd day of the same[2], whiche letter he said was brought by a poste to Parpinian, whiche post ther lay sik, and desiryd Rokendelf, capitayn of the Almayns, to sende it hither to us; and, if we wold sende any answer agayn, to sende it thither to hym. Whiche maner of the commyng of the letter to our handis made us somwhat to muse, seing the poste wrote no thing for the adresse of the saide pakette. Wherupon we unciphred the letter, whiche is long, and cost us welnigh the labour of 2 daies; whiche doon, takyng advise to gethir, and considering the manifold declarations of your mynde and enformacions in many waightie pointes gevyn unto us by the same, forasmoche as I, Doctour Sampson, syns the dethe of Mr Wyngfeld have been so sore syk of a fever, that I neyther myght be present at the buriall of the saide Maister Wyngfyld, to my great hevynes, nor yet able to repaire to thEmperours presence for any matier, nor to goo owt of my house, and diverse pointis were conteynyd in your saide letter, wherin we thought right necessary with all celeritie to advertise thEmperour, for advoyding of suspicion whiche ellis might have been engenderyd, if they cam to his knowlege otherwise than by us, as they must ellis nedis shortly doo; and uncertayn it was, when I, Doctour Sampson, shuld be able with my helthe to com abrode; for these causes we thought it veray muche expedient that I, the Bushop of London, shuld without delay repair to thEmperours presence, lyke as upon thEmperours pleasure known whan I myght have audience, and the first day of this monyth in the mornyng appointed for the same, I dyd; wher in the Emperours privey chambre, He retyring Hymself into a wyndowe without any of his Counsaile, after He had muche monyd the dethe of Maister Wyngfeld, and I had gevyn moost humble thankis unto Hym for his licence grauntyd that he myght be buryed in his church, foundyd pro sepultura Regum, and He had demaundyd how Maister Dean dyd, I declaryd unto Hym how nowe late we had receyvyd letters of the 3de of the last monyth from

That letter was sent by France; and with the double therof, sent by see, passed also a commyssion for dissolvyng of the mariage.

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[1] From the Museum, Vespasian, C. III. leaf 86. The passage printed in Italics, in pp. 468, 469, is in cypher in the original. The marginal notes are in the writing of Sir Brian Tuke.

[2] Of this letter there is no trace.

Your Highnes, wherby Ye commaundyd us to declare unto His Majestie how that Your Highnes, ensuyng the tenour and effect of the treaties passyd betwixt You, and the mutuall good custume hitherto usyd according to the same, dyd advertise Hym, that thyder hath been lately sent agayn fro the Lady Regent and nobles of Fraunce John Joachym, having ample commyssyon of Hyr, mencionyng the consent of the nobles gevyn unto the Chauncelour of Alancon and hym, to make preparation and entre for to treate, common, and conclude for peax with Your Highnes: whiche Chauncelour is lyke shortly to repayre thider, to propone suche conditions of peax as Your Highnes may with your honour accept; whiche conditions, what they shuld be, Your Highnes yet knowe not, nor cold not advertise Hym of them. Prayng Hym of his advise, howe Ye myght herkyn to the same, to bring your affayres to som good purpose, trusting that by his good mediation, having the Frenche King with Hym, som landis and contrays may be attaynyd, wherin your veray trust is that His Majestie woll fraternally and fastly adher and styk unto Your Highnes, that He will in recompense of your gratitude, hertofore shewyd unto Hym, doo nowe som notable acte to your benyfyte in the conclusion of peax, wherby all the world may undyrstond that by his means your appointment is honerably and kyndly sett forth and amendyd; whiche thing shall geve Your Highnes, and all other Prynces, the bettyr corage to doo for Hym herafter. Adjoynyng therunto, that Your Highnes required Hym that with all diligence He wold resolve Hymself herin, and that He, doing for Your Highnes, as Ye have been and shalbe glad to doo for Hym, wold advertyse You with all diligence of his mynde and determination upon the same; to the intent that Ye, Who bettyr know your specialties of your wronges and causis, than any other persons here can doo, His Majestie, ons resolvyd to com to a reasonable appointment here for his partie, may conclude and conduce there your appointment to your moost benefyte and advauntage. Inferring after the premisses that I thought veraly the answerris gyffyn by His Majestie at two tymes, first to Brion, and secunde to Monmorancy, that the French Kyng must aswell offre reason to Your Highnes as to Hym, before any resolution of peax or treatie for his delivery shuld be takyn, have been the cause that my Lady Regent, whiche above all thinges tendrith the delivery of hyr son, and will spedily do althingis on all sydis that may help to advaunce the same, hath at this tyme sent the saide John Joachym and President into Inglond to treat with Your Highnes for the more expedition of his deliverye; whiche, bifore Your Highnes wer satisfyed, could not be attayned. Declaring further unto Hym, how that seing Your Highnes had undirstond, aswell by letters sent from hens upon the new takyng

of

of the Frenche Kyng, of his goodly and vertuous mynde, intending to make of this victory an universall peax, as also by our letters sent hens sens our arryvall, and the declaracion also made there by Spinolosa, how He was not fournyshyd for this present tyme to make suche concurrence in warr, as shuld apperteigne so to presse the ennemye, that bothe Ye myght either attayne som notable portions therby, orellis compell hym to offre reason to bothe your contentations; considering the great costis and charge Ye have ben at, besydis other, this present yere also, in making great preparations by see and lande to have invadyd thennemye, if He had been in a redines, whiche for lak of his concurrence cam not to effecte; and that Ambassatours also wer sent hyder to Hym to procure peax, whiche Your Highnes thought wer further entryd in treatie of the same then they be; seing Ye know not how all is deferryd to the commyng of Madam de Alancon[1], nor letters sent unto Your Highnes therof by us wer not yet arryvyd, that Ye myght have therby knowlege therof; and that the Pope also by instante persuasyons hertofor ofte made to Your Highnes, and also by his brief now late for that purpose sent unto the same, vehemently dothe exhorte and stirre You to peax: Your Highnes, fynding the peax now necessary and benificiall for You, was inclyned to geve ere also for your parte to suche overtures therof as shalbe made: and though Ye nevir entendyd to have acceptyd any conditions, but with restitutions of great contries or londis in parte of recompense of thinges detaynyd from You, yet for the considerations bifore mencionyd Ye could be contentyd to mytigate your demaundes in that behalf, and to take sommys of money to bee offred unto You with suche landis as by his good mediation, havyng the French King in his hand[2], may be had and attayned; wherin your firme trust was He wold doo

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[1] Margaret, Duchess of Alençon, Sister of Francis I.

[2] The English Ambassadors in their despatch of the 20th of June give the following account of the French King's removal to Barcelona (Vespasian, C. III. leaf 144): "This mornyng "assured newis be comon, that the Vice Roy of Naples, with thEmperours armye, whiche was "ordeyned by see to have brought the Frenche King to Naples, hath brought Hym into Spayne "in to the haven of Barselon." After giving an account of their dining with the Lord Chancellor, they proceed: "In devysing with hym of the Frenche Kinges arrivall unto Barselon, and asking "hym how it fortuned He cam thither, seing it was ordeyned He shulde be had to Naples, He "saide the Frenche King desired greatly to come hither, and that whan He cam to Janua, and "sawe He shuld be had to Naples, He desiryd greatly to come hither; offring to remeve all "difficulties that myght be made: as, lying of his army in the mean way, to whom He wrote, not "oonly that they shuld not stere owte of the haven of Marsillis where they lye, but also that "they shulde furthwith sende six of the best of their galise, voyde, to Janua, the Vice Roy to "put in theym whom he wolde lyke; as they did; wherby he was assured the Frenche armye by "see could not empeche hym. To that said we, Why! Had not the Vice Roy expresse com-"maundement to have Hym to Naples? Wherunto he answeryd that thEmperour had wrytten "unto

doo his best to help to bring You to som honorable appointment. At this I made a pause; and thEmperour, after He had demaundyd of Your Graces welfare, and where Ye were at the date of these letters, answeryd, that first as to the commyng thedyr of the said Chauncelour and Joachym, He thought they were sent thydyr, to passe ovyr this somer with fayre wordis, and to wyn tyme of You, lyke as they goo aboute to doo with Hym; wherin He saide they deceyve themself, wenyng to disceyve Him in moving Hym to clemences and magnanimities by faire wordis; for onles reason be offred Hym, He for his parte will take noo peax with them: lyke as He thinkith that Ye for your parte wilnot doo. And, where they goo aboute to colour their matiers against Hym in their disputations, laing against Hym for his demaundis two thinges, the oon their law Salic, the other that the londis by Hym demaundyd bee appennagis, that is to say, in Englishe, dependauntes of the corone; both thos thinges is no thing to the purpose, for onlesse He be first restoryd to that, that He is dispoylyd of, and wherof his ancestours have been laufully possessed, He for his parte woll geve none ere unto theym: lyke as He hath made playn answer to be made by his Counsell to the Ambassatours here being. Wherupon thArchibishop Danbron[1] cam unto Him 2 daies before, lamentyng and saing that this universall peax, whiche good hope was shuld have succedyd, was further of, then he had went, "voyaunt que voz voulez oster a mon maister "le sien." To whom He said He answeryd, "Coment pensez vos que Je "prendray la paix avecque voz, et voz quietaray le mien?" saing that onlesse they cam ner to a point, than they yet make semblaunce to do, it wold be long bifore they shall accorde. Wherupon He saide He hath sente the Vice Roy, whiche is alredy departyd, to the Frenche King, to shew Hym plainly that this way, whiche his Ambassatours takith, is not the way to com to any appointment, as He shall surely fynde: saing further that the Frenchemen be fayre spekers, and will make som tymes great braggis, and a vaunt of thinges and mervellis that they will doo, whiche is not to be regardyd, for if they be kept shorte, and berdyd, their stomakkis will soone wax more mylde: saing further that at this tyme He hath been constrayned to make of necessitie vertue, as to purpose peax, bicause He was not furnysshyd for the warr, to be made as appertcyned, whiche elles He had not doon. Wherfore his advise is that Your

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"unto hym, howe fayn He wold have had the Frenche King brought into Spayn, but He saw not "how it myght soo easely bee doon, seing the Frenche army lay in the way; wherfore he thought "best He were had to Naples, there to bee surely kept, orelles where he myght geve a good "accompt of his person. So that the Vice Roy now had brought Hym hider."

[1] Francis de Tournon. See Vol. I. p. 247.

Highnes,

Highnes, in herkenyng to the offres of the said Chauncelour and Joachym, shall drawe of them to your profyte what Ye can, and after Ye shall soo have doon, sende hither to shewe at what point Ye be at, and to have here all thinges concluded; wherunto He wilnot faile to styk, that Ye may be satisfied to your contentation. To that I saide that the affayres and the demaundis of Your Highnes wer suche, and your wronges so manyfold, the justifying wherof by many treaties and chartours coulde not be shewyd but there wher they were, that they colde not be treatyd well any wher ellis but thear; and that, albeit we here had som knowlege in grosse of your demaundis and affayres, yet, for all that, the particularities of all thinges, whiche in suche a treatie must be touchyd, were far from our knowlege, and do reste there at home, where best to your behof they may be treatyd. To this He sayde the copies myght be sent hither of all thinges, and that the Frenchemen ar not wont to denye his treatyes, but they construe them of their facion oftymes. Herunto I shewyd Hym that in disputacion many thinges might insurge, that no man wolde have thought in the begynnyng shuld have servyd to the purpose, the lak wherof myght greatly hurte, and the shewing wherof greatly avayle, besydis that your evydence and munimentes to be shewyd for this purpose wer so muche, that the copies therof wold over lade any currours; so that I thought the treating of your titles myght beste to your advauntage be had there, and that nevertheles knowlege shuld be gevyn to Hym whan any offres wer made, and that I doubtyd not but, if His Majestie wold intende to make a good peax in Cristendom, it shuld not faile honorably to succede, not oonly to the contentation of Hym and his confederates, but also to the high pleasure of Almyghty God, and to his perpetuall renome for evyr. Herupon He affyrmyd agayn that it wer best to have the conclusion of all doon here, and that we shuld be present at all communications, aswell for Hym as for our selff, whan the tyme shuld come; and that He had commaundyd thes particuler communications, had with the Ambassatour of Fraunce for the more preparing of the matier, to be shewyd unto us: lyke as, I answeryd, they had been.

And litel to your honour to have your peax concluded at an other mans hande.

After this He askyd if any thing were touchyd, in our letters, of your mynde in the affaire of the mariage with Portingale. Wherunto I saide that Your Highnes had great marvaile, that wher we had written soo plainly, that Spinolosa shuld make overture of that matier, neydyr He nor yet non odyr of his Ambassatours there had evyr touchyd that matier, or spokyn oon worde of it, and that how it shuld com aboute that it was not spokyn of, Ye cold not conjecte nor imagine: whiche Ye commaundyd us to declare unto Hym. To that He saide that, as He had shewid

Hinc lacrime, hec illa misericordia.

It is not to be thought that she durst do suche a thing, withoute the doing therof wer referred unto her.

shewid us before, it was my Lady his awntes[1] dede, whiche now late had sente hider to make hir excuse in that matier; wherin He was not content with hir so to change his instruccions: and that as concernyng that matier He said, that the day bifore all the Procuratours of the cities and of his Courtis (for soo they call theym her in Spayn) had been with Hym; and wher, in the begynnyng of the said Courtis, they prayed Hym oonly to take a wife, and to establishe his estate and realmes[2], now they have goon fordyr, and not prayd Hym, but required Hym, that He will herkyn to their desire, and to take a wife, declaring unto Hym expresly that, if for any cause He shuld departe his realmes, his estate therby first not established, if any suche commotions, as had been hertofore made in his absence, shuld insurge, as right lyke they were to do, they in discharge of their duties gaff Hym warnyng to provyde now remedie in tyme, and to avoyde suche inconvenientes as they wold be lothe to see, and yet were lyke to ensue. And as for Hymself, for his person He could well tary, nor hath noo luste to mary; but if He shuld goo owte of his realmes to make warr, or repayre to any odyr his contries, or goo to take his Coron Imperiall, whiche dignitie God hath callyd Hym unto, daungier myght ensue. Wherfore He saide He greatly desiryd to know brefly your mynde herin, seing He is soo sore pressid therunto. Wherunto I answeryd Hym, that Your Highnes had written unto us somwhat in that matier, that, if He shuld further make instaunce therin,

Well founde and devised excuses.

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[1] By this Sharon Turner understands Catharine of Arragon (History of Henry VIII. ed. 1826. p. 328); but the Archduchess Margaret, to whom, as we have seen, Penalosa first went, was clearly the person intended. This construction is not only confirmed by a passage in p. 444, but is placed beyond dispute by the following paragraph in the English Ambassadors' despatch of the 8th of July (Vespasian, C. III. leaf 176), in which they give an account of an interview with the Emperor: "After He shewed us how He had geven instructions to the saide Spinolosa his servaunt to have "openyd oon point further unto Your Highnes then he had doon, whiche pointe he lefte unshewid "by commaundement of my Lady Margarete, to whom he shewid his instructions, and she had put "owte the said pointe, willing hym in no wise to speke of it: whiche point was, in case of refusall "of his demaundis before specified, to desire your consent to his mariage with the doughter of "Portingale; lyke as his Counsell had shewid to us that the saide Spinolosa had instructions to "do, and as He thought we had written." He then declared himself to be very angry therewith, and reported that it was my Lady Margaret's deed, and his Council should show Spinolosa's instructions, and also those which she had given him. They were accordingly shown two days after, and in them appeared this passage: "After whiche they shewid also the instructions made by "the Lady Margaret owte of the odyr, subscribed with her hand, conteignyng the oon parte of "the saide instructions oonly. Her reasons therefor were not known." They add, that the Emperor was very angry, the Cortes and all other things waiting and depending on that very point, and was fearful that Henry would think He had done it by cautele, "wherewith He is not a litle "myscontent."

[2] Vespasian, C. III. leaf 184.

then

then we shulde declare unto Hym that, albeit Your Grace bifore all Christien Princis desirith to bestow your doghter on Hym principalli, yet to doo Hym pleasure, if the amytie and good intelligence betwixt You therby shuld not be diminishid, upon communication to be had upon certain pointis and articles touching the same, after Your Grace wer advertisyd of His conformytie to those pointis, Ye wold sende us your further mynde therin, and peradventure might apply your mynde to gyff your consent to his desire for the more advauncement of his affaires. To that He saide that, bifore all the alliaunces of the world, He wolde faynist have Yours, if He might now have hir, and she were of age mete therfor, for many reasons: oon was, the possibilitie of succession of her to attayn soo great a realme as that was: an nodyr was the auncientnes of love and amytie bitwixt the howsis of England and Burgoyn, and the subgiectes, bitwixt whom never were noo clames, ne querellis, but alwais perfyte love: the thyrd was the entire love and effection that He berith to your Person, anenst Whom that love was engenderyd in his hert when Ye wer to gedyr; that it was not lyke as Princis be wonte to love, but that never oon gentilman cold love another as Ye two dyd; and that your being to gedyr was to Hym the moost comfortable pastyme that ever He had in his lyfe. Wherfore He saide, for his parte, the dissolvyng of this alliaunce shuld not mynishe any parte of the inward love bitwixt You, and that now Ye both must rather shew your love to bee encreasyd, to the intent that all men might know, that your love stode not oonly by this alliaunce, but chifly was soo roted in your own hertis, that it nedyd non nother knotte, wherof for Hym Ye myght be well assured. And as unto the articles and pointes that Your Grace demaundyd, in case of your consent to be gevyn, He desyryd greatly to know what they were. To that I saide I had not thought that He wold at that tyme have movyd any thing of that matier, and therfor I had not callyd them to rememberaunce, seing also my companyon Mr Sampson was syke, whom I wold be glad to have present at all communications. To this He saide that He shuld point som of his Counsail to common with us of them, whiche shuld come home to Maister Sampsons lodging for that matier; whyche I affirmyd shuld not nede, and that I trustyd shortly to see hym able to com abrode, and then we shuld be redy to common with whom He shuld appoint. Apon that He saide, "I pray you tell Me at the lest, if they be reasonable, for ye have "sene them." Wherunto I answeryd that they were all soo reasonable, that I thought assurydly He wold make no stykking at any of them. Wherupon He departyd.

Verba sunt hec.

If thEmperour so do, it shal be best for Hym self.

The 4th day of this monith thEmperour sent Maister John Alman to us,

to desire us to come to the Courte to Monsr de Nassow chambre, if Doctour Sampson wer able to come; and if noo, He wold cause some of his Counsail to come to us. Wherupon sens I, Doctour Sampson, was not yet so strong, that I durst commyt me to the ayre, the same day in the evenyng the Chauncelour, the Comendadour Maior, and John Almayn cam to us to my house; where the Chancelour said that thEmperour had declaryd unto them, what communication He had with me, the Bushop of London, at my last being with Hym, and that gladly He wold knowe the mynde of Your Highnes in certain pointes concerning the mariage of Portingale at that tyme not opynyd unto Hym; for knoulege wherof He had commaundyd theym to com to us, to here what they were. Wherupon we shewid them, that Your Highnes, for the old rotyd love that long seasons hath contynued betwyn the house of England and Burgon, and for the tender mynde that Ye bere unto thEmperour, could fynde in your hert to bestow your only doughter upon Hym bifore all other Princis lyving, for his manifold vertues, and the high degre that He was of, bothe by byrthe and by the calling of God: neverthelesse, at his instaunce and request, to doo unto Hym pleasure, havyng tendre remorse to thencrease of his succession, principally for the entyre love Ye bere Hym, could be contentyd, after the perfourmaunce of certayn articles and pointes whiche we shuld declare unto them, to conclude with Hym upon the discharge of alliaunce with your derest doughter, and to put Hym at lybertie to mary with the doughter and suster of Portingale.

The pointes, whiche Your Highnes wold first have perfourmyd, were these. First, in case Ye shuld condescend unto the discharge of the mariage with your derest doughter, Ye will loke, bifore the same discharge passe You, to bee in good suretie of an honorable appointment, passid with the realme of Fraunce, to your contentation and reasonable satisfaccion; thinking that thEmperour, to attayn his saide desire, shuld, for divers and many considerations, doo all that in Hym is possible, to make your parte muche the better therin, and to conduct You by his good meanes, to a veray benificiall honerable and profitable ende and appointment. For it is not unknown, how, for the defense and assistence of thEmperour, Your Grace was entryd into this warr, wherby Ye had not oonly spent infinite treasure by see and londe in maintenyng the same, to the exhausting of your cofres, and empovrishing of your subgiettes and realm, but also therby lost all your yerly and annuell paymentes and censes payde to you owt of Fraunce, to your inestimable hurt and dammage; wheras thEmperour in this warr, by your good assistance, hath attayned not oonly his desire, but also by the provydence of God muche more then in the begynnyng of the same He wold have wysshed; as, the conquest and wynnyng of Turney, the recovery of the Duche of

of Millayn, the surtie of his realm of Naples, and finally the totall overthrow of his ennemye the Frenche King, and captivitie of his person. Wherfore, sens this alliaunce was the chif cause that hathe brought Your Highnes to this warr, to your greate losse, and to thEmperours so great advauntage, reason it wer, bifore desolving of the same, that Ye were brought at the leste into the state, that Ye wer in bifore, by som honorable appointment with Fraunce, to your contentacion; whiche wer easy for thEmperour, havyng the Frenche Kinges person in his handes, to bring aboute.

The secunde point is, inasmoche as thEmperour, comyng by your consent unto the mariage of Portingale, shalnot oonly receyve therby a notable summe of money, but also have of his subgiettes a greate contribution, whiche chifly desire that alliaunce, and that of the Frenche Kinges raunsom may rise unto Hym a greate encrease of treasure, Your Highnes will loke immediatly to be repaide of all suche debtis as the said Emperour owth unto You, as money lent for Fenlowe, money lent for his first transporting in to Spayne, money lent for his last transporting, whiche shuld have been repaide bifore the personall invasion, with all other debtis of money lent; and also the debt of your indempnitie, whiche is behinde sens the begynnyng of the war: all whiche debtis and somes of money, the mariage proceding with my Lady Princes, shuld have been defalkyd in the payment of her dote, and were oon of the causis that Ye rather consentyd to make hir dote soo greate. Wherfore reason it were, if this alliaunce shuld be dissolvyd, seing Your Highnes must seke for hir a newe mariage, that the money of hir dote remaynyng in thEmperours handis, whiche was the debtis aforesaide, shuld be furthwith restoryd to Your Highnes for hir mariage. Whiche secunde poynt we affyrmyd to bee the same, that thEmperour Hymself had alledgied to the Proctours of the Cities at making of their first request for the mariage of Portingale.

The third poynt is, that the treaties made by reason of this alliaunce bitwixt thEmperour and You as principall contrahentis, that is to say, the treaties of Wyndesour[1], to be revokyd and adnullyd, and also lykewise the treatie betwyn Pope Leo, Your Highnes, thEmperour, and the Frenche King[2], for mutuall defense and expensas proprias, by force wherof Ye were brought to the warr; whiche of reason ought now to be extinct, by reason that the Frenche King hathe brokyn the same, and that Pope Leo is decessyd, and now commyng to peax, all hostilitie is to bee set aparte and new treaties to be made; all other treaties of amytie and intercourse, with all pointis articles

[1] See Herbert, p. 115–121.

[2] Made at London the 2d of October 1518. Rymer, Vol. XIII. p. 624.

and clausis in them conteynyd, made oonly bytwixt thEmperour and Your Highnes, your contreis subgiettes and dominions, to stonde in their full streignyth and vertue, and none of them to be revokyd.

These thinges fully perfourmyd and accomplishyd, Your Highnes, at thEmperours instaunce and request, to doo to Hym pleasure, though Ye will always accept Hym as your entirelie belovyd sonne, mynding to lyve in noo lesse kyndnes love and frendship with Hym, then if the said mariage had takyn effecte, having tendre remorse to the encrease of his succession, can be contentyd to conclude with Hym upon the discharge of the said mariage, putting Hym then, and not before, at lybertie to mary with the saide doughter and suster of Portingale, wherby He may be in more apparaunce to se brevely succession of his body, and also to recover large sommys of money for the maintenaunce of his present affayres.

After they had herde these pointis declaryd, they saide they wold make relacion of them to thEmperour, and soo for that day they departyd.

The morowe after, the Chauncelour sent unto us to advertise us that they wold com at the same howre unto the same place that they had doon the day bifore; whider the Chauncelour, Monsr de Nassow, the Commendatour Maior, and John Almayn dyd come; where the Chauncelour declaryd unto us howe they had made relacion to thEmperour of our communication the daie bifore, by whiche His Majestie perceyvyd suche pointis, as we had purposyd for the discharging of thalliaunce, not to bee unreasonable, and that it was greatly to his confort that Your Grace soo dyd consider his present estate, and that Ye, mynding to abyde in firme amytie with Hym, weer content to herkyn to his desire. And, for a more declaration of his mynde touching the saide pointes, they had in commaundment to shew unto us the necessitie, by whiche He is compellyd to establishe here his estate royall: first his subgiectes presse Hym sore to mariage for the more breve attaignyng of succession, and for to avoyde commotion of his people, if He shuld, that not doon, goo owt of these contries, as He for dyvers causes must brevely doo, not so muche to attayn his corone imperiall, whiche myght well ynough long be deferryd, but to help to pacyfie the state of thEmpire, whiche is nowe so sore vexed with commocions populer against the churche and the nobilitie by the heresie of Luther, that onles remedy be shortly founde in that behalf, wherunto He fyndyth Hymself chargyd in conscience, and wherunto the Pope also greatly dothe exhort Hym, all shall goe to ruyne. The Lutherians, albeit this somer the lyge of Sweve at divers tymes hath kyllyd of them to the nombre of 70 thousand, whiche they have not doon without som losse of their owne, for on the oon syde and on the other there be kyllyd to the numbre of a hundreth thousand

thousand persons, as it was wrytten to thEmperour this last monyth, and that they have dreven the Cardinall of Magunce to compounde with them, that is to say, to leve them all his fortressis, and to lette them preche what they lyst and take what they lyst; yet now of late eftsonis they have besegyd the Cardynall of Gurce in his castill, and have won his towne of Salseburg, whom they shall drive to lyke composition; and have also rebellyd against Don Fardinand Duc of Austrice, and drevyn his chif Counsailours from Hym, and compellyd Hym to retire to Isbroke in the countie of Tyroll, wher He kepith a dyate for to help to pacifie these commocions: whiche He is not lyke to doo, nor no man, onles thEmperour com thyder in person, seing the said heresie is now spred so brode, that also almost all Hungry is infect with it. For thise causis thEmperour of necessitie is compellid to take brevely som way, how He may stablishe his realmes here, by mariage. And as touching the paymentes purposyd by us, albeit they wer not unreasonable, thEmperour had gevyn them in commaundement to shew what He thought as touching the particularities of them; whiche was, touching the first, that thEmperour shuld noo lesse styke to help to bring Your Grace to peax then Himself; but if the Frenchemen offer not reason to You bothe, as yet they doo not to Hym, it were lyke to be long bifore the peax shuld succede; whiche long tarieng of your consent, if the peax shall be made bifore, the sayde necessitie of his affaires could not well susteyn, and therfore He wold desire to have your consent furthwith, whiche shuld be a mean to make the Frenche men come soner to peax, if they perceyvyd Hym furnishid of money by mariage redy to compell them to reason: and that He wold promise He shuld styk no lesse for You then for Hymself. As unto the secunde point, He saide, reason is Your Grace have of Hym all your debtis; but bifore the mariage He coulde not doo it, seing He shall receyve no money of the mariage, unto it be accomplishid, and then oonly the first payment. And, as to the money comyng of his subgiectes, it shuld be payde in thre yere, and the first payment shuld begyn almost oon yere hense, after the custume of Spayne, so that in effect it shuld be 4 yere; so that it was not possible for Hym to pay in hande his debtis bifore the consent had: whiche debtis He wold be agreable to paie at daies to be appointed, withoute any default, havyng agayn suche pleggis as doo ly for som of theym, as the Floure de Lyce, whiche was brought thyder after the dethe of King Philip his fader. And, as to the debt of the indempnitie, He wold also answer it at daies, and cause the Frenche King to discharge Hym in that matier. And as unto the third point, thEmperour thought reasonable the treaties made in respect of the mariage were revokyd; and yet suche pointis of them, as do concerne your stykkyng to gethir in making of peax

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or warr with Fraunce, myght be renued, to the intent that the Frenchemen, perceyving the dissolvyng of the alliaunce dyd not dissolve the first knot of amytie betwixt You, shuld soner offer unto You bothe reason, seing You bothe jointly treate togeather in making of your peax; and lykwise the treatie of London myght be revokyd; and all other treaties of amyties and intercourse betwixt You both, your realmes, and subgiettes, myght stonde still in their full strength. So that they were redy to capitulate with us upon all the premisses; whiche thEmperour shuld in tyme fulfyll, and, the capitulation past, wold desire furthwith, without further delay, to have your consent to his mariage with Portingale. Herupon we, retiring us aparte, and calling to our rememberaunce, howe there desire was to have your consent furthwith opon a capitulacion made, and your mynde is to have all these pointis fulfilled and accomplishid before your consent geffen, and chifly the peax to passe before; and how also we have yet noo commyssion sente to capitulate those pointes, as we must nedis have, if we shuld interchange, whan tyme shall com, articles opon them; retournyd agayn unto them, and shewid them, that we had declaryd unto them, under what fourme Your Highnes, to doo thEmperour pleasure, could be contente to gyve your consent to the mariage of Portingale, whan tyme shuld com that those pointis wer perfourmed, and not before; and how we had in commaundement to shew your mynde in thes pointes oonly, in case thEmperour made instance to know your mynde in the same, lyke as He had doon; and if He had spokyn no thing of them to us, we wold never have spokyn to Hym of them, bicause Your Highnes chifly desirith the contynuaunce of this alliaunce, and not the breking therof; and, if their Oratours or Spinolosa had made instaunce in this matier, they might long agoo have had a determynate answer upon all their desire herin: wher as now Your Highnes, not thinking of any suche celeritie to nede, had not yet sent us any commyssion to treate herin, further then to declare undir what fourme Ye could be content, if it were requiryd of us; whiche we had done, and durst well assure them in your name that, thes thinges first passid and accomplyshid, Your Grace wold bee agreable. And as unto the debtis we saide, if He myght not pay all in hande, som reasonable mean might be takyn therin, as to pay 2 partis or half in hande, the residue at competent daies; wherin we thought Your Grace wolde be reasonable, all other thinges as bifore proceding. Ther upon they, remembring themself what was best to doo, said how they thought best that bothe we shuld wryte to Your Highnes to know your pleasure herin, and lykewise thEmperour shuld wryte to his Ambassatour there to solicite that commyssion myght

There was no suche restraint made unto them.

They have also commyssion sent unto them.

They be also sufficiently instructed, howe they shal ordre themself for stalling of days for part of the money due by thEmperour.

myght be sente to us hither with all diligence to conclude upon the premisses; seing thEmperours necessitie was so great, that He myght not well tary the accomplishement and fulfilling of the articles aforesayd bifore your consente; wherin they said they wold speke with thEmperour to know how they shuld write.

And afterwardis within 2 daies thEmperour sent Maistre John Almayn unto us, to shew us how He wold write letters of his owne hande to Your Highnes for the more solicityng of breve answer herin, saing that He wold sende bothe by see and by londe, for more expedition, to his Oratour there, to solicite answer herin, and that we shuld have 2 copies of that He writeth to his Ambassatours, to sende, the oon by see with these presentes, and the other by londe[1], to Your Highnes, that Ye might knowe what He writyth; by whiche

[1] These are both extant, one in the State Paper Office, and the other in the Museum (Vespasian, C. III. leaf 196.), both in the same handwriting. There is a third copy in the latter Volume, leaf 62, in a different hand. The first-mentioned copy is indorsed, in a contemporary hand, "The "copie off thEmpo^{r}s lres off the xith off August for the mariage of Portingal," and is as follows: "Sur ce quil a pleu au Roy nostre oncle escripre a ses Ambassadeurs pour responce de ce que "leur avions icy fait communiquer touchant les instances et offres, que les subgetz de noz "Royaulmes Nous faisoient pour Nous marier a la seur du Roy de Portugal, en cas que ledit Roy "nostre oncle ne Nous voulsist promptement delivrer la Princesse sa fille, pour la laisser par "deca en nostre absence pour la conservacion de nosdits Royaulmes et subjectz; et pour les "raisons amplement declairees aux instructions que avions bailles au Commandeur Penalosa, et "declairees et communiquies ausdits Ambassadeurs, disans iceulx en avoir lors adverty ledit Roy "nostre oncle; et que combien ledit Penalosa, ny autre de nostre part, ne Luy en eust point parle "pour cause procedant dautre part, quil ne scavoit bien entendre laquelle Il pensoit aussy a Nous "estre incognue: neantmoins ledit Sieur Roy leur avoit escript, que si Nous leur parlissions de "rechief de cest affaire, quilz Nous deussent declairer son intention, et ainsy Nous ayant leur "comunique de nouveau le progrez de noz affaires, et la continue instance que ceulx des Courtes "Nous faisoient de Nous resouldre en cest affaire sans le tenir plus longuement en suspens, meismes "doubtans de nostre absentacion de ces Royaulmes pour le remede des choses Lutheriennes, et "pour prendre noz couronnes, lesdits Ambassadeurs Nous firent declaration, que combien ledit "Roy nostre oncle desirast sur toutes choses le mariage dentre Nous et ladite Princesse sa fille, "et auroit regret a la dissolucion dicelluy; scachant non le povoir marier plus haultement, "laquelle, si elle estoit en eage suffissant, ne feroit difficulte de Nous la envoyer prestement, pour "satisfaire a Nous et a noz subjectz: neantmoins considerant que son tendre et bas eage ne peut "donner lieu a la preste consommation et perfeccion dudit mariage, et que la instance que Nous "font en ce noz subjectz semble estre fondee en raison, et que les causes a ce alleguees sont assez "urgentes; encoires que ledit Sieur Roy entend tousjours conserver lamour quil Nous pourte et "non la diminuer pour quelque chose quil advienne, ains Nous demourer a tousjours bon pere "frere oncle et cousin, tenant pour certain que ferions le semblable, et que nostre amour et "amitye seroit reciproque, avecque cest espoir seroit content si ledit mariage de Portugal Nous "sembloit bien, et que ce deust estre satisfactoire a nosdites Royaulmes et subjectz, et a bonne "conservation diceulx, de consentir a icelluy, precedans trois conditions. La premiere, que avant "toute oeuvre soit traictee et conclutte la paix avecq le Roy de France; et que en icelle puis que "avons ledit Roy de France en noz mains, et est en nostre pouvoir de le abstraindre a telles conditions "de

whiche his writing, herwith sent, Ye shall perceyve his necessitie, whiche is unfeyned. For help wherof He demaundith your consent, whiche if Your Grace shuld

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" de paix, que vouldrions, voeullons tenir la main que icelle paix se face aussy bien au con-
" tentement et satisfaction de Luy comme de Nous; veu ce quil a fait pour Nous, et le gaing que
" avons fait pour son amitye de Tournay, Millan, et Fontarabie, avecque le plus fort quest davoir
" nostre anemy en noz mains, sans que ledit Roy nostre oncle en ait quelque pourffit, synon frais
" et despence, avecq la dissolution du mariage de sa fille et du Daulphin de France, et des
" prouffitz pensions et emolumens que tous les ans venoient en Engleterre, disans que pour
" parvenir a bonne paix offriroient conditions si raisonnables, que meritoirement devroient estre
" acceptees; et doubtans que si, avant la conclusion dicelle paix, se concluoit ledit mariage, seroit
" ung reboutement des affaires dudit Roy nostre oncle, et pourroit sembler qui ny eust entre Nous
" deux si bonne amitye, dont les conditions de paix ne se pourroient si bien conduire, apres la
" publication dudit mariage de Portugal, que devant. La seconde condicion est, que attendu que
" par le traicte de Wyndesore les debtes precedentes devoient estre comptees en diminution du doct,
" que par ledit traicte estoit constitue a la Princesse sa fille, et que depuis avoient este prestez
" autres deniers, lesquelz semblablement devroient estre non seullement compensez audict doct,
" mais plus tost payez et restituez ensemble, ce quest deu pour lindempnite, et que en dissolvant
" ledit mariage de la Princesse sa fille, de laquelle se pouvoit dire le dot estre quasi payez pour
" les moyens dessusdits; et que ayant necessite de la marier autre part, cest raison de Luy
" rembourser ce quest deu, comme aussy lavons fait proposer a ceulx des Courtes de par deca; et
" puis que par ce mariage pourrions avoir grandes sommes de deniers, tant du service que aurions
" de noz Royaulmes, que du grant dot que ledit Roy de Portugal Nous bailleroit, deussions pour
" ces raisons pourveoir avant ledit consentement, que tout ce que pourroit estre deu audit Roy
" nostre oncle Luy fust paye, comptant avant la conclusion dudit mariage. La tierce et derniere
" condition est, que actendu que audit traicte de Wyndesore y a plussieurs choses traictees en
" contemplacion dudit mariage de la Princesse, lesquelles ne seroient convenables en dissolvant
" icelluy, et aussy y a le traicte de Londres, que pour le trespas de Pape Leon, et pour ce que
" sest ensuy depuis, meritoirement doit estre tenu pour resolu, joinct ce que se pourra ensuyr de
" la paix, que pour ce en consentant ledit mariage soyent du tout aboliz et cassez lesdites traictez
" de Windesore et de Londres, demeurans au surplus en son entier les autres traictez damytie pour
" lentrecours des marchandises, ainsi que de toute anciennete ilz ont este entretenuz.

" Surquoy avons fait declairer ausdits Ambassadeurs dudit Roy nostre oncle, que nostre
" intencion et affection avoit tousjours este daccomplir et parfaire ledit mariage de la Princesse
" sa fille, si son eage et la qualite des affaires leussent souffert, et que lattente et delay neust
" peu engendrer plus grant inconvenient, non seullement a Nous et a noz Royaulmes, mais a
" toute la republique Christienne. Mais considerant la tresgrande instance, que nosdits subjectz
" font journellement pour haster ledite mariage, et lennuy quilz prendent du delay, craingnans
" nostre allee dehors dEspaigne, avant que ce soit acheve; non paz pour aler prendre noz
" couronnes, desquelles bien scavent que navons si grande necessite, que ne les puissions bien
" differer en temps plus opportun, mais pour ce quilz scavent que sommes journellement sollicitez
" tant de lArchiduc et Infante nostre frere, et autres Princes dAlemaigne, que aussy de nostre
" Sainct Pere, pour entendre au remede de ceste mauldicte secte Lutherienne, de laquelle jusques
" a ores sont pullulez tant de maulx, que a paine lon les scauroit bien extimer ny declairer,
" meismes, comme lon dit, estant desja tuez en guerre plus de cent mil hommes, que dung coste
" que dautre, et ung nombre infinyt de villes, chasteaux, monasteres, et eglises, ruynez pillez et
" destruictz, et, selon ce que nouvellement avons entendu, nostredict frere lArchiduc en est en tel
" destroict, quil ne scet ou se tourner, et ne poeult avoir secours de nul coste, ne jouyr du sien,
" synon ainsy quil plaist a ces villains Lutheriens; et que le Cardinal de Mayance a este
" constraint appoinctez avec les siens leur donner argent avec ouverture de ses forteresses et villes,

" et

As He hathe often tymes hertofore don. And yet your Ambassadours wolde Your Grace shulde do nothing withoute Him.

shuld to long defer, it may appere unto You by his writing that He must nedis borowe of your amitie, and trust that He hathe in You therin; whiche if He shuld doo by to long delay of your consent, Your Grace may thinke by your wisdom, that a great parte of your thankis shalbe loste, seing He shall excuse Hym by necessitie.

Wherfore

" et souffrir publiquement prescher la secte de Luther, et marier les prestres et religieux. Le " Cardinal de Salsbourg estoit retire en ung chasteau, traictant aussy de composition, et se " contentoit desja de la tierce part du revenu, laissant les deux pars, ensemble ladministration du " surplus, a la disposition desdits Lutheriens. Tous autres prelatz et evesques, ou sont fuyz, et " laisse leurs eglises et rentes, ou sont reduictz en quelque forteresse en grande necessite, ou se " sont accourdez avec lesdits Lutheriens. Tous les Princes de lEmpire ont leur subjectz, rebelles " contre eulx, tendans a liberte selon la rigle de ladite secte. Ceulx de la lighe de Swave faisoient " le mieulx quilz pouvoient de se revangier. Mais il semble quilz ne pourront durer par faulte " de pietons, car quasi tous declinent aux anemys, desquelz tousjours croit le nombre. En " Hongherie sest commencee la meisme tumultuation, et fait grant progrez, et joinct les maulx " quilz ont souffert des Turcz, semble que ledit Roy de Honghrie ne pourra soubstenir le faiz. " Lon dit aussy que le Roy de Polonie sest appoincte avec le Grant Maistre de Pruscie, lequel " sest declaire Lutherien, et marie, et au lieu de Grant Maistre sest fait Duc, et en a prins " investiture dudit Roy de Polonie, pour luy et ses heirs. Lon craint aussy que ceste mauldicte " secte ne passe plus avant, jusques a entrer en Italie, que seroit la ruyne de la Chrestiente, si " bien tost ny estoit remedie et pourveu. Ces choses ainsi considerees, que sont fort stupendes et " admirables, et que ne se peuvent soubstenir sans brief remede, lequel selon que tous cognoissent " ne peut estre sans nostre presence, quest a cest effect fort sollicitee et desiree; et nest en nostre " pouvoir dy satisfaire sans la conclusion de ce mariage, sans laquelle ny pourrions laisser noz " Royaulmes sans grant danger et evident peril, ny aurions dequoy pour emprendre si grant " charge; encoires que la volunte soit bonne et entiere pour y employer nostre Personne et tout " ce que Dieu Nous a donne. Avons sur ce fait remonstrer ausdits Ambassadeurs, que combien " les conditions proposees pour la part dudit Sieur Roy ne soyont alienees de raison, neantmoins " la dilation de laffaire pourroit rendre le tout infructueux. Car si lon devoit attendre la " conclusion de la paix, et payement des debtes, avant que dentendre au traicte dudit mariage, " pourroit estre la chose si longue et incertaine, que ce pendant toutes bonnes occasions se " perdroient, tous noz affaires yroient en ruyne, ne se pourroit remedier aux maulx dessus " declairez, ains croistroient de mal en pis, et par ce rendroient les conditions de paix plus " difficilles, et ne trouverions moyen de recouvrer deniers, ny de payer noz debtes, ny aurions de " quoy faire appareil de guerre pour parvenir a bonne paix, laquelle nest pas si a la main comme " semble que lon presume. Car, encoires que le Roy de France soit en noz mains, et que pour " sa liberte Il se monstre enclin a la paix, neantmoins sur ses parolles ne se peut prendre " fondement seur, synon en ce que par les estatz de son royaulme sera accorde, dont ne se peut " avoir certainnete jusques a la venue de Madame dAlançon, que sera bien tarde, et ne scet lon " quelle appourtera, ne si sera besoing de renvoy. Et si ce pendant lon ne voit clerement, que " au deffault de le paix soyons bien fondez pour continuer la guerre; les Francoys seront plus " durs de condescendre aux conditions de la paix telle que les desirons, et ne se socieront de " laisser leur Roy en prison pour quelque temps, silz pensent Nous povoir par ce necessiter a " meilleur appointement. Le fondement pour avoir meilleur paix, et pour constraindre les " Francoys a ce que desirons, seroit quilz cogneussent veritablement que Nous et ledit Sieur Roy " nostre oncle sommes dung meisme vouloir, et tendans a ung meisme fin, tant de la paix que

Wherfore it may lyke Your Grace, if it shalbe so sene unto You, to sende us sufficient commission herin, with ample informacions of suche dettes as He owith

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" de la guerre, et que ne Nous voulons desmembrer ny traicter separeement, ains conjoinctement, " pour faire nostre negociation plus ferme, et faire mieulx nostre comun prouffit, et quilz puissent " cognoistre que ne serions en necessite de deniers pour continuer la guerre, si le cas si offroit. " Et pour leur bailler ceste congnoissance fauldroit necessairement nostredict mariage en Portugal " estre conclud, premiers que commencons a traicter de ladite paix, de sorte quilz puissent clere- " ment veoir, que par ce moyen aurions grosses sommes de deniers tant du Roy de Portugal que " de noz subjectz, lesquelz deniers est assez cler quilz ne se peuvent avoir ny tenir pour asseurez " avant que le mariage soit conclud. Et encoires apres la conclusion nest a penser que largent " puist estre si comptant, qui ne faille temps pour le payer. Car le service des subjectz de pardeca " ne se pourra recouvrer en moins de quatre ans ensuivans par ses termes, et le dot de Portugal " aura termes aussy, de sorte que les debtes, que ledit Sieur Roy pretend, ne pourroient estre si " promptement payees comme lon lentend. Et si les traictez de Windesore et de Londres estoient " si simplement aboliz sans dresser quelque nouvelle forme de confederation, tant pour la paix " que pour la guerre, les gens pourroient presumer que entre Nous neust telle amytie et alliance, " comme il y a ce que par raison y doit estre, dont les comuns affaires en seroient de moindre " extimation et reputation. Parquoy, toutes ces choses bien pesees pour obvier ausdits inconveniens " et pour le commun bien, tant de Nous que dudit Sieur Roy, avons fait requerir ausdits Ambas- " sadeurs que, puis quilz scavoient lintencion du Roy leur maistre estre inclinee a consentir " nostredict mariage en Portugal, encoires que ledit consentement fust conditione, actendu qui " ny demouroit difficulte sinon de satisfaire aux conditions avant ou apres ledit mariage, et que " dy satisfaire avant estoit impossible pour les raisons avantdites, quilz voulsissent pour ce estre " contentz de traicter desmaintenant dudit consentement, moyennant lequel Nous obligerions de " non traicter ny conclure la paix de France, synon en leur presence et avec leur intervention, et " avoir en ce non moins les affaires dudit Roy nostre oncle que les nostres propres a coeur, et " singulierement recommandez pour les desduire a la conclusion desiree, et y faire tout le " possible, et demeurer a tousjours en une meisme union intelligence et amytie, tant pour la paix " que pour la guerre, faisant en ce les capitulacions a tous effectz; moyennant lesquelles con- " sentirons desmaintenant a labolition et cassation des traictez de Windesore et de Londres; et " serions content de asseurer le payement de nosdits debtes par termes raisonnables, et a Nous " supportables, scachans que ledit Roy nostre oncle, pour lamour quil Nous a tousjours pourte " et pourte, estant bien adverty de tout ce que dessus ne vouldroit estre cause pour faulte " de dilayer ledit consentement, de mectre noz affaires, et ceulx de toute la Chrestiente, en " perplexite et danger.

" Toutesfois lesdits Ambassadeurs dudit Sieur Roy disans navoir pouvoir a cest effect, ny pour " traicter sur ceste matiere, non le ayant ledit Sieur Roy envoye pour non luy en avoir este " parle de nostre part, a cause du changement desdites instructions de Penalosa; et pour non " avoir les dits Ambassadeurs en charge de demander tel pouvoir, synon de referer ce que leur " estoit communique sur ceste matiere, nont sur ce voulu condescendre a nul traicte, ains se " sont offertz descripre le tout audit Sieur Roy leur maistre. Et combien que desdits Ambassadeurs " ne puissions bonnement autre chose desirer pour le present, neantmoins considerant lexigence " du cas et la urgente necessite qui Nous presse, ensemble la sollicitation de nosdits subjectz, " lesquelz avoient presentement advise entre eulx denvoyer audit Sieur Roy une bonne ambassade " de leur part, et de tous ces royaulmes pour supplyer et faire instance audit Sieur Roy de Nous " bailler promptement ledit consentement sans prejudice de nostre amytie, ce que leur avons " empesche tant pour le grant delay, que de ce se eust peu ensuyr, que aussy pour excuser a " nosdits subjectz les grandz frais, que par ce se fussent offertz; avons pour ces causes resolu de " non seullement estre content que lesdits Ambassadeurs escripvent ce que dit est, et sollicitent

" de

There was no mencion made to them of the money, for the whiche it is engaged.

owith you, all whiche we know not; and of the pledge of the Floure de Lyce, whiche we never herde tell of, and is reason to be restoryd, the money payde wherfore it lieth, whiche summe also we know not; and whether Ye will in any wise have somwhat in hande, and what is the lest that it shalbe. We know well, what is in your laste letters for daies, and in hande, but harde it wilbe to have in hande somoche.

More over bothe the treaties of Wyndesour takyn away, as reason it is that they be, not oonly the treatie of matrimony, but the other generall treatie, whiche is datyd 2 daies bifore, and bindith You to warr with Fraunce, and for the defence of thEmpire, whiche is a sore point, and wherin is noo equalitie, and also the treatie of London abolysshyd, some capitulation must be, to knyt thEmperour fast with You in making of your peax, whiche thEmperour is contentyd with; and offryth to make further capitulacion for invasion of the common enemye, to streyne hym to reason, if he doo refuse to offer the same. Upon whiche pointes we beseke Your Highnes also of answer, whedyr, in case peax succede not, ye will capitulate for newe invasions, wherof also we wrote in our letters of the 16th of June[1] by Basing, albeit by these your last letters it semith to us, Ye be fer of odyr mynde.

This nedith not, for notwithstanding the peax taken with France, al other amytes be in their force, those of London and Windesor only excepted.

Furthermore Bryon is now arryvyd here agayn, and hath brought commyssion to the Oratours here to conclude the abstinaunce of warr demaundyd by Fraunce, whiche is lyke to procede, and wherunto in the lyfe of Maister Wyngfeld we saide we wold be agreable, after the fourme then accordyd;

" de leur part den avoir responce resolutive le plus tost que sera possible; mais encoires avons " bien voullu faire despescher de nostre part, tant par mer que par terre, au meisme effect pour " signifier audit Roy nostre oncle nostre entiere intention de ce que dessus, et solliciter a diligence " sa finale resolution, avec pouvoir ausdits Ambassadeurs de ce quilz auront a faire; laquelle " responce et resolution actendrons le plus que bonnement faire la pourrons sans dangier ou " prejudice des affaires, tant publiques et communs, que nostres particuliers. Et sil advenoit (ce " que ne povons croire) que la responce dudit Sieur Roy nostre oncle avec son povoir deust tant " tarder, que la dilation puist causer plus grant inconvenient, ou que les affaires tant publiques " que autres ne puissent bien souffrir le delay, avons et ferme espoir que ledit Sieur Roy nostre " oncle, pour lamour quil Nous pourte, et aussy pour nostre commun bien, prendroit de bonne " part, tout ce que, plus par necessite que par volunte, fussions ce pendant constraint de faire et " consentir, puis que en ce ne ferions chose que Luy puist estre prejudiciable ny Luy puist tourner " a dommage. Actendu que en tous advenemens ne laisrions de satisfaire audit Sieur Roy nostre " oncle, conforme a ce que dessus, et de sorte quil aura tousjours cause de se contenter de Nous, " et Nous estre bon frere oncle et cousin, comme desirons aussy Luy demourer bon frere et " nepveu, et non moins que si Luy fussions propre filz."

[1] Vespasian, C. III. leaf 135.

wherof a copie we sent by Curson to Your Highnes.[1] Further then whiche we wilnot agre; so that, the said treux oons concluded, Your Grace may sende us hither advertisement by land, alwaies in ciphre, and therfore our particuler commyssion for the saide treux wold be sent hither shortly. In the mean tyme we shall promyse de rato, and make the best shift we can; for our great comission of peax, wherin is also a clause of trux, shalnot passe our handis.

It is to be merveiled they wolde consent to the said trieux, having no commyssion nor instruction so to do.

Over this my Lady Margarete with the Counsaile of Flaundres have concludyd a treux with Fraunce unto the last day of December[2], with comprehencion of Your Grace in the same, wherin is a clause that they shalnot assist the ennemyes of the Frenche King; and have sent to thEmperour to conferme it. Wherwith thEmperour is extremely displeasyd, and hath sent to Monsr de Iselstayn, with other his capitayns of his garrisons there, in no wise to kepe it, and that He is mynded to sende for them that made it, to put them in pryson, seing that Your Grace is not made principall contrahent in it, and that they have promysed not to assist the Frenche Kinges enemyes. Wherby they leve not oonly Your Highnes at large with Fraunce, but also thEmperour Hymself, with all the cuntreis of Spayne. Maister John Almayn shewyd us the saide trieux, by the commaundment of thEmperour, Who saide that Madame, to make Hym amendis for changing of thinstructions of Spinolose, hath now pleyd Hym this pranke; by whiche it dothe appere, that in hast they will take Hym for noo lorde there, and yet they be soo mad to desire Hym to conferme it.

Monsr de Iselstain is one of the Commissioners that concluded the said trieux; and it is ratified on bothe parties.

Dissimulation.

We have ofte visityd and consideryd Your Graces letter at this tyme sent, and doo perceyve by the same that Your Highnes, thinking thEmperour to be muche more fordyr in his peax then He is, ys mynded fynally to embrace suche offres as be there made by John Joachym. Whiche surely be great, and for your tyme, muche more proffyte, if they be kept, then if great londis were restoryd unto You; the keping wherof wold stonde You to great charge, and in whiche case of restitucion of landis, lytyll money, or rather noon, wer lyke to be gevyn by Fraunce.

We perceyve also how Youre Grace is myndid privily to passe your peax there, not tarying for thEmperour, unto He be satisfied; and not to depend in takyng your appointment upon the arbitre of other, whiche You intende so

[1] The letter transmitting the copy of the proposed truce is in Vespasian, C. III. leaf 75., but the inclosure is not to be found.

[2] Dated at Breda, the 14th of July 1525. Recueil de Traites de Paix, Tom. II. p. 100.

circumspectely

circumspectely to handle, that no maner knowlege there shall come to thEmperour or his Counsail. Therin Ye afferme to have taken as good a direction with the said John Joachym, as can be divised. Sir, if it lyke Your Highnes, we thinke it honorable for You to have Ambassadours sent thydyr to You, as they bee, to offre You their condicions reasonable, and to desire of You peax, and profitable also to enbrace the same at your own hande, when tyme shall bee.

But, Sir, in case Ye shuld take any conclusion ther, bifor thEmperour satisfyde for his parte, in discharge of our dutie to Your Highnes, we signifie unto the same, how we thynke undoubtydly that Ye in soo doing shall lese thEmperour for evir, and shall cause Hym to knyt suche a knot with Fraunce in making of his peax, that Your Highnes and your posteritie with your Realm shall fele the same for evyr. Whiche is easy for Hym to do at all howres; but in herkning oonly to Fraunce, whiche doth impute their present ruyne and calamytie chifly to Your Grace, what fair wordis ther so ever they geve You, and to be sure of thEmperour against You, wold geve Hym muche more then He wolde demaunde of them, and wold knyt suche a knot with Hym, as they have with Scotlond against your Realm, whiche shuld make Your Highnes destitute of all frendis. And wher as John Joachym saith it shalbe kept secrete, God forbyd Your Highnes shuld trust hym, whose passe tyme here tofore with You Ye have sene. And, to make the best of his promyse, make it my Lady Regentes promyse, whiche saith, rather then she shuld utter your counsail, whiche wer the cause of the ruyne of hir son, promysith she will suffre hir son to lye in captyvitie; whiche is not by nature to be belyved, considering that she, in uttring the same, may not oonly bring hir son more easly to his libertie, joynyng Hym with Hym whom she most desirith, but also be as higly revengyd against You as she can wyshe. And sure Ye may be, my Lady wilnot kepe it counsell fro the Frenche King hyr son, whiche will use the same to his moost benyfyte for his delivery, seing He may also therby hurt his auncient ennemye, whiche is the cause of his ruyne and mysery, who also oonly to please thEmperour hath promysyd to shewe Hym, how many feynt frendis thEmperour had in Italy, whiche prively favoryd Hym as we have hertofore written. Wherfore he that will undesyred utter his frindis to their hurt, where no nede is for his advauntage, it is not lyke he will conceyle the counseil of his enemye, wher he may bothe help hymself therby and hurt hym. It is also to be rememberyd how Bryon, not without disdaynos wordis, reportyd here to thEmperours Counsaile,

There is no cause, why He shulde so be lost, seing Your Grace is mynded to contynue your olde amytes with Hym. And nothing is don by this treaty with France to thEmperours prejudice.

There is no danger, though it be published.

Your Grace was non of them, for by your meanes He was brought in to captivite.

Counsaile, how thEmperour had noo cause to styke with You, whiche, if the victory had been protractyd 4 daies more, had been at a fynall ende with his maister: whiche requiryd thanke, if it soo had been, and not to be so quit in discovering it to your hurte, with suche maner that it myght appere it cam from the harte of hym and his maister. And if a new reconsilyd enemy be not to bee belevyd, unto ye see a fordyr progresse in his dedis, muche lesse an enemy not reconsilyd, and namely whiche in his moost frendship is wont to breke all promises for avauntage. Finally, Your Highnes cannot, in concluding the peax bifor thEmperour, make it sure to bee observyd, seing Ye treate cum corpore sine capite, for it shall alwais lye in the power of thEmperour, whiche shall after conclude, and to whose knowlege it shall come undoubtedly, that Ye have lefte Hym, to make your peax unsure unto You, and his own muche better, having the Frenche King in his handis. And seing He hath taryed to make peax for your sake, to help You to com to reasonable condicions, whiche ellis He for Hym self oonly myght have had bifore this; if Your Highnes now shuld leve Hym, whiche is impossible to be kept from Hym, peraventure He shall take it for a brech of all amyties with You, and therby so combyne Hymself with Fraunce, as ellis He wold never have doon. Whiche we pray God we never see. Wherfor our opynyon is, that Your Grace, herkening to the offres made by Fraunce, bringe them as high as Ye may; advertising thEmperour of them eydyr by his Ambassatour there, or by us here, when Ye be at any point; lyke as He usith us sincerly here, advertysing us of all thinges touching the common affayres from tyme to tyme, as it may appere to Your Grace by all our letters hertofore sent; and then to stay unto Ye here from hense Hym to be lykewise at a poynt; and soo bothe at oon tyme to conclude, Ye ther, and He here, albeit thEmperour wold have all doon here: but your parte is more honorable there; wherby Ye shall concur to gedyr according to the treaties, and make a sure peax, and ellis we fere Ye shalnot, whiche shuld be to our great hevynes.

Your amyte is as beneficial to the Emperor, as his is to Your Grace.

It is to be merveiled they wolde advise Your Grace thus to do; for, abiding thEmperours consent, Your Grace myght percace lose altogider.

The imminent dangier, whiche we se lyke to ensue herin, makith us more bold to write thus plainly, in dischargyng of our dutie to Your Highnes, praing Almyghty God to put in Your Graces mynde, to take counsell to the best, and to your moost honour and suretie.

Being in this feare and perplexite, they knowe not the botom of your affaires, nor the force of your puissance; thinking that al dependith upon thEmperours string.

Advertysing Your Highnes that the person of the Frenche King is in the keping of the Captain Alarcon, whiche soo narowly seyth to Hym, that no worde escapith Hym, nor is spokyn to Hym, not markyd, nor no man without thEmperours

The contrary herof appereth by the writing of the letters of the Frenche Kinges oune hande.

thEmperours knowlege spekith with Hym, nor odyr wise then openly. And we undirstonde by thEmperours Counsaile, that, unto thEmperour and He shalbe at a poynt in their treaties, thEmperour wilnot speke with Hym, nor He shalnot come nygh unto the Courte; whiche we advertise You of, for the last point of your letter.

Moreover, as we her say, Madam de Alancon is in hir way, but it wilbe longe bifore she arrive; unto whose comyng no man here hath sufficient commyssion to treat of peax. Wherfore we wold be glad to know, what we shall purpose, or how muche we shall demaunde at her comyng, seing Ye treate there, wherin Your Highnes hath tyme inough to advertise us.

And, where Your Highnes willeth us to move thEmperour that the Frenche King may sende a commyssion thither, to treate there with You opon peax, with suche clausis as be mencionyd in your said letter; we thinke as yet in no wise to move that matier, unto suche tyme as thEmperour shalhave here persons cumme from Fraunce to treate with; lest in moving that matier He shall thinke Your Grace gothe aboute to prevent Hym, and therby take suspicion; seing also the saide commission, though all the non obstantes than can be devisyd be in hit, shall litle serve, forasmuche as herafter the Frenche King may aswel allege prisonment and captivitie agayn those clausis, as agayn the commyssion. Nevertheles, when tyme comyth that we may do it without suspicion, we shalnot faile to do it.

Ther is other provision then clauses of non obstante, or other thing devised for the suretie of my Lady Regentes commyssion, vizt the bondes of the Princes, chiefe cites, ratification of 3 States, and emologation of all their Parliamentes, besides my Ladyes oune particular bande for the same. It is to be thought that the civilians in Spayne have red of no such thinges in their bookes.

And assurydly we thinke Your Highnes nede not have any maner mystrust or doubt, that thEmperour firmely shalnot styk to You in making of this peax, for onles Ye be first satisfyed and contente, we thinke verely He will nevir take peax with Fraunce. And wher as thEmperour by Spinolose demaundyd of Your Highnes the traduccion and delivery of my Lady Princesse with hir dote, with avauncement of certayn other money, we thinke verely that thEmperour and his Counsell knew welinough that Ye wold nevir consent therto, but they joynyd therwith, in case of refusall therof, your consent to the mariage of Portingale, whiche chifly He desyryd to attayn it, the rather by refusall of the other; whiche we thinke was ther oonly counsail, whye they dyd demaunde it. For thEmperour, after He knewe that parte was left owte, was marvelously displeased with it, not oonly for the suspicion, that it might ingendir in Your Highnes, of thEmperours not sincere proceding with You, but also for hindring of his affayres

It was not frendship therfore to demaunde the same, nor playne dealing.

affayres with his subgiectes here in his Courtes and Parliament, whiche only dependith upon answer of that matier.

After we had wrytten thus ferre, and were aboute to close these letters, we were sent for to come to the Court to Monsr de Nassowe chambre, where we founde the Chauncelour, Monsr de Nassowe, the Great Maister, Monsr de Reux, and John Almayn, where the Chauncelour shewid unto us the commyssion of the Frenchemen, whiche was made by my Lady Regent to the Archibishop, the President, and Bryon, to procure the delivery of the Frenche King, making noo mencion of treux, nor geving no pouer to treat with us. They shewyd us also newe articles conceyvyd by the Frenche men of the said trux, wherin they had comprisyd all their confederatis, that within a monyth wold be comprised, excluding the Duc of Burbon; by whiche trux Ambassatours and currours for the delivery of the Frenche King myght have passyd, and for non other cause. Wherupon they said unto us, that the Frenche men mokkyd bothe them and us, seing the articles wer sent to them, with playn declaring that they nor we wold change no thing of them, and that they bothe had chaungyd the articles, and brought noo commyssion for that purpose, nor yet sufficient for any purpose; saying, that in debating of the said commyssion, when they askyd why my Lady Regent, whiche callyd hirself Regent, did not annex to the said commyssion the power of hir regencie commytted unto hir by the Estates, without whiche neyther the comyssion was good, nor shuld be allowyd as vailable; the Frenche Ambassatours answeryd, that my Lady hirself had noo suche commyssion of the Thre Estatis, nor other commission, but that which was gyven to hyr by the King in his absence, when He went to Italy, whiche after the captivytie of the King was confyrmed by the Parliament of Paris. Whiche said further that the Thre Estatis of Fraunce had not yet been assemblyd within the space of six monythis, byfore whiche tyme the tyme of this trux shuld expire; nor so much solempnitie shuld be nedefull for so smale a matier.

There is provision made here for the supplement of the sufficiencie of her commyssion, as is aforesaid.

After whiche herde, we answeryd that syns they had noo commyssion to treat with us, we wold not treate with them, and that if their commission were never soo good, yet wold not we passe the fourme of the trux bifore conseyvyd, nor consent to any comprehension. Further we saide, if my Lady Regent have noo bettyr auctoritie than the Ambassatours have spokyn of, then Madam de Alancon were lyke to come sclenderly furnyshyd of commyssion to treate for peax, seing those that sende hir have not sufficient auctoritie themself; and that the Parliament of Parys, whiche is establishyd for matiers of justice and peax, could not medyll in matiers of warr, nor of the Estate Roiall, whiche was

above

All this is well provided for here.[1]

above their pouer. Wherfor their confirmacion of my Ladis regencie servyd to litle purpose. To that they saide, it was of trothe, and that the oonlye remedye herin is, to kepe sure, and not enlarge the person of the Frenche King, unto the Thre Estatis, in whom is the hole auctoritie, shuld conferme all that shuld be treatyd for peax; affermyng that they perceyvyd by the said Ambassatours that in Fraunce they dare not assemble the Thre Estatis, lest they shuld put odyr governours then my Lady, and for fere of the Duc of Burbon, whom they wold not have to com in Fraunce by the saide trux. Howbeit they saide, if my Lady Regent, by suche auctoritie as she hathe, shuld conclude this treux, it shuld serve well ynogh therto, seing they have the Frenche Kinges Person, whiche shuld supplie all defaltis. Sayng further that they wold eftsones speke with the French men, and roundly and sharply shew unto them thEmperour to bee displesyd with their abusis. And so wee departyd.

The next daie they sent for us agayne, and shewyd unto us how, after muche debating with the Frenche Ambassatours, finally they were contente furthwith to passe the article of treux, as they had been first conceyvyd, promytting confirmacion cum clausula de rato, bothe to us and theym, and wold aske of us but lyke promission of confirmation, whiche myght shorten the long tarying for a newe commyssion, and that oonly they stak for their comprehensis. Wherunto we saide we wold not agre as touching the comprehensis, and as to the resydue, we were contentyd as they were. Wherupon immediatly the Frenche Ambassatours wer sent for; and after the Chauncelour had declaryd unto theym in our presence, how bothe they and we could be contentyd with all poyntis, save oonly with comprehensis, the President saide they sawe no reason why they shuld leve owt their fryndis. Wherunto we answeryd that, wher Your Highnes is in war with Scotland, whiche have perticuler treux with you for certain daies, we wold not prolonge and enlarge the same by their comprehension; and if they wold so fayne comprehend their fryndis, we bade theym except the Scottes, and we were contente. But the President answeryd that an excepcion of the Scottis, soo made, shuld make them expresly renounce their fryndis, whiche wer not reason. Therupon Bryon, turnyng his taile to thEmperours Counsaile, saide that, syns the treux made for Flaundres with my Lady Margarete dyd conteyn the comprehension of the Scottes, why shuld they exclude them nowe? To that was answeryd by them, that my Lady Margaret had noo suche auctoritie to make noo suche treux, and that

[1] This observation is shown by a bracket to apply to the whole of this paragraph.

thEmperour wolde nevir confirme the saide treux, whiche was therfore voyde; and that in this treux, we, withoute whom they wolde noo thing doo, wold not consent to have any comprehensis. Wherupon fynally they desyryd to advertise the Frenche King thir maister that night, whiche was not past fyftene liegis hens, to know his pleasure therin, without whom they durst not leve owte the comprehensis; whiche, after lycence furthwith gotton of thEmperour, was accordyd unto theym, and therupon they sent. After, the Chauncelour shewyd theym a mynute of a commyssion to bee sent hedyr with Madam de Alancon, supplying all suche defaltis as was in their commyssion; wher with they wer not pleasyd, sayng the Thre Estatis could not so soone bee assemblyd, whiche myght be doon afterwardis, and that the consent of the Parliament was oonly enteryd in the registre at Paris, and not remaynyng undyr any seale with my Lady, soo that the extracting of it owte of the registre wolde require a tyme. Nevertheles in that they made noo difficultie, but oonly in the consent of the Thre Estatis, whiche they affirmyd wolde require muche longer tyme. And after, we departyd for that tyme.

By the premisses, whiche wee have sene, and wherat we were present, it may plainly appere unto Your Grace that my Lady Regent hath noon auctoritie of the 3 Estates of Fraunce, withoute whom noo thing there with You treatyd by the Chauncelour and Joachym can be sure, seing the person of the Frenche King is in captyvitie, and the Thre Estatis, in whom remaynith the auctoritie, have not yet commytted the admynistracion of the realm to any person, with whom, if any suche were, Ye might vailably entreate. My Lady Regent presumyth of his old commyssion confermyd by the Parliament of Paris, whiche confirmation makith that the nobles and suche that doo think that by hir procurement the Frenche Kinges Person shalbe enlargyd, do hold them contente with hir auctoritie, whiche ellis were litle worth, seing it was extinct by his captivitie. Nevertheles Your Highnes may treate with them, and bring all thinges to the point of conclusion, there making a staye, unto Ye know, by further advise taking, how to make the finall ende sure; for thEmperour herin shalbe in the same case, save that He hath avauntage of the Frenche Kinges Person, whiche is in wisemens handling, and shalnot bee enlargyd, unto all bee sure on thisside; and also we thinke on your syde, if Ye will tary therfore. Yt was a good fortune that the French commission for the treux was noo bettyr, seing the scannyng therof hath discoveryd my Lady Regentes auctoritie, whiche ellis for a season shuld have been unknown, bothe to Your Highnes and thEmperour.

Now answer is comyn fro the Frenche King for the conclusion of this

treux;

treux; and the Frenche Ambassatours be content to passe it. Wheruppon this mornyng the treux is concludyd, and sygned by us and them, unto the first day of January. Your Highnes shall receyve a copie therof herwith[1], and must sende hedyr a confirmacion therof within the tyme prefyxid in the same, and lykwise cause it to be publishid within a monyth. In publication wherof it must be plainly declaryd to your subgiettes, that it is oonly a bare abstinence of warr, and cessations of armys by see and lande for the tyme, and neyder your subgiettes may reasorte to them for marchaundise or odyr cause, nor they to yours, onless they lust to bee takin prisoners. If ther com non odyr good of this abstinence, save oonly the leving owte of the comprehension of the Scottes, it shall serve Your Highnes greatly to shew the Scottes how Fraunce hath forsakin them at this tyme. But that must be kept unto Yourself, unto the confirmacion be past undyr my Lady Regentes seale by the consent of the Parliament of Paris, as it is in the same promysyd. We have kept this poste Maister Coke[2] 3 days longer, that he myght bring Your Highnes sure newis of this treux.

In all odyr thinges conteyned in Your Gracis letters, aswell laste sente, as byfore, we shall ordir our selfis after your pleasure in every point as the tyme shall serve us, God willing, Who preserve Your Highnes to His pleasure, with encrease of muche honour. From Tolledo, the 11th day of August.

Your Highnes shall undirstonde also that the Frenchemen have signyd 2 papirs of the treux, and deliveryd oon to thEmperour, and the odyr to us, whiche we kepe, signed with their handis. And thEmperour and we have gevyn unto them but oon papir, jointly signed with both our handis and thEmperours Deputies, which wer Monsr de Nassowe, the Chancelour, the Great Maister, and Monsr de Reux; bicause thEmperour and Your Highnes be joynyd in warre. Whiche parte must be confirmed by Your Highnes as muche as concernyth You, and sent hedyr

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[1] See Recueil des Traités, Tom. II. p. 101. Vespasian, C. III. leaf 192 is in the same writing with the letter in the text, and is a copy of the French part of the truce. A draft of it, with some slight differences, is in the same volume, leaf 194, with a marginal note by Tuke, "It "apperith by this clause that she hathe auctoritie;" and at the end another note, "It is to be "merveiled that they wolde condescende to this trieux, having non auctoritie or instruccion so to "do, wherin they be expresly circumvented. To thintent by commyng to the said trieux Your "Grace shulde take non avantage."

[2] By their letter of the 14th of August, ibid. 100., it appears that Cooke was despatched by sea.

within the tyme prefyxed; and opon the deliveringe of it here, the Frenchemen shall deliver severally to us oon confirmacion, and an odyr to thEmperour: for so it is accordyd.

By Your Gracis moost humble
servauntes subgiectes and chaplains,
(*Signed*) CUTHBERT LONDOÑ.
RICHARD SAMPSON.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Kinges Highnes.

CXXV. KING HENRY VIII. *to* TUNSTALL, &c.

(*Signed*) HENRY R.

RIGHT Reverende Fadre in God, right trusty and welbeloved, and trusty and right welbeloved, We grete you well. By a post of thEmperours, passing oute of Flaunders into Spayne by this waye, We wrote unto you our last letters, the duplicate wherof ye shal for the more suretie receyve at this tyme, trusting nevertheles that the original came to your handes a long season passed, and that, ensuying the contentes of the same, ye have notified unto thEmperour suche communication towardnes and apparance, as than was here, concernyng peax with Fraunce, and howe We, upon suche consideracions as were mencioned in the said letters, were for thEmperours sake, fynding Hym not mete mynded ne furnished to concurre with Us in the werres, contented to mytigate our demaundes of landes, and to come unto the peax, upon suche offres as were made by John Joachym; the specialties wherof We signifyed unto you by our former letters sent by Curson, and furthermore, howe the communication of the peax was at that tyme so ferre forthe, that the pen was sett unto the boke. We also trust, and so it is reported here, that thEmperour long bifore this tyme hathe taken appointment with the Frenche King, or, if He have not, that ye, ensuyng the effect of our said last letters, have so extended and shewed unto Hym the causes and consideracions moeving Us to incline to the said peax with Fraunce, as He, having good cause so to be, is fully contented with the same. For, like as the said former letters purporte, first, We perceyving howe in the tyme of thise werres, and the rather by occasion of the same, the Lutheriane secte is suscitate and greatly spred abrode; the Turke also, Rodes and Belgrade taken, dothe not a litle manace the resydue of Cristendome, having his appetite and desire most applied to thextincting of Cristes religion; the

the paisans also and vylains in Germany rebelling against the nobilite; the daungers, whiche by the Lady Mergaret were alleged to be apparant unto thEmperours Lowe Countreys, aswel by the Duke of Guelders, the Frenche army than being on thair borders, the povertie of the people, feare of distruccion of thair corne, and losse of thair fyshing; with the disobeidiance of the townes of Gawnt, Bulduke, and diverse other, wherby she was in maner compelled, as she said, to take a trieux with France without our knowlaige or consent, inhibiting in the same any maner of assistence to be geven unto Us, either of thaccustumed and promysed ayde, or of any other, men, shippes, vitaile, passage, lymonyers, cariages, or thing requisite and necessary to have ben had for any enterprise to be don on this syde against Fraunce: remembring also the lak of furniture on thEmperours partie to maynteyne the warres, playnely shewed by the Commendator Pynalosa; the arrerages due to his armye in Italye; the desire of his subjectes to accepte the mariage of Portugale for increace and suretie of his succession; the apparance and fame that not only thEmperour had concluded a like truce with the Frenche King on that syde, but also was at the poynt of taking his peax: We, perceyving thise thinges, added therunto the instant persuasions made by the Popes sundry breves unto Us directed, exhorting Us to comme unto peax, were moeved, principally for the respect whiche We have to the relife and helpe of Cristendome; secondly, for the preservacion suretie and furtherance of thEmperours causes and reputacion; and thirdly, for satisfying unto the Popes[1] vertuous exhortacions, the rather to comme unto peax at this tyme. All whiche matiers We doubt not but ye have fully declared unto the said Emperour as affore; nevertheles grete mervaile it is unto Us, that sens We, to shewe al gratitude unto thEmperour, not only partely by Roger Basyn, but also more amply by Curson, and fully and at playne lengthe by thEmperours said post, gave you knowlaige howe every thing proceded on this syde, to thintent ye shuld advertise thEmperour of the same, wherby We myght have understonden thEmperours mynde therin, but also for that purpose differed and prolonged the conclusion of the treatie with Fraunce, abiding and loking every day for letters from you, no maner person or writing hathe arrived here oute of that Court syns Rogier Basyn, though diverse merchantes and shipes be commyn from Bilbao, shewing that it hathe not been for default of good wynde or passage that your said letters be retarded; and also it is not to be doubted but that ye, instructed by former letters so to do, might have had spedy

[1] On the 14th of June Henry wrote to the Pope, accrediting the Bishop of Bath to negociate a general peace. (Vatican Papers.)

conveyance

conveyance of your letters thorough Fraunce, the lak whereof hathe put the maters here in great incertaintye.

In effect the principal cause of the depeche of thise letters is, to advertise you that, upon the reasons and considerations bifore specified, after diverse consultacions substancially had by grete deliberacion betwene Us and the Lordes and other of our Counsaile, wherunto were called thArchbisshop of Caunterbury, the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, the Marquesses of Dorset and of Excester, a great nomber of Erles, the Bishop of Elye, with diverse Barons and other, every thing by a long space wel and groundly pondred and digested, We fynally, by thadvice aforesaid, bothe for the weale of Cristendome, the furtherance of thEmperours affaires, and perticulerly for suche thinges as to shewe you in counsail do touche our oune honnour profite and the weale of this our Realme, consented unto the condicions of peax offred on the Frenche partie; and therupon, by Commissioners auctorised for that purpose, the same peax the 30th day of August was with the said Ambassadours fully agreed, concluded, sealed, and enterchangeably delivered[1]; and shalbe within thise foure daies published and proclaymed, with as sufficient bandes ordre and provision taken, bothe for ratification and also for performance therof, as can possibly be divised studied or imagyned. In whiche peax thEmperour is honerably comprehended; like as by the tenour of the same comprehension, whiche with all suche articles of the treatie as do not towche our oune particuler affaires We sende you herewith, ye shal mowe perceyve more at large; so as nowe We shewing Our self thus prone redy and conformable to all suche thinges as by Us may be thoughte to tende unto the furtherance of thEmperours affaires, and aswel in taking of peax as in commyng to the werre for his sake, to shewe unto Him all kindnes and gratuitie possible; it is verayly to be thought, that He wol in most thankeful maner accept the same, and that the peax, being either, as it is said, concluded, or at the poynt of conclusion ther, this acte don here shal come veray well unto thEmperours purpose, whiche We assure you is oon of our verray intentes and meanynges in the conclusyon therof. For sens, by al the knowlaige that can be had here oute of those parties, ther is non other apparance but al of towardnes of peax ther, wherof be many evident argumentes and advertismentes, bothe of a saufconduyt geven by the Frenche King to the Duke of Burbon to repaire thider, and shippes sent unto hym for that purpose, and semblably unto Madame de Alencon, and that a trieux is also taken on that syde as is aforesaid; over that of oon commyng towardes Rome for opteynyng a dispensacion for thEmperours mariage

[1] See Recueil des Traités, Tom. II. p. 102. Rymer, Vol. XIV. p. 48.

unto

unto the suster of Portugale[1], with many other thinges shewing an evident signe and token of peax or perfite towardnes of the same: We, knowing also by your letters that thEmperour said, bothe unto the Frenche Ambassadours and also to you, that it was most mete We shuld make our oun appointment, wherupon your opynyon was that Ambassadours shulde be admitted here for that purpose, juge this to be the thing that thEmperour wold principally and chifely desire of Us; as He, who bifore stode in doubt howe to compone his oun causes, thynking that We wolde have ben ferre higher in our demaundes, and consequently have loked, as bifore hathe ben writen thider, that thEmperour shuld rather departe with som thinges by Hym recovered, than We to lak a convenient parite in the frutes of the warre to our reasonable satisfaccion. And, plainly to speke, sens the Emperour hathe by reason of thise werres, with our helpe, recovered the Duchy of Mylayn, gayned the citie of Torney with the territorye of the same, delivered Hym self from payment of the pencion of 100000 ducates yerely oute of the realme of Naples, from his mariage with the Frenche Kinges doughter or suster, and from many other thinges wherunto He was astringed and bounden by the treatye of Noyon, and fynally hathe the Frenche King prisoner in his handes, ther is no wise man that wolde thinke, or otherwise avice thEmperour, but that nowe were the veray tyme for Hym, to his most honour profite and avantage, to amplecte and embrace the peax, considering that He hathe almost all, and, in som thinges, more than of right He coude have chalenged or desired; whiche, with thother consideracions bifore specifyed, be thinges inogh to move Us to thinke that, commyng thus unto peax, We coude not do unto thEmperour an higher pleasure: and if any person ther might be of other opynyon, and wolde avice or counsaile thEmperour, not furnished of money, in this troubelous tempestes reignyng in Cristendome, having in maner al his oun will and desire, yet to continewe the werres, neither he were to be reputed thEmperours frende, ne a wise discrete or good cristen man. And being thEmperour contented and mynded to comme unto the peax, somoche necessary for Hym, nothyng coude more sounde to the furtherance therof, the ferre distance of the places with lak of mutuel knowlaige considered, than that We, Who remayned totally unsatisfyed, having recovered nothing in recompence of al our charges susteyned for thEmperours sake, and being oon Who was most like, and had best cause, to demaund of thEmperour the perfourmance of his covenauntes and treaties for the

[1] This is stated in a letter from Clerk to Wolsey, from Rome, of the 12th of August: "The Pope "lokith for one sent from the Emperor principally for the obtayning of the dispensation for the "mariage between the Emperor and the King of Portugal is sister." Vitellius, B. VII. leaf 182.

personal

personal invasion, shuld nowe, all our querelles and pretences not spoken of, ne We by ány thEmperours aide holpen or furthred therunto, of our oun disposicion to the generall weale of Cristendome and the perticuler commodite of the said Emperour, thus facilly benignely and gentilly inclyne to a moderacion in our demaundes, and to the conclusion of peax. Wherfore it is veraily to be supposed, and in manner not to be doubted, but that thEmperour, having respecte unto honour reason and good congruence, wol, whither He be at or towarde any poynt with the Frenche King or not, take this not only in good part, but also thankefully, and as a thing don of an high wisedome and excellent gratitude; specially, sens by the same ther is not, ne on this partie shalbe, any maner derogacion don to any amyties treaties or convencions heretofore passed bitweene Us and thEmperour, except only the treaties wherby We were brought unto the werres with Fraunce, but that al other treaties and confederacions being bitwen Us and the Emperour, and the roted love amyte and perfyte intelligence established bitwene Us, are ment to be permanent perpetuel and inviolate.

By the premises, with many other thinges that might be inferred to this purpose, unto your wisedomes, We doubt not, not unknown ne unremembred, ye may be sufficiently riped, howe upon good and honerable grounde to disclose unto thEmperour this our conclusion of a peax with Fraunce; and also to persuade and move Hym, if it be not don alredy, to do the semblable. And though it is to be supposed, that it shal not be moche nedeful to exhorte or persuade thEmperour to incline unto peax, forasmoche as it is thought the same is don alredy, and if it be not, thEmperour, having so many wise men of his Counsail, can facilly juge howe moche necessary and to his purpose it is to applye unto the same, yet nevertheles to thintent that no part of the office of a Cristen Prince shuld be pretermitted, We have ben contented to passe a clause in the said treatie of peax, wherin We have promised to be mediatour unto thEmperour for the more facile and spedy deliverance of the Frenche King; in whiche clause, under honerable termes mete to be admitted on all sydes, be also couched certain wourdes and sentences serving highly to the benefitte of the Duke of Burbon, for reasonable and honerable offres and agrementes to be made for the reintegracion or amendement of his astate; as by the said copye of the treatye, wherein that clause is playne and open, ye shall mowe perceyve. Wherfore, in accomplishement of our promise and convencion made in that behalve, We wol, that after ye with our most cordial recommendacions shall have shewed and declared unto thEmperour the premisses, whereof also be grete groundes and consideracions to be taken for this purpose, ye shal upon the reasons bifore specified, and all other that ye may

may inferre sounding to the same, exhorte move persuade and desire Hym on our behalve, nowe to shewe the inclinacion and disposicion that He hathe alwaies ben noted to be of towardes the weale socour and preservation of Cristendome, and to remembre, what God hathe don for Hym, and to what high place He is called, as on, who above other Princes is bounden, all particuler affection and interesse set aparte, principally to regarde Goddes cause, whiche nowe can not be maynteyned or defended by captivite of Cristen Princes, division of realmes, contynuance of werres, mayntenance of tytles, pretences unto countreys, aggreving of querelles, using and executing of extremyties, but is requisite to be handled with moderacion, sobriety, charite, and temperance of affeccions, lest that He, in Whose hand it is to geve conquestes and overthrowes, myght have cause to withdrawe His grace from them, that wol not have respect unto the same. And remembring what a great blot lak and detryment unto Cristendome it is, in this most daungerous tyme of al other, to have oon of the most puissant realmes of the same, orbate and destitute of an hed and governour, who being at libertie myght, God willing, highely conferre unto the releve of the present calametes; ye shal most instantly desire Hym that, lyke as We nowe and at al other tymes have chefely and principally accommodate Our self, our doinges and procedings, unto that whiche might tende unto the universal weale of Cristendome, not sparing, whan tyme is, treasour, labour, studie, travail, or other thing that may conferre therunto, ne leanyng overmoche unto our oune particuler affeccions, titles, quereles, and pretences, trusting therfore to have the better prosperite in all our doinges and affaires; so thEmperour, like a vertuous Prince, wol nowe so loke unto his oun cause, as therby He alone be not noted to be the occasion of longer division werre and hostilite in Cristendome, wherby the hole state of the same may be periclitate and put in extreme daunger, but that by deliverance of the Frenche King, upon a convenient rawnsom, ther may ensue, God willing, generall peax bitwene al Cristen Princes, wherin He shal, besides the thanke of God, adquire more honour, than though by extreme force and violence He had attayned suche an other realme as Fraunce is. In this matier ye can not lak groundes and introductions inogh to shewe, wherfore the Emperour of good congruence, leving demaundes of landes and countreys, oweth to restoure the Frenche King unto his libertie, without taking any extreme rawnsom, if the appointment be not alredy made, or in apparance of breve conclusion: for which purpose also the Popes Ambassadours, and those of Venece, wol at tyme convenient, if nede be, joyne both with you and with Madame dAlencon, if she repaire thider, in requisicion of the same, to be made in solempne maner, as by you all shalbe thought convenient; though

ye, not abiding thair commyng, shal in the meane tyme make overture hereof unto thEmperour on our behalf, as is aforesaid; insisting with all effect for his spedy deliverance upon convenient and reasonable rawnsome, without precing Hym to departe from any great landes or countreys remayning nowe in his possession; whiche, as it is thought, bothe the Frenche King and also the realme of Fraunce wolde be right lothe to do, but rather wold experyment many other waies, wherof might growe more descencion and hostilite than afore. Ye shal therfore specially, and with all effect, tendre this matier as the thing, whiche nowe, for the tranquilite of Cristendome, is principally and most highely to be regarded conduced laboured and broughte to passe, and aswell aparte, as joyntly with the said other oratours and personages, do al the endevour to you possible for attaynyng herof accordingly.

Howe be yt, if ye shall fynde thEmperour and his Counsail veray precise and extreme in thair demaundes, not shewing any towardnes or apparance to put the Frenche King to libertie, without having the Duchye of Burgoyne, or some other grete countreys by them pretended or desired, ye shal then more ernestly inferre suche reasons and consideracions as owe to remove thEmperour from suche intent and deliberacion. First ye may say, it is not unknown but that our titles unto the Duches of Normandy, Gascoigne, Guyen, Angeowe, Peytowe, Langedok, and other perticuler seignioryes possessed by the Frenche King, be founded upon as good just and rightuous grounde, as is or can be any enheritance belonging to thEmperour in Burgoyn or elleswhere. And no less right have We to the croune of Fraunce, as may wel and lawfully be justified, than thEmperour hathe unto the realme of Castile; whiche thinges, togidre accompted, excede ferre any other, that ever thEmperour coude pretende to have of the Frenche King, not only nowe, but at any tyme heretofore. And, considering that the Emperour hathe alredy a grete parte of his demaund, and percace in the composicion of peax may also have restitution of Hesding, whiche had, He shal have attayned, besides Burgoyne, in maner all and in some places more than He can of right demaunde, as Tourney, Navarre, and other, and that We, to whom ferre gretter thinges do of right belong, employing all our enterprises in thise werres to thEmperours benefite, have hitherto consecuted no parte of our said enheritance; it were more reasonable that We, Who have ben socius belli, and have susteyned the most burdoyn of the same, shuld rather demaund of thEmperour some parte of the countreys recovered, than, We having adquired nothing, thEmperour, having so moche, yet to demaund more: which maner if We wold have used, the Emperour, observing his pactes and convencions with Us, shuld have had smale profite of the Frenche Kinges rawnsom, considering that to our enheritance aperteineth in maner

maner al the lande that the Frenche King hathe. And therefore ye may say thEmperour is not a litle obliged unto Us, for that We, not stikking upon the restitucion of our rightes, do, by mytigating of our demaundes, leve the Frenche King in state to give unto thEmperour any thing for his rawnsome. For, playnely to speke, if thEmperour ever had his intent established to the meanyng of the treaties, and unto that whiche He hathe shewed outeward, the realme of Fraunce hathe ben understonden by thEmperour to be, as it is, our enheritance, and consequently the Frenche King, not as a King, but as a Frencheman our subject or our rebelle, and like as any town or place recovered in Fraunce, aperteyning to our enheritance, owght to be delivered unto Us, though the same had ben taken by thEmperour or his folkes; and consequently, the towne delivered unto Us, thenhabitantes shuld have ben the semblable, forasmoche as they are to be accompted our subjectes or rebelles, and so shuld be accompted, taken within the town or without: so it may percace be rightfully sayde and justified, that thEmperour is bounden by treatie to deliver unto Us the Frenche King as our subject or our rebelle.

Over this, though ther were no suche pretence to be made, but that the Frenche King were to be reputed but as a common enemye, without title of subjection; yet, sens the werres were common, and thennemye common enemye to Us bothe, ther may percace reasons and justificacions be made, why He shuld be the common prisoner unto Us bothe, and consequently We intitled to the moyte of his rawnsom, the lak of our contribucion to that enterprise notwithstanding. Whiche thinges, onles than We be overmoche provoked, ye shal say, We never had mynde to put in question; for, if We shuld be as extreme in stikking to our titles, as thEmperour, thus shewing Hym self difficile, semeth to be for his parte, neither thEmperour, keping his convencions with Us, coude have rawnsom of the Frenche King, but shuld and oweth either deliver Hym to Us, or kepe Hym prisoner, til the realme of Fraunce, with other our rightful enheritances, were restoured; ner also, our said pretences demaunded, and by Us and thEmperour duely folowed, ther shuld be likelihood of cessacion from hostilite in Cristendome in any mans daies that nowe lyveth. Wherfore ye shal say, that sens We, laying a part al that may be saide to our avantage, do thus kindely moderate our demaundes for thEmperours sake, ye wolde be right sory to see that We, compelled to take exsample of thEmperour, shulde be inforced to aggreve any thing touching the premisses, that may be saide and justified for our parte. And thus standyng in suche strange termes, cowched alwaies without demonstracion of displeasure, but as by waye of frendely admonicion and exhortacion, and not to be spoken onles ye fynde thEmperour in suche extremite, it is not to be doubted but ye shal

modifye his excessive demaundes, if any suche be, and moch the rather conduce the spedy and easy deliverance and redempcion of the said Frenche King; using your self alwaies after suche maner, that thEmperour shal have no cause to doubte of our contynuance in our perfite and entier love towardes Hym, but that We be mynded, for our part, that the same shal be as sincere as ever it hathe ben, and non amyte or treatie bitwene Us to be infringed, except oonly the maters concernyng the werre as afore. And howe ye shal profite and spede herin, We shalbe joyewes and glad to here with diligence, as the importance of the matier doth require.

Nevertheles, if the Emperour, not interpreting our sincerite love and kinde proceding to the true sense, shal take displeasantly this conclusion of peax here, alleging that We have therin done any thing contrary to the forme of the treaties; in this cace, for justifying and conservation of our honour, and not as that whiche We be mynded to allege or set forthe by way of improperacion, ye shal, in place ordre tyme and forme convenient, extende suche thinges as be mencioned in a scedule in Laten, whiche We sende you herein closed[1], manifestly proving and declaring, in howe many thinges thEmperour hathe failled from observaunce of his treaties with Us, and consequently put Us, in honour lawe reason and conscience, at our libertie from performance

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[1] This is found among Wolsey's papers in the Chapter House, Vol. XVII. p. 61., under the title of "Articuli tractatuum a Cesare non observati."

"Primum obligatur Cesar solvere invictissimo "Anglie Regi intra annum post datum obligationis "desuper confecte, que est vicesimo die mensis Junii "Anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo vicesimo "secundo, centum et quinquaginta millia coronarum "auri de sole ex mutuo per eum debita.	A die solutionis duo anni preterierunt, neque adhuc solvitur quicquam.
"Item obligatur solvere annuatim pro indemnitate "centum triginta tres mille trecentas et quinque "coronas.	Tres anni jam elapsi sunt, neque est quicquam solutum.
"Item tenetur uterque Princeps, tam ex tractatu "Windsore quam ex tractatu prorogationis ejusdem "in Hispania facto, comunem hostem cum exercitu "potenti et valido ab ea parte, qua commodius id "quisque poterit, personaliter hoc anno invadere, viz. "mense Maij Anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo "vicesimo quinto.	Paravit in hunc annum omnia ad bellum invictissimus Anglie Rex; interpellavit de ea re Cesarem. Responsum est Oratoribus Regis, quod neque in presenti anno, neque in futuro, ulla expeditio ob pecuniarum penuriam ex parte sua fieri poterit.
"Item in tractatu de Windesore predicto capi- "tulatur, quod neuter Principum sine communi "consensu classem revocare aut diminuere posset.	Cesar nec misit classem, ut convenerat, et classem qualemcunque missam revocavit ob penuriam victualium et aliorum necessariorum defectum.

"Item

performance of any parte of the same. And amonges other thinges, it is notorious and manifest that the Lady Margaret, without any our consent knowlaige or avice, passed, by the auctorite that she and other of the Counsail have of thEmperour there, a trieux with Fraunce, to endure till the first day of January next commyng, in the whiche was expresly inhibite and forbiden

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" Item capitulatur quod neuter Principum, neque " per se, neque per alium, inducias cum hoste trac- " tare facere aut concludere poterit sine communi " consensu.

Conclusit inducias cum Gallis Illustrissima Domina Margareta, Imperatoris auctoritate fungens, invictissimo Anglie Rege inconsulto, cum clausulis etiam nocivis.

" Item capitulatur in dicto tractatu, quod hostes " sive rebelles alterius Principum nullum habeant in " territorijs alterius commercium communicationem " sive receptaculum, sed a commercio et intercursu " omnium regnorum, patriarum, dominiorum, ac " subditorum alterius Principum excludantur, omni " dolo et fraude cessante.

Scotis, infensissimis hostibus invictissimi Anglie Regis, et hosti communi Gallorum Regi, totis viribus adherentibus, neque fuit, neque est interdictum commercium in Flandria, quin immo passim admittuntur ex salvo conductu Illustrissime Domine Margarete.

" Item totus tractatus Windesore pro bello gerendo " contra Gallos factus est in contemplationem matri- " monij, quo cessante et sublato tollitur et evanescit " dictus tractatus pro bello gerendo tanquam acces- " sorium et appendix.

" Item non servavit, neque in forma, neque in " modo, neque in tempore, tractatum, qui factus est " pro invasione per Ducem Norfolchie fienda.

" Item suppetie convente et prestande Duci " Suffulchie non erant realiter prestite, ut erat " conventum.

" Item tractatus pro bello gerendo in Provincia " non erat observatus, neque in gentibus, neque in " pecunijs.

" Item quod Rex Gallorum est censendus communis " captivus, eo quod bellum utriusque nomine ceptum " erat usque ad captivitatem continuum, ideoque nec " Cesar tractaret cum eo nisi communi Regis consensu, " et Rex etiam haberet et potest sibi vendicare medie- " tatem redemptionis per et ad hoc adstipulatur, et " alludunt jura omnia civilia.

" Item quod Cesar, liberando nobiles Regni " Francie, quos habuit captivos, violavit tractatum " de Windesore, eo quod hostes hoc pacto potenciores " reddidit, quorum vires modis omnibus extenuare " deberet.

" Item finaliter, quod in nullis conventis promissa " servavit."

that

that thEmperour might geve unto Us any maner aide, assistence, passage, vitaile, shippes, cariages or other thing, for any enterprise to be don against Fraunce; but was bounde to assist Fraunce against all those, that wolde invade the same. In whiche truce only, were thus many injuries done unto Us. First We knowing ner suspecting any suche thinge, and being mynded to tracte the tyme with the Frenche Ambassadours, till suche season as We might have herd from thEmperour, and joyntly have componed our matiers, were hereby driven and compelled either to accept thair offres, orelles to have alone susteyned the burdeyn and charges of the werres against Fraunce, without having any aide of thEmperour or of his Lowe Countreys, for our money or otherwise. Secondely, wher as our Ambassadours Sir William Fitzwilliam and Sir Robert Wingfeld Knightes, had ben in thEmperours said Lowe Countries by our speciall commandment, aswel to require the accustumed aide, as to conduce certain nombers of horsemen and fotemen, lymoners, cariages, and hoyes, whiche al wer graunted and promised to them, and certain somes of money debursed for that purpose; the same by this trieux was clerely put apart and disapointed. Thirdly, by the same trieux thEmperour declared Hymself mynded to geve assistance to our enemye against Us, in cace We shulde invade Hym, defending Us so moche as passage by his frontiers, or vitailes for our money. Fourthely, the Scottes, our enemyes, were by the same trieux licenced to frequent thEmperours saide Lowe Countreys, and ther to use and exercise the feate of merchandise and al other thair besynes, at thair pleasure. And fyvethly, wheras We were comprehended in the same trieux, in cace We being advertised therof on thEmperours behalve wolde declare Us within a certain space to accept the same, ther was never hitherto any suche advertisment geven unto Us from the said Lady Margaret, or any other of that syde, but the knowlaige whiche We had of suche comprehension, with the hole treatie, was sent Us out of Fraunce; the copy whereof ye shal receyve herewith. Whiche thinges, if ther had ben non other, were sufficient groundes occasions and in manner coactions for Us to herkyn and comme unto the peax, onles than thEmperour wolde thinke to be at his libertie to treate commen and conclude what He wolde, with or against Us, and We stil shuld remayn without taking trieux peax or appointment but at his handes and pleasure; whiche thing, being so ferre unreasonable, We trust be not his mynde, or if it were is not on our parte to be folowed or accepted.

Besides this, it is not unknowen unto you, that the principal thing, wherupon the concurrance of thEmperour with Us in the werres against Fraunce for recovery of our croune and right ther was founded and established, was the mariage

mariage bitwene thEmperour and our derest doughter the Princesse, wherby shuld growe to the said Emperour a possibilite to the said croune of Fraunce, being the onely thing whiche shuld have caused Hym ernestly to joyne with Us in the recovery of the same. But, whan the Emperour made unto Us overtures and meanes to be at his libertie of mariage, and to mary with the suster of Portugale; it was evident unto Us that, the principal grounde of the said concurrance, to the whiche the residue of the treaties concernyng warre were but as accessaryes and incidentes, ones removed, the same accessaryes, whiche was the concurrance in werre, must nedes ceace; and lakking that, neither We were mynded, ne myght at this present tyme, supplye the hole charges and burdeyn therof, wherby consequently thEmperour gave Us a direct and an evident, not only libertie, but also coaccion and compulsion, to come unto peax. Wherfore, sens that in so many poyntes as be mencioned in the said scedule, it is manifest and not to be excused, but that the Emperour hath departed from his convencions and promises, and also by thise meanes and other his doinges, not oonly put Us at libertie, but also, as is aforesaid, in maner compelled Us to take peax, and that it hathe semed and doth appere unto Us the same to be thEmperours mynde and moste to his benefite and purpose; it can not be truely sayde and alleged that, in taking of peax, We have violate any our convencions promises or agrementes, but rather have don thing whiche thEmperour oweth to accept, as an high gratitude and excellent kindnes; shewing no smale curteysy unto Hym in that We do not allege the premisses by waye of improperacion, as We might and have good cause to do, but that We in so good part do accept his doinges contrary to the forme of the treaties, being contented to tollerate and suffre the same for his sake, and the furtherance of his causes, without dymynishing any part of the old roted herty love intelligence and amyte, established bitwene Us: all whiche our mynde is inviolably to observe and kepe as is aforesaid. By this and other reasons that ye may allege, ye shal facilly put al those to silence, whiche wolde impute unto Us any blame or default in conclusion of this peax, whiche We doubt not ye wol, by your wisedomes, extende and set forthe as shal appertayn: advertising Us often by your letters howe the maters procede ther, and what conclusion is or shalbe taken with Fraunce, and semblably of all other thinges worthy knowlaige, as our special trust is in you.

[1] *You must in any wyse effectually have in remembrance by all the ways posyble to disuade the mariage betwene the Frenche King and the Lady Eleanor, spescially sens upon her depende, next the Don Fernando, all the*

[1] This passage to the end is in cypher.

enheritances

enheritances of the Emperour, which may geve not smalle occasion to the Frenche King to conspyre thyngis to thayr distruccion, uppon hope at the last to come bothe to the said enheritances and also to thEmpire. This cifer hitherto is voyde. You shal, in cace you may perceve by any meane that in the condicions of and for delivery and restitucion of the Frenche King to libertye, the mariage with the Lady Eleanor be sett forth, aswel with the Frenche King, if you may commodiously atayn to his speche, as to his sister the Duches of Alencon, and to all other the Frenche Kinges agentis ther, disuade the said maryage; inferring that not onely the same shal put the Pope and al the States of Italy in clere desperacion, dryving them holy in to the Emperours lapp, whereby the sayde Emperour shal be too highly enhanced, and atayne al his appetitis and desires in Italy, contemning consequently, and litel esteming, his olde frendis and other Princes, but also the posibility of other mariage more redoundyng to the sayd Frenche Kinges benifite shall therby be clerly excluded. And to the Duchese dAlencon you may reduce to remembrance, how moche derogatory the same mariage of Portugale may be unto the auctorite of the Lady Regent her mother, her selfe, and al suche other as depende upon them.

Yeven under our Signets at our toun of Stonystratforde, the 8th day of September.

(*Superscribed*)

To the Right Reverende Fader in God, our right trusty and welbiloved Counsaillour the Bishop of London, Keper of our Privey Seale, and to our trusty and right welbiloved Counsaillours and Knight of our Ordre Sir Richard Wyngfelde, Chanceler of our Duchie of Lancaster, and Master Richard Sampson, [Deane of] our Chapel; our Ambassadours to our derest Brother Son and good Nephieu thEmperour.

CXXVI. King Henry VIII. *to* Pope Clement VII.[1]

Beatissime Pater, post humillimam commendationem ac devotissima pedum oscula beatorum. Quum veram laudem, solidam gloriam, et Christiani cujusque

[1] Copy from the Vatican Papers. On the 20th of September Henry wrote two letters to the Pope, revoking the Bishop of Bath, and accrediting Ghinucci and Sir Gregory da Casale as his Orators at Rome. Ibid.

Principis

Principis officium illud semper esse existimaverimus, ut sua consilia et actiones unversali bono communi, omnium quieti, atque Christianæ conservande religioni quisque pro viribus accommodet, non ab re facturos Nos putavimus, si tam bono operi hoc presertim tempore animum cogitationesque nostras applicaremus, nostroque exemplo auspicijs ac initijs de Christiana republica tot undique afflicta stragibus primi omnium, quam optime mereremur eo certe consilio ut conciliande pacis in universum fundamenta postmodum coalescerent, felicius quod, inita cum Gallis concordia, successum Nobis iri (Deo bene favente) sperabamus. Hanc autem pacem tum ut Christiane reipublice prodessemus, tum etiam ne paternos Vestræ Sanctitatis monitus nihili fecisse videremur, honestis mitissimisque nunc conciliata modis Vestræ Beatitudini tantopere probari vehementissime lætamur aliquam nullam dignorem præstantioremque gratiam seu laudem expectamus, quam ut quod tanto animi ardore incepimus pari quandoque liceat studio absolvere, perfectamque hanc et eternam gloriam esse judicavimus de Christiana republica benemeritis, alia complura optime merita ac beneficia posse accumulare. Compertum itaque Vestræ Beatitudini esse cupimus ob nostram quandam publice utilitati ac universali quieti addictam voluntatem nihil Nos nunquam esse omisuros quod boni Principis sit officium, vel quod ad tam boni saluberrimique operis perfectionem conducere posse censuerimus, pro qua nostram omnem operam apud Principes et Potentatus adhuc discordes sedulo interponemus, si modo cordatis consilijs quicquam apud eos proficere poterimus. Et felicissime ac diutissime valeat Sanctitas Vestra, cujus voluntatem atque conatus Divina Clementia perpetuo dirigat atque disponat. Ex Regia nostra apud Reyum, die 13 Septembris, 1525.

Excellentissime Vestre Sanctitatis
devotissimus atque obsequentissimus Filius,
Dei Gratia, Rex Angliæ et Franciæ, Fidei
Defensor, ac Dominus Hiberniæ,
HENRICUS.

(*Superscribitur*)
Sanctissimo Clementissimoque Domino
nostro Pape.

CXXVII. Tunstall, &c. *to* King Henry VIII.[1]

Pleasith it Your Highnes to undirstonde, that the 15th day of Octobre laste we receyvyd, by thEmperours currour, your letters datyd of the 21th of Septembre[2] at your manour of Amtell, and with the same a comyssion under your Great Seale for agrement of your debtis dew by thEmperour, and geving of your consente to the mariage of Portugale, with other clausis in the same conteynyd; a duplicate of your letters of the 8th of Septembre, a copie of your treatie there passid with Fraunce, a copie of the obligation of the indempnitie[3], a copie of thEmperours obligation for oone hundreth and fiftie thousande crownis, with a memoriall conteynyng thEmperours debtis: all whiche writinges with your said letters than receyvid perusid and red over, we perceyvyd that Your Highnes had receyvyd suche letters, as were sent by Curson and Cooke, the 11th day of Septembre and not bifore, albeit Curson departyd hense the 10th day of July. Moost humbly thanking Your Highnes that of your benygnitie and greate goodnes, Ye doo accepte in good parte and allowe our doinges, in that we shewid unto Your Highnes the playnes of our myndis advisis and opynyons, not to have concludyd your peax there, but to have stayed the conclusion unto suche tyme as thEmperour also had been nygh a point of his conclusion here, and than Your Highnes to have concludyd your peax there, and thEmperour his peax here: whiche surely was our opynyon, that Ye shulde concurre with thEmperour in the tyme of the conclusion, and not in the place therof, but You to ende your matiers there, and thEmperour here; as plainly doth appere in our said letters, albeit Your Highnes, as we perceyve by these your laste letters, toke our opynion to bee, that all your matiers there brought to perfection with the Frenche Ambassatours, the conclusion of all thinges shulde bee remytted hither. Whiche was thEmperours desire; but our opynyon was clere contrary, that Your Highnes there shulde take your conclusion at your own hande, and not here; orellis we shulde to ferre have forgotton ourself, seing we have written to Your Highnes hertofore that honourable it shulde bee for You to have Ambassadours sent thither, and to make there your own peax: whiche treating and perfecting of your matiers there, we have, at all communications with thEmperour and his

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[1] From the Museum, Vespasian, C. III. leaf 107.

[2] Probably the letter, of which a minute is in the Cambridge University Library, E e. 4. 27. p. 9.

[3] Rymer, Vol. XIV. p. 58.

Counsaile,

Counsaile, supportid and declaryd to bee soo necessary, that elles where it could not bee doon. Albeit yet Your Highnes of your goodnes toke our opynion in good parte, though it had been soo as Ye toke it, supposing it to have procedid of our trewe and faithfull myndis; whiche was greatly to our comforte, and to the encouraging of us, to shew our myndis plainly hereafter in all your affayres, as, God willing, we shall doo according to our dutie.

And where Your Highnes moche doth marvell that we, havyng neyther auctoritie that may bee lafte owte of our handis, ne instructions soo to doo, and perceyvyng You to bee in the trayne and way of peax there, wold condiscende unto the treux by us passyd here; wherby Your Highnes takith that we in maner have removyd oon of the greatist occasions compelling Your Highnes to come to the peax, that is to say, the treux passyd, without your knowlege or consent, by the Lady Margarete, whiche Ye thinke may now bee the better justyfide, by reason that we, on your behalf, have acceptyd an other verey lyke to the same; neverthelesse, sens it is now passid and doon, Your Grace writith that Ye must nedis take it in good parte. As herunto, Sir, if it lyke Your Highnes, we dyd not conclude the saide abstinence of warr by vertue of our commyssion, but tanquam negotiorum gestores promittimus de rato habendo: whiche thing byndith You noo thing, if Ye lust not to allowe our dede, but Ye be at your free libertie, and soo were the Frenchemen, and thEmperour lykewise, to accepte it if they luste, and to refuse it if they luste; for, seing the Frenchemen had noo commyssion for treux, we never shewid nor usid ours, nor dyd noo thing by vertue therof. And, where Your Highnes thinkith oon of the greatist occasions compelling You to come to peax, that is to say, my Lady Margaretis treux, to bee removyd herby; surely, Sir, if Your Highnes red over the saide abstinence, with our letters, Ye shal fynde greate occasion rather to justifie your peax by reason of my Lady Margaretes treux. For, where both thEmperour and the Frenchemen wold have had the saide treux to bee marchaundine with intercourse, we, seing it shulde have been to the great benyfite of thenymie, wold not consent therto, but toke oonly a symple abstynence of war to make the Frenche men therby moore gredy of the peax. And therfore we wrote in our letters that the publishing of it, if Ye wolde accept it, shulde bee soo made, that your subgiettes myght knowe that they myght not resorte to the Frenchemen, nor they to theym, to buy and sell. Besides that the Scottes be not comprisyd in it; whiche point hitherto Ye could never attayne in any treatie with Fraunce to leve theym owte, unto nowe; whiche thing may serve in your treatie with Scotlande to many good purposis.

Over this Your Highnes wrote unto us by Rogier Basing, to fynde

some means that letters myght bee sente by lande, for more spedy advertismentes; whiche we here could in nowise fynde the means to doo, but by the saide abstinence, whiche gave fre passaige to ambassatours and currours oonly; whiche clause was put in by us, and was the oonly cause why we consentyd unto it. For, as for the Frenche Kinges salfconduict, sens his captivitie, it hath servyd for noo thing; and suche, as He hath grauntyd salf conduict unto, have been stoppyd, and their letters takyn from theym. And, if Your Highnes had not been soo ferfurth as Ye bee in your treatie of peax with Fraunce, whiche at takyng of the saide abstinence was unknown unto us, the saide abstinence shulde greatly have servyd your purpose for spedy advertisement from hens, whiche by see how longe and slow it is, Your Highnes this somer hath had to muche experience. And, albeit we dyd know John Joachym to bee arryvyd there, yet thexperiens of the last yere of hym made us to thinke that the saide abstinence were lyke to expire, bifore his offres cam to perfection. These were the causis movyng us to take the saide bare abstynence, whiche we thought shulde have been more to your benyfyte than eyther thEmperours or the Frenchemens; for, as for the passing of it by way of commyssion, to have bounde Your Highnes, seing the Frenchemen had noo commyssion to make lyke bonde reciproke, we neyther dyd it, nor never thought to doo it, but both they and we passyd it by promyse de rato habendo, whiche every parte that lyste may refuse, seing it is doon withoute commyssion: whiche our dede that Your Highnes of your goodnes takith in good parte, is to our greate counforte. Notwithstanding, if we have not doon that thyng, that Your Highnes chyfly desiryd, we beseche Your Grace to accept our trew meanynges, whiche surely, as we thought, was for the beste.

And, where Your Highnes writeth us largely to have mystakyn the effecte of suche other letters as hath been sente unto us, aswell from Your Highnes concernyng the discharge of the mariage of thEmperour with my Lady Princesse, not abyding the conclusion of the peax here, as from the moost reverende Fadre in God my Lorde Legate; upon the receipt wherof Your Highnes veraly supposyd, that we, having ample commission and instructions so to doo, wolde not have refusyd or differryd to have condissendyd unto the discharge of thEmperours mariage with my Lady Pryncesse, till your peax there with Fraunce were fully concludyd: forasmuche as in Your Gracis letters it was mentionyd that thEmperour, indevering Hymself to conduce an honourable and profitable peax to your satisfaction, with ordre takyn aftre the maner and fourme specifyde in your saide letters for payment of suche summes of money as thEmperour owith to Your Highnes; also taking for all other treaties passid bitwixt You, those of London and Wyndesour except, to stonde in their full strengthe,

strengthe, we in your name shulde condiscende and conclude the discharge of thEmperour for the mariage of my saide Lady Princesse, puttyng Hym to the libertie of his mariage according to his desire. And besydis that, Your Grace writith that my saide Lorde Legate, by his letters sente at that tyme, for the more playne and perfecte declaration of your entente and meanyng in the premisses, wrote unto us suche clausis as in Your Highnes saide letters all at large bee conteynyd: wherfore Your Highnes trustyd that we, bifore this tyme, had not oonly receyvyd your said letters and commyssion, sente by Wodall for the purpose aforesaide, but also that we, folowing the tenour of the same, had accordyd and concludyd the saide discharge, to thEmperours satisfaction, and agrede upon your debtis to be payde; as in your saide letters was mencionyd.

Sir, to make answer to the premisses, pleasith it Your Highnes to undyrstonde that your letters of the thryd of July[1] sente thorowe Fraunce, answering our letters sente by Wodall, came to our handis the 29th day of the same monith, whiche letters were wryttin in ciphre, and signyd with your hande; in whiche letters no maner of mencion is made of any commyssion at that tyme sente or to be sente, to agre with thEmperour for the payment of your debtis and dissolvyng of the mariage of my Lady Princesse, bifore peax takyn; nor noo relacion is made to any further advertisement gyvyn or to be gyvin by my Lorde Legate, or otherwise, nor of any letters or dispache sente or to bee sente by Wodall: so that we, proceding to the accomplishment of your commaundement conteynyd in your saide letters, orderyd ourself in suche maner as we at large have written by Maister Cooke. And, as concernyng the gyving of your consent for the dissolvyng of the mariage of thEmperour with my Lady Pryncesse, those your letters in many partes of them do shewe your mynde to bee precisely, that the peax shulde bee passed, bifore Ye wolde geve your saide consent. For in your saide letters be these wordis: "Yet "neverthelesse We be not myndyd soo facily to shew Ourself contentyd to "discharge thEmperour fro that mariage, tyll suche tyme as We may perceyve, "that in the treatie of peax He shall soo have sette forthe our affayres, as "may bee to our honour and reasonable satisfaccion, and that He shall have "perfourmyd suche other thinges herafter mencionyd, as be thought con-"venient in that behalf." And after that in a nother place bee these wordis: "First in case We shulde condiscende to the discharge of the mariage with "oure saide derest doughter, We will loke, bifore the same discharge passe "Us, to bee in good suretie of an honourable appointmente passyd with the "realme of Fraunce, to our contentacion and reasonable satisfaction." After,

[1] Neither the original nor any copy of this letter has been found.

Your

Your Grace spekith of your debtis to bee payde, and of other treaties, than those of Wyndesour and London, to stonde in their full streignith. After folowith these wordis: "These thingis fully perfourmyd and accomplishid, We, "at thEmperours instaunce &c having tendre remorce to the encrease of his "succession, principally for that cause bee contentid to conclude with Hym "upon the discharge of the saide mariage, putting Hym then, and not bifore, "at libertie to mary with the saide doughter of Portugale." And yet after that, Your Grace eftsonis recitith agayn the saide condicions, putting in thende of them these wordis: "This done, We can be contente that ye in our "name condescende capitulate and conclude the discharge of thEmperour to "the maryage" &c[a]. So that by the premisses, whiche yet be more largely expressid in youre saide letters, it apperyd to us your mynde plainly to bee, to have your peax first passid and concludyd. As unto my Lorde Legatis lettres, sente unto us by Wodall, with your commyssion[1] to conclude your consente, and a duplicate of your saide letters of the 3rd of July, the saide Wodall arryvyd here the 13th day of Septembre, and not bifore, whiche was 2 days after Cooke and Curson arryvyd there, and 14 days after your peax was there concludyd. Whiche my saide Lorde Legatis letters declaryd Your Graces mynde to bee, not to tary the conclusion of peax bifore the gyving of your consent; with many moo good advertismentis conteynyd in the same. And surely, if his saide letters and Your Graces commyssion had commen in tyme, we shulde have concludyd your consent, and aggreed upon your debtis byfore the concludyng of your peax there. Wherfore, assone as we had the saide commyssion, we with all diligence wente aboute to accomplishe Your Gracis commaundement after the retourne of thEmperour, then being absent at Madrill to visite the Frenche King, then lying in point of deth; as we have written more at large in our laste letters of the 5th of Octobre.[2] And, albeit we wernot asserteynyd of the specialties of your debtis, unto the comyng of these your laste letters, yet never the lesse, for wynnyng of the tyme, we enteryd communicacion of them. And, if the Frenche Kinges siknes had not been, whiche caused all matiers to be in suspense, unto they sawe here what shuld come of Hym, we shulde have been at that tyme ferfurth in agrement upon your saide debtis, concerning the daies of payment. Albeit for pennyng of the

[1] Copies of Henry's commission to Tunstall, Wyngfeld, and Sampson to annul the contract of marriage with the Princess Mary, dated at London on the 6th of July, are in Vespasian, C. III. leaves 66, 250.

[2] Among Wolsey's Correspondence is a letter to him from Sampson of the 4th of October, in which he acknowledges the receipt of advices of the 8th of July, announcing his recal, and the appointment of Mr. Almoner Lee as his successor (Vol. X. leaf 77), but says nothing of affairs in Spain. There is no trace of the despatch of the 5th of October.

agrement

agrement we must nedis have taryed the commyng of these laste letters, for lak of knowlege of the particularities of the sommes; whiche now be sent unto us, all save the somme of the money boroyd upon the Flowre de Lice, whiche their boke affirmyth to bee fyftie thousande crownis of the sonne: but that shalnot retarde the matier. Whatsoever that debt bee, we shall ordre the pledge not to bee restoryd, bifore it bee holly payde.

In the mean tyme, whille the Frenche Kyng lay syke, the Frenchemen here spake openly to all men that peax was there concludyd; and the President of Parys[1] affyrmyd the same to thEmperour. And after cam hither Your Highnes letters of the 8th of Septembre, according unto whiche we advertysyd thEmperour of your peax there takyn, and the consideracions movyng Your Highnes to the same; wherwith He held Hym contentyd; as we wrote in our laste letters. And after your last letters receyvyd, assone as thEmperour was retournyd in to this towne from takyng of his disportis and huntyngis, we repayryd unto Hym. The 11th day of Octobre sodenly Madam de Alancon with all hir trayne departyd owt of this citie to Madrill to the Frenche Kyng, then as it was brutyd fallyn syk agayne; neverthelesse she dyd take hir congie of thEmperour, not mynding to retourne, as she sayde. And thEmperour the same day wente oute of this towne on huntyng 7 legis hens. In whose absence, after your letters and comyssion were common, we repayryd unto the Chaunselour, geving hym knowlege of tharrivall of them, and that our commyssyon was more large than the odyr, conteynyng power not oonly to agre upon all debtis, and to consent to the mariage of Portingale, but also to declare olde treaties to stonde in theire force, abolisshing those of London and Wyndesour, by reason wherof Ye were brought unto the warr. Whiche doone, bicause we founde hym more muette to us than he had been wonte bifore, we saide we merveilyd greatly how this great diette, soo longe bifore appointed, and so well begon, after the assembly of so many great personagis to gethir, was soo sone brokyn, without any fructe of peax or good appointment ensuing therof; and that Madame de Alancon, who had com soo farre to sue for peax, was so sone departyd hense; declaryng unto hym that Your Highnes wolde bee glad to here that good peax myght ensue bitwixt theym and Fraunce, and lothe to here the breche of a thing so well commencyd. Who answeryd us, that they had been at muche communycation with Fraunce, but finally could com to noo poynt. For, where as the Frenche men doo offre the Duchie of Burgoyne to the Emperour to have the alliaunce of his suster, He hath answeryd theyme that his promyse is soo ferre paste to the Duc of Burbon,

[1] John de Selva.

that,

that, if they will attayne the saide alliaunce, they must gette the Duc of Burbons good will, which He thought wolde bee harde to attayne. Wherupon he saide the Frenchemen offred to deliver the possession of the said Duchie to thEmperours handis, soo that the tytle therof myght bee determynyd by the Parys of Fraunce, and hostagis to bee gevyn oon bothe sydis to stonde to their judgment. And thEmperour, as he sayde, was contente with the said offre, so that indifferent arbitroures chosyn by bothe parties myght determyn the said title; and in case they could not agre, than an umpire to bee takyn; for thEmperour thought not the Paris of Fraunce, whom the Frenche Kyng myght commaunde at his pleasure, to bee indifferent in that matier. And at the poynt they brake. And he sayde that Madam de Alancon sente oon day for hym, and among other devisis with hym saide, that the Frenche King shuld deliver the possessyon of the saide Duchie to thEmperour without other condition, soo that the Frenche Kyng myght bee putte at libertie, without further raunsom. To whom he sayde, if she brake that matier to thEmperour, he wold interpone hymself to move thEmperour to be contente; but he saide that aftirwarde she movyd noo suche matier to thEmperour, but what was the cause of hir mutacion, he knew not. We saide, if that the matier were at soo nye a poynt, as oonly to ellecte judges to discusse the tytle, we thought soo many wyse counsailours to bee on bothe parties, that so small a thing shuld not breke them. He saide that thEmperour offred to put the discussion of his title to the Pope, and the Frenchemen refusyd Hym. We askyd hym of the Frenche Kinges syknes, bicause the brute ran that He was fallin sycke agayn; and he saide that He mendyd well, and that was but a colour sought for their departure hens. And that tyme we devisyd noo further with hym.

After thEmperours retourne from his disportis, we gave Hym knowlege of our letters receyvyd; desiring to have audience: and were appointed the 19th day of Octobre to bee at the Courte. Where we shewid to thEmperour in his privey chambre, how we had receyvyd letters fro Your Highnes of the 21th of Septembre, responsives to Maister Cooke dispache, who arryvyd there the 11th of Septembre, and Curson also with our letters of the 10th of July, bothe at oone tyme; by whiche your letters Your Highnes commaundyd us to declare unto Hym, how Ye had not oonly receyvyd his letters, and herde his Oratour declare suche charge as He had commyttyd unto hym, but also well consideryd our letters conteynyng muche lyke matier as his saide Oratour had declaryd, and perusyd the copie of his letter inclosyd in ours, by whiche Your Highnes perceyvyd, to your greate hevynes, the greate trouble and rebellion now being in Almayn by the Lutherians, not oonly againste spirituall personnes, but also again their segniours and lordis temperall, by reason wherof, unlesse brefe remedy

remedy be sought therfore, all thEmpyre were lyke to come to a communaltie withoute governaunce, to their great confusion and extincting of the sinceritie of Christis religion, seing the Cardynall of Magons hath been inforsyd to suffre theym to doo as they luste, the Cardinall of Saulsburg besegyd in his castell and in lyke perill, his brother Dom Ferdinand not able to represse the saide rebellion in his contreis, the liege of Sweve not being puissaunt to subdue them, the hole realm of Hungery infecte with the saide secte, the realme of Polon not clere therof, the Great Maister of Pruscie[1] professing the same sect and late maryed, the greate fere that is, leste the saide secte crepe further in to Italy and other partis, to the ruyne of all Christiendom: to whiche inconvenientes, sens God had ordeynyd Hym to be the chife protectour of the Churche universall, Your Highnes perceyvyd his mynde to bee to purvey bref remedy; whiche his vertious disposition Your Highnes greatly commendyd. And wher He must bee absent from his realmes of Spayne for repressing of the foresaide rebellyon of Almayn, and his desire was, bifore his departing hens, to stablishe the estate of these his realmes by mariage, whiche He thought He myght moost convenyently doo in marying with the suster and doughter of Portingale, wherin his desyre was to have the consent of Your Highnes and comyssion to be sente therfore; Your Highnes at this tyme hath written unto us, greatly marveyling that bifore this tyme your saide consent was not gevyn according to suche commyssion as Your Highnes sente hither for that purpose the 6th of July laste passyd, by vertue wherof Ye supposyd his desire to have been accomplishid long agoo; whiche commyssion by reason of contrary wynde restyd at Plimmouth welnigh 2 monithis, and arryvyd here the 13th day of Septembre laste passed, and not bifore, His Majestie then being at Madrill to visite the Frenche King. Upon the arryvall wherof immediatly we gave Hym knowlege of the same, and after his retourne began to treate with Hym to put it in execution, whiche we at all tymes have been and shalbe redy to doo, and commun with shuche as He will appointe. Neverthelesse Your Highnes, by our letter sente by Maister Cooke, perceyvyng your former commission not to bee commen to our handis, as Ye had supposyd, have nowe for the more suretye not oonly sente unto us a newe commyssion under your Greate Seale, for that purpose, more ample than the former was, wherin was conteynyd also pouer to declare all olde treaties betwixt You, those of London and Wyndesoure oonly excepte, to stonde in their full streignith, but also a memoriall of suche debtis as He owith unto Your Highnes, to the intente that Ye in satisfaction of thEmperours instaunt desyre for the surtie of his succession, the furtheraunce

[1] Albert, who was in the following November created Duke of Prussia by the King of Poland.

of his affayres, and to doo Hym all gratuitie and kyndenes possible, may shew more and more how well myndyd and desierous Ye bee to doo unto Hym honour and pleasure; willing and comaunding us that, if, bifore the receipt herof, we have not concludyd the saide discharge, we shulde procede to the accomplishment therof. Whiche we shalbe redy to doo, and at all tymes to treate with suche personnes as His Majestie shall appoint therfore; declaring unto Hym, that by the premisses it may appere unto Hym, how it hath not been long of Your Highnes that the saide discharge was not concludyd two monythis paste, sens all thingis was passyd your handis that myght tende to the furtheraunce of the same in the begynnyng of July, as may appere by the date of your former commyssion, whiche his Counsaile had sene; and if wynde and wedyr have retardyd the commyng of the same, yet your thanke was never the lesse. Herunto He answerid, geving moost hertie thankis unto Your Highnes that Ye soo had tenderyd his desire, sayng that He shulde depute certayne of his Counsaile to commune further with us upon our saide commyssions and for his debtis; demaundyng eftsones of us, if the indempnitie were satisfyde by the Frenchemen, who affirme to Hym that they have agreed for the saide indempnytie holly, and every parte and parcell therof to bee payde by theym to Your Highnes in certayn yeres; so that there is noo thing, wherfore any indempnitie coulde be axid by Your Highnes or any of your Realme, but the Frenchemen doo affirme fully to have agreed with Your Highnes for it: and if their sayinges bee trewe, as they offre to prove, He saide it was agaynst lawe and reason to demaunde it also of Hym. Wherunto we answeryd, that for the tyme to come they had agreed with Your Highnes, and that we for the tyme commyng make nowe no demaunde, but for the tyme wherof the dayes were paste; and though He had kepte his days of payment, yet Your Highnes shulde have had noo lesse of the Frenchemen, than nowe Ye have: and as concernyng suche abstynence as had been passyd here by his Counsaile and us with the Frenchemen, Your Highnes had perusyd the same, and coulde have been contente to have confirmyd it, if Ye had not all redy upon suche groundis and reasons, as we had declaryd unto Hym at our laste beyng with Hym, takyn peax with Fraunce; whiche sens it was doon, the confirmacion of the saide abstinence for your parte shulde not nede, seing Your Highnes all redy was at a further poynt with Fraunce. After that we declaryd unto Hym, how Your Highnes nowe desyryd Hym to remembre what God hath doon for Hym, and to what high place He is callyd, as oon who above all other Prynces is bownde to regarde Godis cause, being the chief protectour of the Churche universall, whiche now hath great nede to bee maynteynyd and defendyd againste rebellis and troublers of the same; whom to

to represse it shalbe harde, onlesse peax be fyrste made bytwyxt Hym and Fraunce, seing that, yf the warr shulde contynue, the saide rebellis of thEmpyre shall evyr be redy to joyne with his enemyes; whereby the trouble nowe being in Christiendom, wherunto by his saide letters Ye perceyvyd Hym myndyd to putt remedy, shuld not bee extincte by any provysyon that coulde bee made, but encrease more and more, to the displeasure of Almyghty God agaynst those that shulde bee occasyon of longer divysion warr and hostilitie in Christyendom; wherby the hole estate of the same may be periclitate and put in extreme daungier. Wherfore Your Highnes desiryd Hym now to shew the inclination and disposition, that He hath always been notyd to be of, towardis the weale and preservation of Christiendom; and lyke as Your Highnes at this tyme at his motion to peax and the Popis frequent exhortacions to the same, for the welth of Christyendom so sore troubelyd, at this tyme was contente to herkyn to conditions of peax, leving your particular affections titles querellis and pretensis, trustyng therfore to have the better prosperitie in all your doinges and affayres; soo He at this tyme, lyke a vertuous Prince, wolde soo loke unto his owne cause, that therby the peax of Christyendom wernot retardyd or delayde: whiche could not generally be had, onlesse the Frenche Kyng were brought to his libertie by soom convenyent raunsom. Wherin if He shewid Hymself benyngne and inclynable, not lenyng to extremytie, He shulde, besydis the thanke of God, acquire more honour, than if He by force had attaynyd suche another realme as Fraunce is. Shewing further unto Hym that where, in this great assembly for the weale of peax, the matier was well commencyd and enteryd, we were sory to here, that it was put bake by the departyng of Madam de Alancon. Herunto He answeryd that it shulde not bee long of Hym that peax wer not made betwixt Hym and Fraunce, and that the Frenche King wer not putte to libertie; for whose delyveraunce He askith no thing but his owne patrymonye, wherof his auncetours were ever possessyd, to the dethe of Duc Charlis[1], whiche is litle paste 40 yeres, and many of his servauntes be yet alyve that have sene and can testyfye the same, and that the Frenchemen offre Hym of their own mynde the possession of the same, soo that the title were discussyd by the Paris of Fraunce; whiche also He offerith to bee discussyd by indifferent arbitrours to be chosyn by bothe partys, and if they could not agree, than an umpyre to be takyn, whiche arbytrours the Frenchemen doo refuse. We said unto Hym that, albeit the Frenche Kyng wolde bee contente with the delivery of the Duchie of Burgoyn, yet whan it cam to be confirmyd by the Estatis of Fraunce, they peradventure wold not

[1] The last Duke of Burgundy, in 1477.

consente to it, nor to put it on arbitrours; whiche difficultie of attaynyng of the consente of the Estatis of Fraunce was oon of the causis why at this tyme Your Highnes, in makyng your peax, helde You contente with pensions of money, omytting stykking in demaundis of landis. For Your Highnes knew well that, whan Kyng John of Fraunce was takyn by Kyng Edward the Thrid, albeit He Hymself, being prisoner, was contente to have departyd with landis for his redemption, yet the realme of Fraunce woldnot therunto consent, unto such tyme as Kyng Edward the 3de made a new warr, right cruell. Wherfore, better it were, and nere way unto peax being now soo necessary, to raunsom Hym at a good somme of money. To this thEmperour saide that He woldnot sell mans flesshe for money, nor wolde demaunde any landys of the Frenche Kynges from Hym for his redemption; oonly He demaundith his owne landis late takyn from Hym by vyolence, and that He was sure, if Your Highnes had had the Frenche Kyng in your handis, as He hath, Ye wold not have agreed with Hym for money alone, nor He shuld not have escapyd your handis more easily than He shall doo His, if He woll. And as to the consent of the Estatis of Fraunce, He saide there is no doubt but if the Frenche Kyng wolde restore to Hym muche more than He demaundith, wherunto He hath juste tytle, albeit He stykkith not unto yt, and to Your Grace also your demaundis of your patrimoniallis, the realme of Fraunce wolde be contente; and that He marveilith why the Frenchemen refuse to put the matier in arbitrours for the redempcion of the Kyng, seing, if it were a private mans cause, it could not be denyed by justice, that He demaundith. Therupon we saide unto Hym, that if the Frenchemen offre Hym the possession, putting his tytle upon the Paris, why dud He refuse to take the saide possession, whiche He myght kepe, and justifie his tytle byfore theym. Herunto He saide that a peax, soo takyn, were lyke not long to endure; for, whansoever the Frenche Kyng were disposyd to make Hym warr, He wolde cause the sentence to be gevyn by the Paris, whom He myght commaunde, and therupon commence his war sodenly against Hym, not lokyng therfore. Wherfore He saide, better it were for Hym to contynue styll in the warr, than to make a peax, not lyke to endure, but to resuscitate a warr more cruell. And, if He shall remayn in warr for lak of reason to bee offred by the Frenchemen, and the mater to ryn at lengthe, it shold not be longe of Hym, but of theym. And, after we had longe debatyd with Hym of some good mean way to be takyn, that myght bring Hym to peax, finally He saide that He for his parte wolde bee reasonable, but the Frenchemen offre Hym noo reason yet, and whansoever they dyd, He wold be conformable unto it. And soo He departyd from us.

And after 2 dais were past, and we sawe that thEmperours Counsell sente not

not for us to common with us, we sent to the Chauncellour, demaunding if thEmperour had appointyd any of his Counsell to treate with us, and yf He had not, that he wold know thEmperours pleasure therin. Who answeryd that as yet thEmperour, for his great busynes, had appointyd non, but he shuld remembre Hym of it, assone as He had laysour. And after a day paste we sente eftsones unto hym to put hym in remembraunce; who answered agayn as bifore. Soo, after we saw that it came not forwardis by sending to hym, but was prolongyd from day to day, we went our self to his lodging to speke with hym, there shewing unto hym the cause of our commyng to bee, to knowe whom thEmperour had appointyd to treat with us upon the discharge of the mariage and his debtis. Who, making us no answer to our demaunde, began, in more displesaunt maner, than we have bifore or sens sene in hym, to tell us, how the nyght bifore letters were arryvyd oute of Italy, bothe from Roome and from Venice, by whiche they were advertysed that an Ambassatour at this tyme shuld be sent owte of England to thEmperour, whiche shulde demaunde the restitucion of the Frenche Kyng to his libertie, first by fayre means, and if that could not prevaile, then to demaunde it in sharpe and rougher maner; whiche was noo signe of great love or amytie. Wherunto we answeryd that those newis were but vayne conjectures, seing we were advertysyd, by letters of the 21th of Septembre, that the instruccions of the said Ambassadour wernot yet devysid, nor shuld not be by thende of that monyth (for Maister Tuke wrote unto us): wherfore, what the instruccions of the said Ambassatour shuld be, was impossible to be knowne eyther at Roome or at Venice: whiche we thought were skantly made at that present day. And, after that we had assuryd hym that soo had been wrytten unto us, and he had affyrmyd ernystly suche letters to have been sente, whiche we shewid hym could conteigne no truthe, we requyryd hym that noo light credence shuld be gevin to any suche personnes, as wold by synistre reportis mynysshe the good intelligence of thEmperour and Your Highnes: and so, falling to our matier, requyryd hym to help to avaunce the agrement of your debtis and the dissolvyng of the matrimonie, bifore the departing hense of thEmperour; Who, as we were infourmyd, intendyd brefly to departe hense to his mariage: shewing hym that an ample commyssion was eftsonis sent unto us touching that matier, whiche we then offred to shewe hym; but he saide he woldnot see it alone, unto thEmperour had appointyd who shuld common with us, whiche yet He had not doon; but he wolde move Hym of yt at his next repayre unto Hym. Then he saide that thEmperour had undirstood by us at divers tymes that the treatie of London shulde bee abolysshyd, aswell as the treatie of Wyndesour; whiche he sayde was no reason, for, though the Frenchemen had brokyn it, yet bytwix

thEmperour

thEmperour and You, it dyd stonde in his strength, and that suche an article was in hit, that, thof the principall contrahentis brake it, yet bitwixt the residue it shuld stond in his full strength; wherfore, thoff Your Highnes wold leve the avauntage of it, yet thEmperour wold not. Wherunto we answeryd that, syns that treatie was brokyn, and therby this warr hath ensuyd, commyng nowe to a new peax, that treatie could not stande; and we affirmyd that noo suche article was in yt, as he had allegyd; whiche he sayde they shulde common with us of in tyme. And for that tyme we could get noo knowlege of any other thing of hym, but departyd from hym.

After, when we had undirstond that he had repayred to thEmperour, we sent eftsonis to solicite hym to have our matier in rememberaunce; and bicause thEmperour intendyd to departe to Civyle, and by the way, as we were enfourmyd, wold bee maryed to the syster of Portingale, we thought it right convenyent to slepe no tyme in that matier, but, bifore the saide mariage were made, to know what poynt they wold take for the consent of Your Highnes, and for agrement of your debtis. Wherfore, by all diligente meanes that we could, we callyd upon the Chauncellour to knowe whan we shulde mete; and by ofte soliciting, at the laste, a day was appointed unto us; wher in the courte in the counsaile chambre we founde the Chauncellour, Monsr de Nassawe, the Vice Roy, the Great Maistre, the Comendatour Maior, and Maister John Almayn, deputyd, as the Chauncellour saide, to common with us, and to here what we wold say. There we shewyd unto theym, howe, wher thEmperour had in June laste causyd us to wryte to Your Highnes to know your pleasure, yf Ye coulde bee content to consent to his mariage with the sister of Portingale, seing thEmperour was sore pressyd by his subgiectis to be maryed, and my Lady Princesse was of that tendre age that she myght not bee transportyd, to the accomplishment of his desyre, Your Highnes herkenyng to his saide request and desyre, and willing to doo to thEmperour all gratuitie and pleasure, for the more avauncement of his affayres, and for more bref succession of his body to be had for the establishement of his house, and to the comforth of his subgiectes, had directyd your commyssion, datyd the sixte of July, with ample instructions of your mynde how Ye could be contente to consent to his mariage with Portingale, upon reasonable agrement takyn, aswell for suche debtis, as He owith to Your Highnes for money at divers tymes lente, as also for your indempnitie. And albeit by adversitie of wynde the saide commyssion had been retardyd in the way unto the 13th day of Septembre, of the arryvall wherof they had been advertysyd hertofore, and had sene the same, yet your thanke was never the lesse to be regardyd, than if it had comyn hyder in all diligence, seing Ye had doon all that was to You possible,

possible, to the accomplishment of thEmperours desire. And moreover, where thEmperour, not knowing of the sending of the saide commyssion, had eftsones made request to Your Highnes by his letters sent by Maister Cooke, to knowe your pleasure touching your saide consent, Your Highnes, muche merveiling that the commyssion bifore sent was not put in execution, had eftsones for the more surety sent another comission, by whiche Ye had gevyn us ample power, not oonly to consent to thEmperours request to the mariage of Portingale, and to agre for his debtis, but also to declare all olde treaties made bitwixt thEmperour and Your Highnes, those of London and Wyndesour oonly exceptyd, to stonde in their full strength and vertue; and furthermore had sente us ample advertysement of the specialties of suche debtis as the Emperour dyd owe. Wherfore, according to suche comyssyon and instruccions as we had, we were redy to entre comunycation with theym, exhibiting unto theym both our commissions, by whiche we saide it myght appere unto them, what inwarde mynde Your Highnes doth bere to accomplisshe all thEmperours desiris. The Chauncellour receyvyd the saide commyssions; and as to the first of theym he said yt shuld not nede to rede it, for they had theffecte therof well in remembraunce. The secunde he red over attently, affirmyng it to bee right ample. And, that doon, we purposed unto theym the specialties of your dettes, wherof we saide a great parte had been lent to thEmperour in his moost nede; to helpe Hym, first to attayne his crowne of Spayne, and after to retourne in to the same at two transportinges, at the first a hundreth thousande florense, at the secunde 150000 crownis of the same, and also for the defence of Fenlowe 35000 florense, besydis the indempnitie being unpayde the space of 4 yeres, every oon of the yeres being due a hundreth 33 thousand thre hundreth and fyve crowins. All whiche dettes we wolde desyre thEmperour to pay us in redy money, yf He myght; or if He myght not commodiusly soo doo, than to lett us have the moost parte in hande, and they shulde fynde us reasonable for the days of the resydue. Herunto they answeryd, first touching the indempnytie, whiche was the greatist debt, how the Frenchemen had offred to thEmperour by Don Hugo de Montcada, emong other articles, to contente Your Highnes thEmperours holl dette for your indempnitie, of whiche articles a copie was sent unto You. Sens whiche tyme Ye, knowing therof, had takyn peax seperatly with the Frenchemen, whiche affirme to theym constantly, and offre to prove the same, that they have agrede with Your Highnes fully and totally for the saide indempnitie, and every parte and parcell therof, aswell for the tyme paste as for the tyme to come; whiche if it bee treuth, ther is no reason law nor conscience can suffice to demaunde it agayn of thEmperour. Wherfor nedyr

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for the holl, ne for any parte therof, they thought it reason to entre any new communycacion or bondis, or to take any days therin. As herunto we answeryd theym that by the offre made unto theym by the Frenchemen to save thEmperour harmeles, Your Highnes could demaund nothing of the Frenchemen, thEmperour might in tyme lay their promyse unto theym, and bynde theym to perfourme it, and to save Hym harmeles, as they affyrme they will. But Your Highnes could clayme noo thing of theym therby, nor have agreyd with theym for every parcell therof, nor for the hole, as the Frenchemen affirme; but must aske your debt of thEmperour, of whom for the tyme past we demaundyd to have answer, seing that not oonly He stondith bounde, but also the dies of payment be paste long ago, and that ther is no reason to remytt You to the Frenche men, of whom for that cause Ye can aske noo thing. And, where the Frenchemen affirme to pay money in yeris to Your Highnes, that is for odyr causis bitwixt You and theym, and shulde never thelesse have been payde, albeit thEmperour had kept his dais of payment, as He hathe not doon; wherfore it is not now reason that his negligence in payment shuld dryve you to hynderaunce, or to stonde to odyr men, but to demaunde it of Hym as Ye wold: shewing neverthelesse unto theym that, if they wolde take som reasonable way with You therfore, they shuld fynde us reasonable; but in no wise (albeit we stode longe on that matyer) by any means they wolde consent to take any agrement for any parte of it; but sayd that that matier and every part therof must stonde in suspense, unto suche tyme as they knew, whedyr the Frenchemen eydyr allredy had doon, or yet wold herafter, save them harmeles, as they affyrme to them to have doon alredy.

Aftyr, we fell to the communication of the laste loone of a hundreth and fyftie thousande crownis of the sonne, lent to Hym at his laste transporting: whiche we saide all they ther present knew wel ynough not oonly to have been avauncyd unto Hym in his nede, but also suche pledgis, as shuld have been engagyd therfore, to have been restoryd upon gentylnes; in contemplacion wherof we thought thEmperour the rather bothe wolde and ought se it now repayde. At that dett was no difficultie made, but they affirmyd to know it well ynough.

Next we enteryd communycation upon the obligation of oon hundreth thousande florense, whiche was lente unto Hym at his first transporting in to Spayne, and thobligacion of 35 thousande florense lent for Fenlowe. Upon whiche 2 obligations muche altercation we had, by reason that the Chancellour sayd they were bifore his tyme, nor he knew not for what cause they were made. And John Almayn affirmyd that the obligacion of 100000 florense

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was made for all dettes dew bifore that day, aswell the money lente at his first transporting, as the money lent for Fenlowe. We affyrmyd the money lent at his first transporting to have been forty thousand angelottes, and other sommes makyng up the somme of 100000 florense, besydis the obligacion of 35000 florense, whiche, if all shulde have ben joynyd together in oon obligacion, must nedis have amountyd to more then 100000 florense. The Great Maister said that he knewe that money had been lent at his first transporting, but he knew not the somme; and John Almayn saide that money had been lent for Fenlowe, but it was parcell, as bifore, of the other obligacion, and that the sure knowlege of that debt must come out of Flaundres, and that their bokis of rekkenynges wer not here present to discusse that matier. The Chancellour saide it was not reason that they shuld beleve our papers or copies, to their conviction, onlesse we shewid their obligation, seing their memorialles unfaynydly wernot here to trye the matier, and those persons, whiche best knew this matier, and of whom the truthe must be had, were in Flaundres. We said unto them that they pretendyd ignoraunce of thinges the knew well ynough, and that their memoriallis we wear assuryd were in their handis, if they liste to loke on them. Wherunto they constantly affyrmyd the contrary. We saide that they myght agre to pay suche summes as we alleggyd, when the obligations were exhibitid, whiche shuld bee shewid and restoryd at the payment. Wherwith they wer not contente to agre upon a thing that, as they saide, was unknowne unto theym. And owt of this inextricable altercation of those two obligacions we could not get theym. As to the debt of the Floure de Lice, whiche their bokis dyd specifie to bee fyftie thousand crownes, we saide the pledge myght remayne styll for yt, untill it were payde; declaring unto theym that, where thEmperour shuld now by his new mariage with Portingale receyve ther a myllyon of ducatis, and of his commons and cities an ayde of eight hundreth thousand ducatis, and of the services of the realme of Arragon, and lykewise of his realmes of Cicile and Naples, great sommes of money shuld com unto Hym by reason of this mariage, Your Highnes trustith to have suche debtis, as thEmperor doth owe You, lovingly and well now payde, whiche debtis shulde have been deductyd owte of the payment of the dowrie of my Lady Princesse, if hir mariage with thEmperour had procedyd; whiche now, after your consent to be gyvyn to the mariage of Portingale, not ensuyng, reason it is that suche money, as shuld have been deductyd for hyr dowrie, shuld bee restoryd. The Chauncellour made answer that, where thEmperour owith unto Your Highnes suche debtis as hath been spokyn of, He shuld pay them in tyme, for the whiche Your Highnes alredy hath good obligacions, as sure as Ye could devise at

the makyng of theym, whiche not restoryd, yt wer not reason that He shuld entre newe bondis, seing the old be sufficient, nor we could not by noo lawe demaunde it, but that those bondis may suffice and stonde styll. And, where we had spokyn of your consent to the mariage of Portingale, they sayde that sens in the treatie of Wyndesour were two thinges, that is to say, the warr and matrimony, the oon made in the contemplation of thodyr, and now Your Grace by takyng peax with Fraunce reputyd Yourself at libertie for the treatie of Wyndesour, thEmperour must nedis of right and congruence be at his lyke libertie of his peax and also mariage, seing both was in the same treatie. Wherunto we made answer that, albeit the warr and the matrimony were both in oon treatie, yet the matrimony was a contracte distincte by itself, whiche we were redy to dissolve upon good agrement at this tyme: and besidis that, where Your Highnes in the begynnyng of July, by sending your commyssyon to geve your consente to the mariage of Portyngale, had doon asmuche as in You lay to accomplishe thEmperours request in gyving your consente, bifore your peax takyn, and now of late sente also a newe commyssion to the same intente; if thEmperour now shuld not care for it whan it was commen, He shuld nedyr doo well for his discharge, nor as apperteignyth to congruence of good gratytude, whiche myght be occasion to make his requestis lesse to be regardyd hereafter. And, wher thEmperour stondith boundon in all those obligacions that we had commonyd of, and in every one of them the dais were paste, we desyryd noo new bondis of Hym, but to lette us have redy payment of all the saide sommes, to the demaundyng and receyving wherof, and to geving of sufficient acquietaunce for that we shulde receyve, our commyssion was sufficient. And if they wolde for their ease demaunde any days of any parte now not to be payde, upon communycation reasonable we myght geve days of payment, the olde obligations still remaynyng. Herupon the Chancellour sayd, "We "begyn at the taile, seing all our communycation is of the "dettis, and nothing of such amitie as shuld contynue bitwixt "the two Princis. First lat us se what amytie and intelligence "shall bee made betwixt us, and then commonyng of the dettes "may better be spokyn of. As for the intercourse of mar-"chaundise, yt concernyth oonly the subgiettes and not the "Princes, yt wer good to knowe howe they shuld lyve oon with the other." Hereunto we saide that betwixt these two Princes were auncient amyties and

This clause the Kinges Grace lyked not very well; for His Grace saith that these wordes way, as though He shold not be paied, excepte He entre into suche a liege as thEmperour liste.[1]

[1] This marginal note is a handwriting resembling Crumwell's, and certainly different from the subsequent apostiles in pp. 518 and 520.

alyauncis,

alyauncis, hertofore made, besydis the intercourse; all whiche treaties, those of Wyndesour and London oonly exceptyd, we were redy to declare to stonde in their full strength upon this newe agrement. "Then," saide the Chancellour, "yt were noo reason that the treatie of London shulde be abolysshyd, "whiche had an article that, any of the principall contrahentis failing to "observe the same, yet shuld it stonde vaylable betwixt the resydewe. And "albeit the Frenche King had brokyn it, yet thEmperour had not, nor "intendyd not, to goo fro the saide treatie; nor it wer not reason that the "Frenche Kynges breche shulde make Hym loose the benyfyte of yt." As herunto we saide that the saide treatie was made bytwixt 4 principall contrahentis, that is to sa, Pope Leo, Your Highnes, thEmperour, and the Frenche King, for to kepe the peax universall at that tyme being among Prynces, whiche if any of them shuld breke, a forme was devysyd in the same how all the residew shulde unico contextu require the perturbatour of peax to desist within a tyme prefyxid; whiche if he dyd not, a further tyme was appointed, within the whiche all the residew of the contrahentis unico contextu shulde invade hym at oone tyme. Whiche forme of treatie was now impossible to bee observyd, seing Pope Leo was deed, and the saide universall peax brokyn by the Frenche Kyng, whiche wold noo longer kepe the saide treatie; so that this warr late made had put the treatye full in execution, and now we comyng to new peax with Hym, that treatie could no more be kepte, syns two of the principall contrahentis were take away; and the reason also of the makyng of it extinctyd, that is to say, the fear of the breche therof, by reason of many invadours, whiche shuld unico contextu make invasion, and constrayne the brecher to peax; whiche feare remaynith not so muche in two, nor yet in thre, as yt dyd in foure at the begynnyng, to compell the contrahentis to kepe the same. Wherfore the forme of that treatie could noo longer bee observyd. And as to any suche article, as he had spoke of to be in it bitwix thEmperour and Your Highnes, we saide ther was none suche. Upon this the Chauncellour axid, if we wolde entre any new liege offensive or defensive, or if we had any instruccions so to do. Wherunto we answeryd that there weer good olde liegis bitwixt these Prynces, being sufficient withoute any newe, whiche we could not entre otherwise then in declaring the olde to be of strength. And at the desyre of a new strayter liege we perceyvyd was all theyr stykking. And, after we had right long debatyd upon the premysses, they sayde they wolde make reporte to thEmperour of all our devises, to know his further pleasure; and, that knowne, we shulde have answer of his determynate mynde. Here eftsones we renewyd unto theym our request to have asmoche of the said debtis in redy money as myght be, prayng them to solicite to thEmperour to shew noo lesse

good will in repayng of them, now that He myght pay them, than He had founde benyvolence in Your Highnes in avaunsing them to Hym in his nede.

Within two days after, we sente unto the Chauncellour, to know if he had rememberyd to make reporte; who answeryd that yet for great busynes he had noo leyser, but wold remembre it brefly. And within other two days we sente eftsonis to hym, whiche made lyke answer. And after, we wente unto hym ourself, prayng hym to solicite bref answer, seing thEmperour intendyd shortly, as we herd say, to departe: who answeryd us, that thEmperour that mornyng was departyd on huntyng seven legis hens, with Whom for haste he coulde have noo leasure; but at his retourne, whiche shulde be within four or fyve days, he wold not fayle to have it specially, without further delay, in remembraunce. Whiche Chancellour, bifore thEmperours retourne, fell soore syke of the gowte, and with a fever; whiche his syknes stayd not oonly our matier after thEmperours retourne, but all other mens also. And after his saide syknes dyd contynue, we went unto hym to visite hym, lyke as the Popis Legate[1] and other Ambassatours dyd, whom we founde at that tyme in suche feblenes, that we thought it not convenyent to trouble hym with our sute. Neverthelesse he hymself saide his disease had been the cause of our delay, and assone as God wold sende hym helth, we shulde be the first he wold remembre. Howbeit, bicause his dysease is wonte to be long whan he fallith in the gowte, and the tarying of his amendement myght make us to lese the oportunytie of this tyme, we therfore laboryd to the Great Maister first, and after to Maister John Almayn, to solicite thEmperour for his pleasure to know touching our matiers; whiche bothe sayde that they woold. And afterward, when the Chancellour began to amende, and at after nones to herken to dispache our busynes, Maister John Almayn sent us worde that thEmperour had herd reporte made, and within two days we shuld have a resolution. So now of late we were sent for to com to the Chancellours house, where we founde these personagis, the Chauncellour, Monsr de Nassawe, the Great Maistre, Monsr de Reux Comendatour Maior, Don Hugo de Montcada, and Maister John Almayn: where the Chancellour shewid unto us that reporte of our last meting had been made to thEmperour, and He with his Counsaile had debatyd all our said communications; and upon a deliberat advise takyn, had commaundyd hym to make unto us on his behalf this resolute answer; that, forasmoche as He perceyvyd we had right ample comyssyon for many thinges, but not to entre any newe liege, and necessary it shuld be not oonly for thEmperour, but also (suche ende myght be takyn with Fraunce, in treating wherof He was sory that He was alone, and yet at none ende) that peradventure

[1] Cardinal Salviati.

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for Your Highnes as well as thEmperour it shuld be expedient to knowe what liege offensive or defensive Ye shuld have together for conservyng of your contreis and estatis; for that cause thEmperour intendyd brefly to sende som good personage in ambassade in to England, there to treate with Your Highnes, fully instructyd not oonly for the cause aforsaide, but also to take a full appointment with Your Highnes for payment of all and singuler suche debtis as He owith You; whiche Ambassatour shuld have full and ample comyssion and instruccions for the purpose aforesayde, and take upon all matiers a full appointment, suche as thEmperour trustith Ye shalbe wel contentyd with. And in the mean tyme all auncient treaties, aswell of the intercourse as other, with all obligations, and that of the indempnitie, to remayne in their force. This was the resolution that thEmperour had takyn, and had commaundyd theym to declare unto us, whiche they had doon, and had not further to say to us, or devise with us uppon the premysses. After whiche answer made, bicause we intendyd eftsones to repayre unto thEmperour agayn for more better answer, seing this was fer other then we lokyd for, and at these mens handis yt shuld not prevaile to reply, but hynder us, in armyng thEmperour with answer before we shuld come to his presence; for that cause we, oonly sayng that we wold have desyryd a better resolution then this, whiche was ferre odyr then we lokyd for to have had, for that tyme departyd.

Nowe bifore we retorne to our repayre to thEmperour, the Frenche maters folow.

From the 11th day of Octobre, at whiche tyme Madam de Alancon departyd hens, unto the 13th of Novembre, here were noo Ambassatours of Fraunce remaynyng, nor more sute made for his delivery, then if He had not been prisoner. The Frenche King was all that tyme sore syke agayne, fallon in to a newe recidivation; soo contynuyng still unto the 6th of Novembre, bifore whiche day He was not clene of the fever. During the whiche tyme thEmperours chyf Phisicion cam hyder fro Madrill to thEmperour and his Counsaile, advysing them to take brefly somme appointment with the Frenche King, whiche he thought wold not lyve long, but was fallen to an etyk. The 9th day of Novembre the Bisshop of Tarby was sent fro Madrill, to know if thEmperour wold be content to suffre the Ambassatours to retourne hither to renewe the practyse for the Frenche Kinges deliverye; to whom answer was made by thEmperour, as the Great Maister shewid unto me, Doctor Sampson, that thEmperour dyd not byd theym departe hense, who had been here for that purpose, nor He wold not byd them retorne. Howbeit, if they thought it expedyent for the welth of bothe the realmes to retourne and renew their sute, they myght bee at the lyberty so to doo; and if noo, to lette it alone. Upon

whiche

whiche answer the 13th day of Novembre the Archibisshop Daunbron, the saide Bisshop of Tarby, and the President of Parys retournyd hither, commencing to renew their sute. Sens whiche tyme there have been many metynges; but the specialties of their practysis we know not, nother by the Frenche Counsaile, nor by thEmperours: nor of Madame de Alancons departing we knewe, unto she was gone; nor knew otherwise the cause of that first breche, then by the shewing of the Chancellour and thEmperour, as we have bifore touchid. At my Ladys being here, a Secretory of Fraunce, whiche had been here longe with the President, cam unto us, saying that Madam de Alancon, hering say that we shulde departe hens, sent hym to us to offre all furtheraunce in our journey, that she could by hir writing: to whom we answeryd, praing hym to make our moost humble recommendacions, and to geve our moost humble thankis to hir for hyr kynde offre; albeit, we saide, we knew noo thing of no suche our departure, but shuld tary here styll; prayng hym to shew unto my Lady that yf there were any servise that we myght doo unto hyr in avaunce-ment of any hyr sutys, yf she wold commaunde us, she shulde fynde us therunto redy; for so had we charge of Your Grace to be, and wold use noo lesse diligence than if it were Your Highnes affayres. And therupon we demaundyd of hym, how theyr affayres went at that tyme, whiche weer then in the begynnyng, who shewid us they went hardly yet. And among other devisinges with hym of the Frenche Kinges first recovery, he sayde that the Frenche King was no man lyke to contynue, He was so malancolius: to whom we answeryd that the comforth of my Ladys being here, and hyr good dexteritie in practising for his deliveraunce, shuld muche alleviat that pen-syvenes; and nedyr at my Ladys being here, whiche was but 7 days, nor at hyr departing, unto the late retourne hydyr of thAmbassadours aforsayd, no maner advertisment or worde, what they had doon or entendyd to do, cam to us by any person of Fraunce. After the retourne of the saide Ambassatours, within 2 days the forsaide Secretary of Fraunce, being returnyd with them, com unto us to vysyte us; to whom after we had demaundyd of the Frenche Kinges amendement, and undyrstode by hym, as we have also doon by odyr, that this his secunde syknes was muche more daungerous then the firste, and had lefte Hym veray weke, and not yet able well to stande nor goo, albeit he affyrmyd Hym to be clere of the fever, we demaundyd what sute or practise was made for his delivery. Who shewid us that now these Ambassatours shuld offre for his raunsom 3 millions of crounes in money for his redemption; for as for landis, he saide, the realme wolde never consent to departe with none. Wherupon we declaryd unto hym our request and instaunce, made to thEmperour on Your Highnes behalf, for the delyvery of the Frenche King at great

great length, and the answer of thEmperour in every poynt, as is bifore touchyd; prayng hym to advertyse therof, not only thAmbassatours here present, but also the Frenche Kyng and my Lady, and to shew theym we had soo doon by the commaundement of Your Highnes, and wold be redy eftsones to doo, whansoever they wold thinke it convenyent, for so was your pleasure: whiche he saide he wold shew them; and, after thankis gevyn unto us, for that tyme departyd. Within two days after, he retournyd, demaunding diligently of us, what we herde of thEmperours departing hens; to whom we shewyd all that we herde and knew at that tyme. He demaundyd also of us, what we herd of the Duc of Burbons mariage to the Quene of Portingale; to whom we answeryd that we thought he wold be glad to have Hyr, but what hyr mynde was, we knew not. And after we demaundyd, how theyr practise went forward; who saide they weer prolongyd from day to day by reason of the syknes of the Chancellour: and so departyd.

The said Duc of Burbon entred this citie the 15th day of Novembre with a great trayne, whom thEmperour, accompanyd with my Lorde Legate and all the nobles of Spayne, met without the gatis of the towne at the brydge of the ryver, and so brought hym into this citie, the Lorde Legate on the right hande, and the Duc of Burbon on the lyft hand, of thEmperour. Who, sens his comyng, hath had all the pleasures and pastymes that here could be devysyd. His fryndis here thought his comyng verey long, lest in his absence the Frenche Kyng shuld supplant hym; Who desyrith in all his offres and overtures the Quene of Portingales mariage: whiche Quene, two days after the comyng hither of Madam de Alancon, after the saide Duches had oons visytyd Hir, departyd hens to Guardelope on pylgrymage 25 legis hens, wher She hath taryed ever sens, and yet doth; whose departyng hens, as it is sayd amonges the Frenchemen, greatly discoragyd Madam de Alancon, who thought by Hyr to have had som avauncement in hyr suyte; and, as all men say, and is lyke to be trew, thought to have avaunsyd to Hyr the Frenche Kynges demaunde of hyr mariage.

The Chancellour shewid unto us that the Frenche Ambassatours late common had offred 3 millions in money, if they myght have the mariage of the saide Quene; sayng that "to that mariage I will never geve my "consent," making a great accent upon thes wordys "my consent;" by whiche we conjecturyd that som of the Counsaile inclyne that way, besydis the Vice Roy. *In whiche his opinion we confirmed hym as moche as we coulde, affirming it not to be for the suretie of thEmperours succession, seing She is his heyre apparant, that the Frenche King shulde have Hir. And to hym and to Monsr de Reux we may speke boldly in this mater, for they bothe*

bothe favor assuridly the Duke of Burbon. Of the residewe we feer greatly, lest for to knit sure a peax they wold the Frenche King had Hir; for we here say that thEmperour, relenting in that mater, shal facilly attayne al that He desirith. If the Duke of Burbon can be otherwise satisfyd, undoubtidly we thinke they shal not oonly agree, but joyne faster than we wolde have them.[1]

The Chancellour shewid us also, that the Ambassatours desyrith prolonging of a newe salf conduyt for Madam and hyr trayne, to the last day of Marche, desyring that the Frenche Kyng myght have thre hondreth horsmen aboute Hym where He lyeth, and other thre hundreth logyd abrode in the contrey; whiche he saide was thought that myght be contryvyng of som escape. What soever it is, som secrete practyse the Frenchemen have, which they thynke we wold lette and hynder, yf we knew it, that they make us pryvey to no thing; which we conjecture to be the sute for the mariage of the Quene, not yet being despayryd unto theym. Neverthelesse we have gevyn theym knowlege, bothe what we have doon, and what we be redy to doo, in accomplishement of your commaundment. Now we here say that Madam de Alancon with hyr trayne is departyd; wherfore we have usyd all the means that we can to attayne the knowlege of the cause therof, seing the Ambassatours remayne here styll; and by suche secrete way as we have usyd, we undyrstonde that ther have been two ways purposyd, oon is the restitution of Burgone, with the mariage, the odyr a raunsom of thre myllions, with the mariage; and that after muche stykking made on bothe sydis they restyd upon this, to restore Burgone, whiche shuld bee doon after the Frenche Kinges Person is in his realme: for performaunce wherof hostagis shulde be gyven, and for the personagis of theym is all the stykkyng. The Dolphyn is demaundyd by thEmperour, with 2 great heyres next, and six odyr mener; and the Frenchemen refuse the delyvery of the Dolphyn, and offer other. The Frenchemen aboute the Kyng reporte that the Dolphyn is not offryd, and that thEmperour wold have bothe the Dolphyn and the Duc of Orliance. Wherupon this breche is. Wheder the mariage shall also be had with the Quene, we know not, for She yet is kept alofe fro both hir demaunders. We undyrstonde that at the Duc of Burbons mater, for the reintegration of his astate, wilbe no difficulte; so that, if they can agre upon the personagis of thostagis, all matyers shalbe at a full agrement. It is thought veraly they shall agre, being soo nygh accorde, seing the Frenche Kyng greatly desirith his naturall ayre for his helth, which in this ayre wilbe long in recoveryng from so great a syknes.

On the morow after the resolute answer gevyn unto us upon your dettes,

[1] The passage printed in Italics is in the original in cypher.

bifore

bifore we repayryd unto thEmperour, Your Highnes letters of the 30th of Octobre laste arryvyd here, whiche stayde our goyng to thEmperour, unto we had perused them over. After whiche doon, and sute made to have audience, and a tyme therfore appointyd, we went to thEmperour, makyng firste unto Hym your moost affectuouse recommendacions, and declaryng unto Hym oon poynt conteynyd in your saide letters concernyng a liege defensive reportyd to be concludyd at Roome bitwixt the Pope, Your Highnes, the Frenche Kyng, and the Estatis of Italy, whiche matier hath been shewid unto us late by divers also thEmperours Counsell, and hath been here muche spokyn of. Wherfore we thought yt necessary in that behalf to declare the mynde of Your Highnes conteynyd in your saide letters, leste by evill reportis summe sinistre suspition therupon myght bee ingenderyd: shewing therfore unto Hym that, where we had wrytton unto Your Highnes, how it was here reportyd that suche a liege defensive, as before, shulde be made, Your Highnes had commaundyd us to shew unto Hym, that truthe it is overtures have been made unto Your Highnes of suche a liege defensive, and Ye requiryd to have been hed protectour of the same; but what soever be or shalbe sayde or reportyd unto Hym therin, we assuryd Hym that Your Highnes never gave, ne thought to geve, any maner consent therunto, to his prejudice, eyther in takyng your crowne Imperiall, or enjoyng of other his rightes ther, but will always and shalbe glad to put your help favour and furtheraunce, that He myght attayne and take his said croune in honorable ordinate and peaseble maner, and that all the cities and potentatis there shall, for confirmation of their liberties, and otherwise, doo theyr dutyes, and honorably receyve Hym as hath been always accustumyd: of whiche his honour Ye shalbe as glad, as any frynde that He hathe. And furthermore, wher his Counsaile, upon suche comyssions as Your Highnes had sent us concernyng agrement to be made for his dettes, and your consente to be gevin to his mariage with the syster of Portingale, whiche commyssions we had declaryd unto Hym at our laste being with Hym, and our conformablenes to all reasonable agrement to bee takyn upon the same; and sens that tyme we had been theropon at communycation with his Counsaile, wherof we undirstode reporte had been made unto Hym, and therupon He had commaundyd his Counsell to make us suche resolute answer, as is bifore written, whiche we rehersyd unto Hym; we saide the saide answer was ferr of an other sorte, then eyther we lokyd for or trustyd that He wold rest upon, seing that many of the dettes that we had communyd of were well knowne unto Hym to have bene avaunced in his nede; and at his laste transporting, pledges offred for the hundreth and fyfty thousand crounes of the sonne, whiche pledgis were restoryd unto Hym upon trust and confidence that the saide money shulde

be restoryd at the tyme promysed, to which your gratitude due correspondence shulde not be made, onlesse at this tyme the same money were restoryd, seing He shulde by his mariage receyve at this tyme great sommes of money, both of Portingale, and of his subgiectes, many ways. Wherfor we requyryd and prayd Hym right instantly to have at this tyme in hande at the lest the saide money, whiche we trustyd He wold make no difficultie at, sens He hath now wherwith to pay. And over this, wher Your Highnes in the begynnyng of July last directyd unto us your commyssion to geve your consent to the mariage of Portingale, whiche we have been always redy to doo upon good agrement, whiche commyssion albeyt it was retardyd in the way, your thanke to acomplishe his desyre was never the lesse to be regardyd, and sens had sente a new commyssion upon a new request for the same purpose; if now He shuld be maryed, your consent not had, besydis that his conscience could not be dischargyd, his request now by You accomplishid, and by Hym not regardyd, shuld be cause to make herafter Your Highnesse lesse redy to fulfylle his deseyris. Wherfore we prayd Hym right instantly, bothe for his honour and his conscience, to regarde this matier accordingly; trustyng to have off Hym more faverable answere in the premysses, than his Counsell had gyven unto us.

To our saide declaracion and requestis He made answer, sayng that where certayn reportis had commen unto Hym dyvers ways of the liege of Italy, peradventure by suche as wolde rather say the worst then the best, in whiche mater Sir Gregory de Casalis, as He was many ways infourmyd, was a greate doer and muche had spokyn, albeit He never doubtyd of your faithfull love and good benyvolence toward his avauncement and honour, lyke as Ye myght be sure of lyke correspondence in Hym (at whiche wordis He layd his handis upon his breste); yet He was glad to here Your Hyghnes mynde so declaryd, as we, being your servaundis, had doone. Albeit He saide, that of the saide practises of Italy He hath herd right muche, and yet He never dobtyd of your good mynde towardis Hym. And wher as an answer had been gevin unto us by his Counsaile that He wolde sende an Ambassadour unto Your Highnes to treat with You upon all maters, He saide that upon suche communications as was betwixt his Counsell and us, He undirstode that we wold, neyther by our commyssyon myght, entre any newe liege; whiche He thought was expedient for You bothe, and not only to stonde in the olde, but rather augment and increase the same, seing the good intelligence that always hath been bytwix You. And for that purpose He saide He was myndyd to sende a good personage unto You, not oonly for that entente, but also to take a full appointment upon all his dettes, whiche He wolde undoubtydly see contentyd unto Your

Your Highnes. And, as to the avauncement of any payment at this tyme, He sayd, truth it is that som money He shuld receyve at his first payment, but undobtedly it was spente bifore the hande, and the residewe shulde be at days; so that it shuld not be in his pouer to make any maner of payment now, his present estate and necessitie consideryd. And as to the discharge of the matrymony with my Lady Pryncesse, He said his Counsell and He had debatyd that matier, and they doo shew Hym that He is dischargyd bothe in lawe and conscience. Wherfore He saide suche answer, as his Counsell had gyven us, shuld be fulfillyd and accomplisshid. After He had made an ende, we sayde unto Hym, that the matrimony and the warr were 2 contractis made bytwixt You; and that touching the matrimony, Your Highnes reputyd Yourself and Hym bothe yet chargyd; wherfore for discharge of bothe your consciences yt were requisite to bee dissolvyd by common consent, besydys that ellis shuldnot be lyke correspondences of gratytude, seing Ye have doon all Ye coulde to accomplishe his desyre. Herunto He said that his Counsaile have shewid Hym that He was dischargyd bothe in law and in conscience, and that his Ambassatour shulde treate of all matiers: and further we could not get Hym. And albeit we replyyd instantly agayne to have had som somme of money at this tyme, stykkyng muche with Hym therupon, yet we could not have other answer then is bifore, so that we could not get Hym to change noo poynt of his resolute answer, geving us by his Counsell, by noo mean.

Byfore our departyng from Hym we shewid Hym how Your Highnes wolde be glad to here of som good concord betwixt Hym and the Frenche Kyng, whom Ye wolde be glad to see restoryd to his libertie, unto whiche tyme sure peax cannot be in Christiendom; makyng instaunce unto Hym, that this meting and practise, nowe renewyd, shuld not passe without fructe of peax, as the laste dyd; but that now He wold be soo moderate in his demaundis, that men myght know He remytted somwhat for the wealle of peax, whiche shulde bee not oonly to the pleasure of Almyghty God, but also to his great honour. Herunto He sayd, "We be aboute yt fast, and not so far "of, but that We may com to agre:" but specialtie of offers He wolde shew us non, but saide that emong other thingis they offer Hym lyke condicions of peax, as they have made with Your Highnes, and yet further, yf He will: and more we could not knowe of Hym.

Thus other answer for your debtis, or your consent to the mariage of Portingale, then is bifore expressyd, we can by noo means attayne, albeit we have usyd therin all the dexteritie that we coulde, and employd our possible diligence, whiche cannot prevaile, but all is remytted to the sending of that Ambassadour, whiche they say shall come; but who or when, yet we know not,

albeit we have demaundyd that of them, and they say he is not yet appointyd. Sens that day that we founde the Chancellour so displesaunt for the letters sent, as he sayde, fro Roome and Venice, they have ever prolongyd us, and finally made us this answer. Further then whiche we cannot get theym. Whedyr they put over and tary, unto their maters be at a poynt with the Frenche Kyng, who they say shall discharge theym of the indempnytie, or they will see what newes Maister Almoner shall brynge, wose message they fere sore to bee displesaunt; or both, whiche is not unlyke; we knowe not.

And where Your Highnes in your last letters of the 30ti of Octobre thinkyth by our wordys put in thende of our letter of the 5th of the same, that the Counsell here shulde have saide unto us that thEmperour shuld bee at his libertie for his mariage with Portingale, wherunto we seme to have made at that tyme noo answer, as if also we soo had takyn it; if it lyke Your Highnes we wrote these wordis, videlicet, "that they repute your consente as gevyn, by "makyng your peax:" whiche we wrote not, bicause they saide so expressidly unto us at that tyme, whiche they dyd not; for suche wordis as thEmperour and the Chancellour sayde unto us expressydly, we wrote as nygh as we could in our letters then: but we wrote that they so reputyd yt, by that we sawe so in their dedis; for that same day that we shewyd thEmperour of your peax takyn, after we were departyd, thAmbassatour of Portingale was sent for to the Courte, with whom they had longe conference, and the next day a currour dispachyd in to Portingale. And all the Spanyardis spake openly, that thEmperour now wolde take the suster of Portingale: whose saynges we could not lette, whiche made us to put in those wordis in our saide letter, and not that the Counsaile soo expressidly saide at that tyme; sens in all our communications with theym, when they so have sayde, we have answeryd as before is wrytten, albeit it hath not prevaylyd.

We have also resortyd unto my Lorde Legate, as we have doon twys before, makyng unto hym your moost herty recommendations, and shewing hym what commaundement Your Highnes hath gevyn us to procure, and solicite to thEmperour, the spedy deliveraunce of the Frenche Kyng oute of captivitie, upon reasonable and convenyent raunsom, and that we be advertysyd how our Holy Father the Pope shulde wryte to hym for the same purpose, and that we be comaundyd to joyne with hym to goo to thEmperour to solicite that matier, for the weal of peax, whan any stykkyng shuld bee. Wherfore, sens nowe we here say that Madam de Alancon is on hir departing, whiche is signe of breche lyke to ensue, we desyryd to know, what he thought best to be doon; offryng ourself redy to geve attendaunce upon hym for the cause aforesaide, desyring to knowe his avyse, what he thought expedient for the

the soner avauncement of peax and of his delyvery. He answeryd us, muche thanking Your Highnes of your kynde remembraunce, and offring hymself in all thinges wherin he myght doo pleasure or service to the same. And as to the procurment of the Frenche Kynges delivery, he saide the Pope had written unto, that by all good and fayre means he shulde avaunce his restitucion, wherin he saide he had alredy movyd thEmperour; Who answeryd that for redempcion of the Frenche Kyng, He askyth nothing but his owne landes, and not oon foote of the Frenche Kinges, whiche of reason could not be denyyd: wherat He stake. And now he saide he knewe not what poynt they were at, neydyr by the oon parte nor the odyr, but muche secrete practise they had togedyr: sayng further unto us that, yf we shall repayre to thEmperour to be mediatours, we must fyrst know the specialties of the stykkyng, and therupon move thEmperour; whiche not knowne, we shalnot know what to say, but be as blynde men goyng wyde of the way that they wold kepe. And further he saide at suche pointis and offres as the Frenchemen make theymself, we may not lett or hynder those, nor move thEmperour to relent in them, lest He take us not as mediatours of concord, but of discorde, and as adversaries. Wherfore fyrst he sayde we muste know assurydly what offres be made, and what is further demaundyd and denyyd, and therupon procede; whiche, he sayde, whan we knowe assurydly, we myght speke, and not bifore, and he wold bee redy with a good will for the welth of peax therunto. Wherupon, after debatyng with hym, we toke this resolution, that, yf he knew assurydly bifore us the poyntis of stykkyng, he shuld advertyse us, and we hym lyke wise, and therupon procede to move thEmperour. He semyd to us to fere, lest the secretie of this their practise myght be to trouble odyr, when they shuld agre, and that they shuld not care to make odyr peax, then bitwyxt them selfes to knytte togedyr. He shewyd us further that now late out of Italy newis shulde be comon, wherof yet he hath noo wryting, that in Mylan certain commocions shuld have bene by the people, for that the Marquis of Pyscare wold have enteryd the castell of Milan; but what it was, he knew not of certaintie. He saide also that the Duc of Mylan ys yet syke and feble, and movyth noo thynge but his tonge; all his odyr membres be takyn with suche feblenes, that he cannot move them hymself.

And, Sir, with the grace of Almyghty God, Your Highnes shall ever fynde us your trewe subgiettes and faithfull servauntes in the handling of your commaundmentes pleasours and affayres, so that to the best of our small discretions our actis and doinges may concurre and folow Your Gracis commaundmentis and pleasures, as Your Highnes willeth us that they may; or ellis God geve us noo longer to lyve. Lykwise, as we trust it to bee Your Highnes

Highnes pleasure that in the executing of your pleasures and commaundementis, suche reportis as we here in any thing touching Your Grace or your affayres, we shall also advertise You therof bothe plainely and clerly, whiche whan Your Highnes shall here, Ye may better juge by your high wisdom, than we can, what regarde is to be had unto them. And where as Your Grace thinkith that here they dele not sincerly with us, but geve us knowlege of suche reportis, as doo make for their purpose, and not otherwise; surely byfore that they had knowlege of your peax there concludyd, for any thing that we could parceyve in all the comon affayres, they usyd with us playne and sincere maner; but sens the knowlege of the conclusion of your saide peax, we have well perceyvyd, that they have usyd us in suche maner as Your Grace writyth, as may appere by parte of our letters at this tyme.

And surely, Sir, to cause thEmperour to accepte the conclusion of your peax in best parte, and that Your Grace hath doon Hym muche pleasour and gratuitie, to deliver Hym from muche travayle and greate cumberaunce, that ellis He shuld have had, in thappoyntment of your waighty and great matiers, we have usyd all the persuasions and polityke means that we coulde, bothe towardis his owne Person and other his Counsell; soo that He sayth Hymself He is right well contente with it, and glad that Your Highnes hath your appoyntment to your contentacion. Albeit we cannot cause it soo well to synke in the myndis of some of his Counsell, but for to cause Hym to beleve any pleasure or gratuity towardis Hym by the same, (we be bounde to write playne to Your Highnes) in noo maner of wise we can perceve, that He doth accept it as any gratuitie and pleasure doon to Hym therby for any our persuasions. For his Counsell saith that where the Frenche men bifore were in fear bothe of Your Highnes and Hym, now that they have made theyr appointment with Your Grace, they be the more styff to apply to any good accorde with Hym. Notwithstandyng, now at our last being with thEmperour, He, putting his hande upon his breste, sayde, by his faithe, that He hathe as good truste of the faythfull love and good benyvolence of Your Grace towardis Hym, as ever He hath had, and berith lykewyse towardis Your Highnes the same.

That is not material.[1]

And, Sir, in convenyent tyme, whan so ever we may know the Emperour at a poynt to conclude his peax, we shalnot faile to use the best meanes and persuasions, that we can, to induce Hym to avaunce the corroboration of your peax; the whiche we beseche Almyghty God may prosperously contynue to the pleasure of Hym and Your Highnes. And surely, Sir, Your Highnes hath

[1] In the handwriting of Sir Brian Tuke, as is also the apostile in p. 520.

gevyn

gevyn not oonly to thEmperour, but to all other hedis and Pryncis spirituall and temperall, a vertuose and gratyouse example in this tyme of extreme nede of peax in Christiendom, not oonly to incline to the same, and to remove all other affeccions to the contrary, but also to embrace it with all celeritie, and not to persist in high demaundis or other inordynate ambitions; whiche example we pray Almyghty God to graunt theym grace to folow. And we fynde many here, suche as bee not blynded with private and singuler affeccions, that desyre and pray the same.

Before the inclosing of these letters, bicause we wold not omytte any thing to us possible to know, at what point the affayres bitwixt the Frenche King and thEmperour doo stonde, we sente for the Frenche Secretary, whiche sens the last comyng hither of thAmbassatours never resortyd unto us, save at theyr retourning, albeit at his being with us we offred our self ever redy to solicite and procure the redemption of his maister, whan any difficultie shulde arryse, opon knowlege geven unto us; lyke as we eftsones now have renuyd the same offre. Signyfying also now unto hym, how at your laste being with thEmperour, we on Your Highnes behalf had made new instaunce, to the best that we could, for the delyvery of his maister, and what answer we had, and how we had in commaundement, yf Madam de Alancon were here, to resorte unto hyr, and after your moost herty recommendacions to declare unto hir, what expresse commaundement we have to procure, and solicite to thEmperour, the spedy delyverye of the Frenche Kyng out of captyvytie, upon reasonable and convenyent raunsom, and to offre unto hyr on Your Highnes behalf the honour and pleasure that were in our pouer, whiche we wold be redy to doo; praying hym soo to signifie, not oonly unto hyr, but also to the Kyng his maister; desyring of hym to know what poynt they restyd upon, seing Madam was entryd upon hyr departyng. Who, after thankis gyvyn unto Your Highnes and to us for the offre that we made, sayng he wold signyfie to my Lady, who was departyd, by writyng, and to the Frenche Kyng also by mouthe, what we had shewyd hym; soo entryng his matier, saide unto us, that, lyke as at his laste being with us he had shewyd us, thre myllions had been offred to thEmperour for redempcion of his maister, oon good somme in hande, and the odyr at days, thEmperour styll demaundynge Burgoinge; and after muche debating and stykkyng, he saide that, if thEmperour shulde take money, he demaundyd for the payment the Dolphyn with certain other in hostagis, and the Frenchemen offre the odyr 2 younger sonnes, but the Dolphyn, whiche is their next heyre, they never wyll parte with; and therupon Madam departyd, seing the day of treux is nere, and the way home longe, sayng that the

the peple of Fraunce will have the Dolphyn to Parys, there to have hym in suretie, what so ever shall worth of the Kynge, whiche is sykly. Houbeit he said, thArchibishop Dambron and the President of Parys the nyght bifore wente to Madryll, the thryd Oratour taryyng here, whider thre of thEmperours Counsaile shall goo also (whiche we undyrstonde also by them), ther with the Kyng to take som resolution upon thes difficulties, whiche he reputyd (as it semyd) to be faysible. After he had made an ende, we sayde we undirstode by som of thEmperours folkys, how Burgoinge shuld be restoryd, and hostagis gyvyn therfore; wherat was all the stykking. He sayde how, bicause thEmperour to all men makithe suche a justification of his tytle, that yf it were trew, as it is not, it were to bee regardyd. For that cause muche debatyng had ben therupon, and communication to have chosyn arbitrours and an umpyre, for trying of the tytle, and the restitution of the possession of the sayde Duchy of Burgoing oonly, without odyr 2 counties annexid unto yt, to have been made upon hostagis sufficient for soo great a mater; whiche shuld have ben gevyn by the Frenche Kyng and thEmperour also for restitution of the possessyon therof, if tharbytrours had awardyd agaynst Hym. Whiche awarde shuld have been gevyn within 3 yeres. But he sayde, after thEmperour sawe the many difficulties therof, and that He must restore the said Duchy, if it were jugyd against Hym, He herkenyd to the money as bifore he had shewyd us. And at this poynt they were, as he sayde.

It is like the Emperour shall take the money.

Soo bicause it is uncertayn how longe the meting at Madrill may contynue, we thought best noo longer to retard thes our letters, but with all diligence to advertyse Your Highnes, bothe what answer hath been made unto us touchyng your debtis, and your consente to the maryage of Portyngale, and also at what poynt thEmperour and the Frenche Kyng do stonde; whiche Ye have, bothe ways, albeit they agre not. This metyng at Madryll is lyke to make up all; for in that bothe parties have good hope, as we know also by thEmperours partie, a secrete way. Our opynyon is this, if Burgoin goo fro the Frenche Kyng, the mariage desyryd by Hym commyth with; of whiche mariage to be demaundyd, the Secretary never wold make mention to us. If it com to the point of money oonly, we thinke the mariage shalnot be had. Whan the certaintie is knowne, we shall advertyse Your Highnes.

We have also spokyn with thAmbassatour of Venyce, whiche hath been with us, and shewyd us that, whan tyme shall be, he will joynge with my Lorde Legate and us; and semyd to us to offer yt with a veray good will to be redy therunto.

And that Your Highnes hath not herde worde from us sens the 5th of Octobre by

by our letter, bee for two causis shall appere; oon is the Frenche Kinges great syknes lastyng a hole monyth, and all his matiers cessing, as if He had not been in Spayne; the odyr, that unto the 26th day of Novembre last we could never have answer of Your Highnes debtis, but dylayd fro day to day, as bifore; and thanswer at the Emperours hande was made the 28th day of the same.

Suche great personagis of Spayn, as shuld goo to receyve the suster of Portyngale, bee yet here, and shall goo shortly; their going hath been protractyd from day to day, upon taryyng of this agrement with Fraunce, whiche yet stayth their journey.

And, where Your Highnes desyrith to know what thEmperour entendith touching the takyng of his crowne Imperiall; by that we can undirstonde, noothing is determynyd yet touching that mater, nor shalbe, as we thynke, unto He be at som poynt with Fraunce. His artillary was in shipping at Fontraby, to have been brought aboute to Malaga through the Straytis, there to be redy; but wedyr it be comon, we cannot yet know. When we shall go to Cyvyl, there shall we know, and advertise therupon Your Highnes; Whiche Almyghty Jhesu preserve to His pleasure and yours, with encrease of muche honour. From Tolledo, the secunde day of Decembre.

By Your Gracis moost humble
servauntes subgiectes and chaplayns,
(*Signed*) CUTHBERT LONDOÑ.
RICHARD SAMPSON.

CXXVIII. TUNSTALL *to* WOLSEY.[1]

PLEASITH it your Grace to undirstond, that at this tyme we write to the Kinges Hyghnes at lengthe of such newes, as we can attayn to the knowlege off, concernynge the peax made betwyx thEmperour and the French Kinge[2]; for

[1] Holograph. Wolsey's Correspondence, Vol. XII. leaf 117.

[2] The Ambassadors (Tunstall, Sampson, and Lee), in a letter dated at Toledo the 26th of January, continue the narrative of transactions from the 2d of December down to that date. They state that soon after their letters of the 2d of December the Emperor sent the Viceroy Don Hugh Moncada, and John Alemand, to Madrid, as Commissioners, to treat with the French King, Who refused to treat with them, until they had full commission to conclude. After some little delay that authority was obtained, and it was resolved that the French King should marry the Queen

for knowlege wheroff I shall remitte your Grace to the Kinges letter, which I know shall come to your handes. At thys tyme off our departinge thEmperour was aboute to compound his maters with the Potentates off Italy, and had entryd communication cheffly with the Legate. At our spekinge thys day with the French Kinge, He made mych mention, how frendly He had, at thys tyme off his adversite, found not oonly the Kinges Hyghnes, but also your Grace, which your kyndnes He sayd He wold have in his remembraunce, affter such sorte, that ye should undirstond He wer not a Prince obliviose or ingrate. What good words He had off the Kinges Highnes we write at thys

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of Portugal. A difficulty then occurred how to content the Duke of Bourbon, to whom the same lady had been promised by the Emperor. The Chancellor and another of the Council "stuck styff "in it," even so far as to incur the displeasure of the Emperor, by saying that He had trained the Duke out of France only upon hope of that marriage, and that now breaking it off would be to the dishonour of the Emperor. It was at last agreed to in the Council, and then opened to the Duke, "to se howe he coulde bee contentyd therwith, offring great recompenses, first by "mynisters, and after by thEmperour Hymself." Upon a report that peace should be concluded, the English Ambassadors desired the Imperial Chancellor to insert some article, whereby the King's peace with France might be more strongly kept, and the French King more wary to break any article thereof.

They then state that much negociation took place till the 8th of January, on which day Dr. Lee entered Toledo, and on the 10th had his first public audience of the Emperor, when he declared his credence to the effect that Henry VIII. had sent him to replace Sir Richard Wyngfeld, and at the same time to revoke the Bishop of London and Dr. Sampson, and that he only was to remain as Minister at the Emperor's Court; that he was to declare the good affection Henry bore to the Emperor, and that, as He had consented to the marriage with Portugal, He trusted the same amity and friendship should continue between Them; and finally that the Emperor would, for many great and weighty causes, come to a good peace with France, in which he, the Ambassador, was to use all the good offices he could.

They then detail the Emperor's answers to these several points, and also various particulars of the negociation with the French, which, after much debating, was finally concluded, and the articles of peace with France settled.

On the 22d the Ambassadors, Tunstall and Sampson, have an audience of the Emperor to take their leave, and request permission to visit the French King at Madrid on their journey homeward, which the Emperor grants them; and on the morrow after they take leave of the Chancellor, who informs them that the Archbishop of Barry had been nominated as Ambassador to England to bring the negociations relative to the debts to a conclusion, but that he was at present detained by illness.

They then state that on the 21st the Viceroy, as Proctor for the Queen Dowager of Portugal, was at Madrid with the French King, where the assurance was made betwixt Him and the said Queen. On the 26th, the date of this despatch, Tunstall and Sampson commence their journey towards England. Vespasian, C. III. leaf 214.

By a subsequent letter, dated on the 28th, it appears they arrived at Madrid on the evening of the 27th of January, and next day had an audience of Francis, Who desired them to express his gratitude to Henry for the kindness shown to Him during his captivity, which He would well remember and return when He regained his liberty. Ibid. leaf 222.

The treaty of peace with France, which was concluded on the 14th of January, is printed in le Recueil des Traités, Tom. II. p. 112.

tyme

tyme to Hym, which were as ample as we writte them, and rather more; and He semyd to be joyus that we, in passynge by, procured to se Hym, and toke it veray thankfully. He is veray pale, but hys eygh is veray quykke; his strenght is not yet recoveryd.

We shal, God willinge, make such spede, as the shorte days and fowle way wyl suffre us in makinge our retourne. I have late, sens the commyng off Mr Almoner, be sore vexed with a catarre, which made distillationem in pulmonem, so that the vehemency theroff droff me into a febre 5 or 6 days, which hath totally take a way al my strength to begyn thys jorney with: I pray God I may be able to overcumme yt. And thus Almyghty Jhesus preserve your Grace to hys pleasour and yours. From Madryl, the 28th day off Januarie.

By your Graces most
humble beedman,
CUTHBERT LONDOÑ.

(*Superscribed*)
To my Lorde Legates Grace.

CXXIX. DR. LEE *to* KING HENRY VIII.[1]

PLEASE it Your Highnes to understond that the 12th of Februarie departed from this citie the Emperours Magestie towards Madrill, wher the Frensh Kyng is, to delyver Hym towardes his jornaye in to Fraunce, wher His Magestie entendeth to passe the tyme with the saied Frensh Kyng 3 or 4 dayes, and then to departe towards Civil, there to meet with the Imperatrice, whiche nowe is commen to Badajoce in the borders of Castill. It is not yet knowen, whider His Magestie entendethe from thensse; it is thowght to Granado, and then to Barzilona, ther to take shippeng in to Italie, if He maye bee furnisshed to entre that jornaye this yere, wiche wiese men think will not bee. The Duc of Burbonne departethe this daye towards Barzilona, ther to take shippeng in to Italie. He hathe alredie taken leave of the Emperour. The Frensh

[1] Holograph. From letters to the King and Council, Vol. III. No. 15. Lee on the same day wrote a short holograph letter to Wolsey, which is among Wolsey's Correspondence, Vol. VII. leaf 102. The King's instructions to Lee are in the Cambridge University Library, E e. 4. 27. p. 5. He appears to have written both to the King and Wolsey from Bourdeaux on the 2d of December, and to the latter from Toledo on the 26th of January.

Qween[1] shall shortelie departe towardes Burgos, and from thensse after delyveraunce of Burgonne, and at retourne of the pledges She shall, accompanied with them, take jornaye towardes Fraunce. The Greate Mastre, Your Graces assured hertie servante, in my mynd shall departe from Madrill to take possession of Burgonne, ther to tarie and remaigne, of whome I, your pover Oratour, shall have greate lack.

Sir, toocheng the articles of this treatie with the Frenshe Kyng, I can no suertie write to Your Highnes but onelie of Burgonne. The Oratour of Savoye, wiche hathe good intelligence, as well in this as in the Frenshe Courte, shewed me that the Frensh Kyng hathe renownced all his titles and claymes of Naples, Cicil, Myllan, and Tornaye, and with this the superiorite of Flawnders.

I demawnded of the Bisshoppe of Tarbes[2], the Frenshe Oratour, whider they had entred any article to dyscharge the Emperour towardes Your Grace for the obligation of indempnite. He answered that the Frenshe Kynge is bownde to answer for the Emperour to Your Highnes the areraiges, as well for Your Highnes as for the Qween your deerest sustre. At whiche communication he shewed me that the Frenshe Kynges mynd was, that he shold commune with me all thynges concernynge his affaiers; but, whan we shold have mett theropon, he was departed to Madrill, and retorned no more to this citie.

Sir, Your Highnes is advertised by our commen letter, sent to Your Highnes by the Knyght of the Rodes opon the pointe of departing of my Lord of London from hensse, of suche answer as was made to us toocheng your debtes, wiche letters I trust bee commen to Your Highnes handes, or shortelie shalbee. Nowe, because the Emperour departethe hensse, and that I judged the Arbisshoppe of Barrie (whome His Magestie appointed to have sent to Your Highnes, if he had been in good healthe,) nowe to bee at good pointe, as to my sight did appeer, I reduced to the Emperours memorie the saied answer, making humble request that, forbicause the saied Arbisshope, as I judged, was in good healthe, and that Your Highnes mutche nowe is desirouse to heer from His Magestie toocheng the saied debtes, and wold nowe everie daye looke for the commyng of the saied Arbisshope or of somme ooder from His Magestie, it myght liek His Magestie acording to his promesse to dispatche

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[1] Eleanora, Queen Dowager of Portugal, Who by the treaty of Madrid was affianced to Francis. Clerk in December preceding, in detailing various speculations, whether the marriage would take effect or not, says, "At sondre tymys of late my Lady" (the Regent) "hathe shewid me that "Madam Elionora hathe clerlye changyd her wydows apparell, and caused Her selfe to be callyd "the Frenche Queen." Caligula, D. IX. leaf 279.

[2] Gabriel de Grammont, Ambassador to England in 1527. See Vol. I. p. 197.

the

the saied Archebisshoppe with all speede opportune and convenient. Wherunto He made answer by the Chauncelour in presence, that the saied Bisshoppe avowethe hym self not to bee in healthe; and that assoone as he is well recovered, he shold bee sent towardes Your Highnesse with ample commission, aswell to entreate of your debtes as also of ooder thinges, and that nowe at this tyme he shold have gonne with the Frensh Qween in to Fraunce, and so in to Englond, if his healthe wold have suffred.

Sir, on Fridaye next to comme, that is the 16th of Februarie, I entend, by Godes grace, to departe towardes Civil in the companie of the Chauncelour, as ooder Oratours doo, by Corduba; and ther and everie wher, during my lief, shall endevour my self to doo Your Highnes, to the best of this pover witt and power, most diligent service, that possible in me maye bee, wiche I most humblie beseche Your Highnes to take in good parte. The Holie Gost evermore bee with Your Highnes. At Tolledo, the 13th daye of Februarie.

Your Highnes most humble
subgiett and preest,
Edouarde Lee.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Kinges Highnes.

CXXX. Pope Clement VII. *to* Queen Catharine.

Clemens P̄P VII.

Carissima in Christo filia nostra, Salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem. Revocato ad Nos dilecto filio Melchiore Lango, nostro apud Serenitates Vestras Nuntio, quemadmodum et ex alijs nostris literis, et ex eo ipso cognoscere Tua Serenitas potuit, delegimus dilectum filium Ubertum de Gambara[1], Notarium nostrum, qui ob ingenium prudentiam aliasque virtutes suas, præclara cum nobilitate generis conjunctas, et ob antiquam familiaritatem, Nobis summopere acceptus et probatus est, ut ad Melchioris vicem et munus apud carissimum in Christo filium nostrum, Regem, conjugem tuum, Tuamque Serenitatem subeundum gerendumque, ac nostras et hujus Sanctæ Sedis res ad reipublicæ Christianæ bonum pertinentes agendas et curandas veniret. Quem quidem etsi minime dubitamus, et ab eodem serenissimo conjuge tuo, et a Te, et ab alijs istic omnibus ita benigne et grate exceptum iri, uti reliqui

[1] On the 3d of May Henry informed the Pope of the arrival of Gambara, and commended Langus, who was then recalled. (Vatican Papers.)

omnes

omnes a Nobis istuc missi; has tamen ad Serenitatem Tuam ei literas dare voluimus, consuetudine potius et more quodam adducti, quam necessitate ulla coacti. Quibus eam tantum hortamur ac requirimus, ut quicquid is nostro nomine cum ea colloquetur, id plena et indubitata fide audire et accipere velit. Nam cætera in eodem, tam apud ipsum Regem conjugem suum, quam ubicunque opus fuerit, sua ope auctoritate et gratia fovendo et adjuvando, eandem Serenitatem Tuam, et aliorum ut diximus exemplo, et tua humanitate, atque in hanc Sedem ac Nos filiali affectu freti, per se ipsam cumulate facturam in Domino jam expectamus. Quod quotienscunque acciderit, futurum est nobis semper quam gratissimum. Datum Romæ apud Sanctum Petrum, sub Annulo Piscatoris, die 26 Februarij, 1526, Pontificatus nostri anno tertio.

(*Signatur*) JA. SADOLETUS.

(*Superscribitur*)
Carissimæ in Christo filiæ nostræ Catherinæ,
Angliæ Reginæ illustri.

CXXXI. LEE *to* KING HENRY VIII.[1]

PLEASE it Your Highnes to undrestond that, afor my departing from Toledo towardes this citie, I sent letters to Your Highnes beareng date the 13th of Februarie, wherin I advertised the same of the Emperours answer made to me toocheng the dispatche of the Archbisshoppe of Barrie towards Your Highnes, with sufficient commission to take appointement with the same for the Emperours debtes; whiche letters I sent by the waye of Lyons, and trust thei bee comen to the handes of Your Highnes. Within fewe dayes aftre, I tooke my jornaye towards Civil, wher I arrived the 6 daye of Marche, and ther fownde the Emperatrice, wiche entred that citie the Saturdaye afor, beeing the third daye of Marche, ther abydeng the comeng of the Emperour, Who made entre in to this citie the 10th daye of the same, and the 11th daye, beeing Middle Lent Sondaye, abouts 2 of the clock in the mornyng, was maried secreatlie; the Legat dooeng the office. Howe long He will tarie heer, it is uncertayne; but as the Chauncelour sheweth me, He makethe preparation with all speede towards Italie; and the rathre, bicause He is nowe advertised of 2 greate armees, oone by sea, a nooder by lande, wiche

[1] Holograph. The passage printed in Italics is in cypher in the original despatch, which is in the Museum, Vespasian, C. III. leaf 223.

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the Turc hathe made redie to invade Italie and Hungarie. He tolde me also that the saied Turc hathe taken treaux with the Kyng of Poil, but with the Kyng of Hungarie he will none take. Wherfor the Emperour entendeth to help Hym with men and monaye. *Howe the Poope wol tak the Emperours commynge in to Italie, I doughte not but Your Highnes doothe understonde. But secretlie it is shwed me that the Poope and thEmperour have enstreated upon a mariaige betwen the bastard sonne of Magnifico Juliano the Pope is brodre, and the Emperours is bastard doughter. What is concluded or donne therin, I heer no fardre.* The Holie Gost evermore bee with Your Highnes. At Civil, the 12th of Marche.

Your preest and bownden beedman,

EDOUARDE LEE.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Kynges Highnes.

CXXXII. DR. TAYLER *to* WOLSEY.[1]

PLEYSYTH yt Your Grace to undyrstond that, syth the 19 day of Marche, at which tyme I wrotto your Grace[2] of the Kynges commyng to Bayona, hathe be no notable occasion to wryt unto your Grace, savyng that on the 3rd day after hys arryvall to Bayona, the which was the 20 day of Marche, ther ware generall processyons throgh all the cytie, and laudes to God for the Kynges liberation, and at the Cathidrall Chyrch preched the Byschop de Vance, whos antethema was "Domine, in virtute tua letabitur Rex." The same Byschop made the sermon that day that Madam Regent m[*ade*] hyr oth of the performance of the peas. The Cardinal Borbon bare the Sacrament undyr a canapy, the Kyng and hys modyr foloyd with tapyrs of virgin wax in ther handes, and all the Lordes torches, and so went a processyon abowte the cloustyr; and aftyr, solenly the Cardinall song hye mas. The 21 day the Kyng with Madam departed by watyr 3 le[*ages*] that nyght from Bayona, and the 28 day the Kyng come to a towne called Mountmarchant in Aquitania, belongyng to the Kyng of Navare, where He kept the fest of Ester, to my grete paciens, for in 8 days no servand, I had, come in any bedd. The same day I recey[*ved*] letters from your Grace, datyd at York Place

[1] From the Museum (Caligula, D. IX. leaf 175), slightly burnt at the edge.

[2] Ibid. leaf 172. This letter is a supplement to one of the preceding day. Both are printed by Ellis, 2d Series, Vol. I. pp. 331. 333.

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the 13 of March[1], the which war so moch to my comfort and joy, that in good feyth I cowd not of a tyme rede them for wepyng, and specially for that I hadde know[*lege*] that the Kynges Hyghnes and your Grace war content with my poore ser[*vices*] in these parties: of the which I thanke God. And albehyt that [*the*] most part of the contentes of your graciose lettyrs be much implyed [*in*] my last lettyrs from Bayona the 19 of Marche, yit that notwith[*standing*] the Kyng, whan He hard I hadd receyved lettyrs from Englond, [*sent*] me worde by Mons[r] Joachym, that He wold speke with me; and [*at* 10[2]] of the cloke in the nyght apon Good Fryday, aftyr He hadde made [*his*] collacion, His Grace come to me into hys garda roba, where war [*but*] feu persons; and theyrto, Hys Grace sittyng upon a bedd syde, b[*eing*] present Mons[r] Joachyn, I made cordiall salutations on the Ky[*nges*] Hyghnes behalf, and humble commendations from your Grace, [*in as*] ample and good maner as I cowde devise, accordyng to your graciose instroctions; schoyng what grete joy and comfort hyt [*were to*] the Kynges Hyghnes and your Grace to here of hys prosperose retorne into hys realme, and what tokyns of gladnes and laudes and praysynges to Almyghty God had be made in Englond for the peax concluded bytwix thEmperour and Hym; notwithstondyng that the Kyng our Soveraine Lord nor your Grace had not receyved from hens any certenty of any particularyties conteyned in the sayd peys, and yet bothe from Speyne, Rome, Venyce, and Flaundyrs, war come in England artycles of the seyd peys. Wherfore to Mons[r] Joachyn was imputed necligens that he shuld suffyr suche thynges to come from Venesy and Rome, raudyr than owt of Frans, to the whiche bettyr feyth schulde have be gyven. And there I shoyd to Hys Grace copyes, suche as your Grace send to me. And for the bettyr corroboracion and meyntenans of the love, by Godes grace and providens, now imprinted in the Kynges mynd and harte agynyst Hym, His Majeste intended shortlye to send a gentylman of hys Secrete Chambyr[3], by the whiche, in Hys Majestye name, shuld make congratulations of hys prosperose retorne to Fraunce, and also shuld schew unto Hym more effectualy of hys secrete mynde and feythfull desyre of thencrease of hys honor and prosperose successes.

The Kyng, whan He hadd very sobyrly harde me, muche lyke as He

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[1] In Caligula, D. IX. is an abstract of various letters to and from the Ambassadors in France between the 28th of February and the 20th of August (leaves 155–163), where the substance of Wolsey's letter of the 13th of March is given.

[2] The hour is supplied from the abstract.

[3] Sir Thomas Cheyne, whose original instructions under the Sign Manual are in the same Volume, leaf 164.

hadd

hadd seyd to me at Bayona, replyed, and recognised hys redemption libertye and retornyng into hys realme to the Kyng and your Grace; by the whiche yow hadd opteyned eternall memory, and not only bounde Hym, hys realme, and hys successors, but made theym sklaves and boundmen for ever: the whiche kyndenes He nodyr myght nor wold ever forgett, and that He spake those wordes both as Kyng and as a gentleman, the fidelitye whereof He set as much by, as by Hys Majeste, as He trusted hereafter shulde well appere; and yf God gaff Hym grace to continue in thys louff and feythful amyte, He wold make, that hys dere brodyr of Englonde shulde gyf laws to al the word; with many othyr good wordes.

And for excuse of the long diley and taryall of the tretye and articles of peys, Hys Grace toke to Hym all the blame; for He sayde, aftyr that He hadd promysed me at Bayona that Mons[r] Joachyn shuld be depa[*rted*] within 2 dayes at that tyme, He had knowlege that ther wer commyng to Hym Orators, on from the Pope, a nodyr from the Venecianys. And by cause He wold send by Mons[r] Joachyn to your Grace theffect of [*ther*] commyng, and to have the Kynges and your graciose counsel, He differred thex[*pedition*] of Mons[r] Joachyn. For He entendyth never to do thyng of any impor[*taunce*], but He wol use the counsel of the Kyng hys derest brodyr, and of your Grace hys fadyr, whom He is bound to honour duryng hys lyff; and ha[*th*] promysed that schortly Mons[r] Joachyn shalbe depeched: and so at service tyme tellyd me the Chaunsler, the whyche hath promysed me that he woll wryt lettyrs unto your Grace by the sayd Mons[r] Joachyn.

Ferthermor Hys Grace told me that as yistyrday come to Hym thEmperours Imbasators Mons[r] de Pratte and Schaviler Spinulose, that wa[*r with*] your Grace in Englond from thEmperour aftyr the fyld[1]; the whiche, in thEmperour name, required Hym to confyrme and performe all suche thynges as wer doo in Spayne. He askyd of them yff they hadd auctoritie to demaunde and receyve suche thynges of Hym; yf they hadd, they shuld come on the morow, and hys Counsel schuld make theym ans[*wer.*] With that answer Mons[r] de Pratte was somwhat moved, and seyd, "Syr, these thynges concerne "your oone dede, and require noo Counsaill: Yow have promysed to performe "them, as soone as Yow com into your r[*ealme.*"] The Kyng answered hym agayn, that He hadd lerned that in S[*payne*] of thEmperour, for ther was never an article in the treatye of pe[*ys, but*] He hadd with hys Counsel wel examened discussyd and determenyd [*it,*] to hys most profete; wher He hadd

[1] Of Pavia.

nodyr Counsel, nor was in libertye to dispute hyt. Wherfore now He wold as wel use hys one counsel in the confyrmation of the same, as thEmperour dydd in the makyng [*of it.*] These dileys Hys Grace usyth, that in the meane tyme He m[*ay sende*] the tretys and particularityes to the Kynges Hyghnes and your Grace.

Hys Graee hadd also a lettyr in hys hand, the which He sayd He receivyd from the Pope at service tyme, and hadd not as yit redd hyt. He trustyd that hyt was an answer of such thynges, as He desyred of the Pope, beyng in Speyn: after that He undyrstode that the Pope hadd take dileys with thEmperour, He usyd thys police: whyle the treatyes of peace and articles war in communication, He desyred of the Viceroy of Naplus, and other that hadd the charge of Hym, that they shuld not suffyr no Italiane to have accesse unto Hym, for they wold not be content that He shulde renounce the tytle of Italy. When the Italyons war prohibite they shuld have no resorte to Hym, they war the more desyros to fynd ways to com to Hym, insomoche that He hadd oon Ytalyon, a knyght of the Ordyr of Saynt John, the which He send to the Pope, desyring Hys Holynes that, in asmoche as He hadd take deleys with thEmperour for makyng the leage, that He wold not make new actes nor tretyes, tyl that the French Kyng war in Frauns. Of all whiche thynges your Grace shalbe advertysed by Monsr Joachyn.

Also Hys Grace tollyd me, that the Viceroy had wryt unto Hym, that He wold confyrme the promyse made in Speyne, that he myght bryng the Lady Elyenor into Frauns; for, yf hyt war longer differred, he could not do hyt; for he had comaundment to goo into Naplus. Unto that He answered that he myght bryng Hyr whan he wold, but He was well assured Sche shuld not be brought, tyll that He had confyrmed the treatyes. More specialtyes your Grace schal know by Monsr Joachyn.

Fynally, bycause more comodiosly and schortlyer He myght here from the Kynges Grace and yours, and moch spedylyer send to theym, He wold resort more to the partyes of Pycardye. My Lady the Kynges moder ys some what crasyd, that as yit I have not made to hyr from your Grace humble commendations; the which I wol doo, and also to Madam dAlancon, in the best maner I can. Sche ys a wyse and a mervelos well spokyn woman, and spekyth much honour of your Grace.

By your graciose letters I perceyve I shalhave som comfort of money, for the whiche I humbly thanke your Grace; for thys yere Michaelmas is past with me, that schuld come 12 monethes here aftyr.

Forthermore pleasyth hyt your Grace to understonde, that the Popys Nuncius,

Nuncius, and also the Imbasator of Venece, hath visited me with many feyr wordes and offertes of service. The Popys Nuncius seyd to me, that our Holy Fadyr hade gyf hym in commaundment that he shulde resorte to me, and conferre with me al thynges; and so wrytyth to me Mons[r] Gregorius de Casalis, et quasi inperando that I shuld wrytt unto hym all secretes and occurrentes here, and hath send unto me a zifre for the same (me semyth more than com to hys part). I answeryd the Popys Nuncius that in any thynd I cowd doo pleasur or service, I knowe well hyt was the pleasur of the Kynges Hyghnes and your Grace I shuld do hyt; but as for s[*ecretes*] concernyng my dutie and office here, I wolde not communicare cum Deo, exce[*pte by*] commaundment of your Grace. He had undyrstandyng that I hadde b[*een*] with the Kyng, and byganne to inquire of me many thynges concernyng the [*treatye*] of the peas. I schoyd hym the trothe. I know well that from Rome [*and*] Venice both, they had send copys of the said articles into Englond, and as yit here was no knolege of any article. Wherfore I dowte not, but they war well instructe in all thyng, or they come hydyr; and when they schuld be publisched here, they schulde have the kn[*owlege*] therof, as wel as I. And thus for that tyme we departed.

Of theffect of ther commyng, and al odyr necessaries, your Grace schalbe wel and plenarly satysfyed by Mons[r] Joachyn; the whiche hathe be to me both k[*ynde*] and lovyng in thys long viage, both in logynges and odyr thynges, and hath had good wordes and honorable reporte of your Grace, for the whiche I besech your Grace to thanke hym. Thus Jesu preserve your Grace. From Mountmarchant, in Aquitania, the 4th day of April, 1526. By your boundon servand, chapleyn, and beadman [1],

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[1] The signature is burnt off. Tayler in a subsequent letter of the 8th of April (Caligula, D. IX. leaf 178) states, that immediately after the despatching of Joachym from Montmarchant Tayler, in company with the Chancellor Du Prat, came to Bourdeaux, where they arrived on the 6th, and found Sir Thomas Cheyne, who had arrived there the same morning. In a letter from Cheyne to Henry VIII., on the 12th of April (Ibid. leaf 179), he reports the arrival of the French Court at Bourdeaux on the 9th, on which day he had audience of Francis, and delivered his letters and credentials.

CXXXIII. KING HENRY VIII. *to* POPE CLEMENT VII.[1]

BEATISSIME Pater, post humillimam commendationem et devotissima pedum oscula beatorum. Ingentem animi dolorem, qui ad multum tempus ob regni Hungarie a Turcis discrimen Nos torsit, gravissime nunc adauxit recens hec manifestaque ab illis ipsis calamitas, in qua constitutum esse Vestræ Sanctitatis Brevia die 8 Februarij[2] ad Nos data locupletissime enunciarunt, quem casum eo magis indolemus, quod non fuerit a Christianis Principibus inter se dissidentibus (ut sepe antea potuit) previsus, et quod in nostra solius, qui longe absumus, manu tam exiciosam a Christiana republica procellam depellere neutiquam situm sit. Quid enim Nos soli his Principibus (quorum ex propinquo magis hac in re negocium agitur) vix solide conciliatis, tanto intervallo ab Hungaria sejuncti prestare possumus? Nullius profecto momenti esset quicquid opis aut subsidij in sublevanda illius regni miseria a solis Nobis (qui tantum non modo in nostris, verum et amicorum tuendis causis impendimus) impresentia conferretur; incertique quid apud ceteros Principes (quorum preter communem causam hec res propius interest) statutum sit, videremur parum prudenter nostris actionibus consuluisse, nullaque in re potentes Turcarum apparatus repressisse; nam quum non desint, qui privatum publico preferunt negocium, coguntur ceteri communi quodam nature studio ad res suas stabiliendas animum convertere, haud temere suspicantes, ne aliorum communemve causam tuentes propriam periculis injurijsque obnoxiam deserant. Ceterum hujusmodi est innatus noster erga Christianam rempublicam zelus, ut saluberrima Vestræ Beatitudinis consilia et Deo acceptas adhortationes, qua debemus pietate, semper complexemur ac veneremur, tantique sunt apud Nos ponderis, ut nullis opibus, nullis periculis, nec proprio sanguini simus parcituri, si modo viderimus Nos nostram operam neutiquam lusuros, nec religioni causeque Christi, qui voluntatem nostram penitus habet exploratam, defendende facultates, quas ab illo accepimus, esse absque fructu effusuros. Proinde, si forsan maturius rebus Hungaricis prospicere expediat, quam conjuncta ulla in his sustinendis expeditio suscipi queat, Vestram Sanctitatem, cui non ambigimus fidem nostram perspectissimam esse, magnopere rogamus, ut aliorum Principum, qui Turcarum conatibus viciniores sunt, consilijs animisque cognitis, Nos velit efficere certiores, quæ vera sit et constans illorum mens, quidque singuli velint

[1] Copy from the Vatican Papers.

[2] Not found.

auxilij

auxilij in commune conferre, tunc ea rebus ipsis prestabimus, que Christianum Principem decent, et que Vestra Beatitudo sibi de Nobis polliceri possit, quemadmodum nostri apud eam Oratores uberius exponent, quibus fidem indubiam habere non gravabitur. Et felicissime ac diutissime valeat Sanctitas Vestra. Ex regia nostra Richemondie, die 16 Aprilis, 1526.[1]

Excellentissime Vestre Sanctitatis
devotissimus atque obsequentissimus Filius,
Dei Gratia, Rex Angliæ et Franciæ, Fidei
Defensor, ac Dominus Hiberniæ,

HENRICUS.

(*Superscribitur*)
Sanctissimo Clementissimoque
Domino, nostro Papæ.

CXXXIV. SIR ROBERT WYNGFELD *to* WOLSEY.[2]

PLEASYTH youre moost Reverend Grace to be advertysyd, that yistyrdaye I wroote my last lettyrs to the same; wheerfore these shall be but to avyse youre Grace that, aftyr I had dyspetchid a servaunte of myn to Andwarpe with my sayde lettyr to be sent from thence to Calleeyce, becawse that, as your Grace knoowith weell, the Kyngis postis weere brokyn upp moore thanne a monthe past, my fryende Mastir John Hackett aryvid hyere, soo that by his delyvere I reeceeyvid youre gracius lettyrs, beerynge daate at youre manoyre of Hampton Courte the 18th daye of the last monthe, by which youre gracius lettirs it pleasyd youre moost reverend Grace to avyse me of the admyssiun of my sayd fryend Hackett in to the Kyngis servyce, and that the Kyngis Highnesse, in concyderatiun of my longe demore in these paartyis, hath apoyntyd the sayde Mastyr John Hackett to reside in this Court as his servaunte and agent[3]; and farthermoore that the Kyngis high pleasyer is, that, afftyr I shall have presentyd hym to my Laady, and don oothir

[1] On the 23d of April Clement wrote to Henry on the same subject, urging Him to exert Himself against the infidels. Vitellius, B. VIII. leaf 28.

[2] Holograph. From Wolsey's Correspondence, Vol. XIV. leaf 23.

[3] Hackett's first letter to Wolsey is among the same Correspondence, Vol. VI. No. 24. It is dated from Ghent on the 14th of May, and relates to the business on which Hackett was sent to Louvaine, viz., to hire Conrad Gocolain (whether a physician or a priest seems doubtful, probably the former) to enter Wolsey's service, "for the assurance of £40 sterling a year," and "such "advauncement as his Grace might do him."

nessessary

nessessary thyngis expressid in youre sayde gratius lettyrs, that thanne I shall reetorne to Calleeyce[1]; and folowingly, wheere it pleasyth youre Graace to avyse me by youre sayde lettyrs of the Kyngis moost gratius remembraunce of his good servauntes, and farther, of high pleasyer which youre moost reverend Grace wyllythe me to kyepe secrette, &c. My good and gratius Lorde, fyrst in moost humble wyse I thanke youre moost reverende Grace, for that it hathe pleasyd the same to avyse me soo beenyngly of the Kyngis high pleasyer and yourys concernynge the premisses, for which, in steed of oothir recompence, the Kyngis Highnesse and youre Grace shall nott fayle of my contynuall prayer durynge my lyffe. And, as towchinge the Kyngis innate goodnesse of rememberynge his good servauntes (soo it pleasyth youre Grace to wryte), unto which nowmbyr I dar not adde my sylffe, but have right perfecte hoope that I maye weell be nowmbyrd amongst his obbeeysaunt lovynge faytheffull and trewe servauntes, and soo trust (with the heelpe and grace of Almyghty God) to contynu, as he which countyth hym sylffe as much or raather moore bownde to his Highnesse, thanne evyr was pore gentylman to his Sovereeyn Lorde and Maastyr; for of his high bounte it hath nott oonly pleasyd his Highnesse to rewarde me far above my meerytis, but also hath moost lyberally gevyn me all that I have of his owne goodnesse (and youre gratius procuration) withought oony sute maade by me: wheerfore in moost loowely and humbyll wyse I thanke His moost gratius Highnesse, and lyke wyse youre moost reverend Grace. And as towchynge the Kyngis pleasyer and gratius lyberalite toward me, which is nott yitt to be dyscloosyd, I shall be as obbeedyent to his high comawndment and pleasyer in that matter, as I have ben hethir to in alle oothir; for thoow to an oolde tre it must nyedys be somwhat dawngerus to be offte reemovid, yitt, for my parte, I yielde my sylffe entyerly to the wyll and pleasyer of the moost notable ortolane, trustynge that whanne by his high wysedam He shall perceeyve that the oolde tre for lakk of vegeetyve sprytis maye nott opteeyne perfect rotefastnesse, and that by the meane it waxsith insufficiente to reesyst the wynde, that thanne He wyll of his moost gratius pite cawse it to be undyrsett, or raather cut clyerly down, to be bestoowid in som moore qwiete place, of which in moost humble wyse I beseche His moost bounteous Highnes and youre moost prwdent Graace.

Also pleasyth youre Grace to undyrstonde that, in concyderatiun my Laady departyth hence to moorow towarde Gawnte, there is noo commodyus tyme hyre to present Mr Hackett to my Laady, and to taake my lyeve;

[1] He was Lieutenant of the castle of Calais. See his letter to Wolsey the 9th of June 1524. Wolsey's Correspondence, Vol. XIV. leaf 40.

wherfore

wherfore my fryende Hackett, havynge charge of youre Grace to do certeeyn beesynessys of yourys at Loveeyn, he is passid thedyr erly this mornynge, soo that I loke for hym hyere agayn this nyght. And, becawse that my Laady intendyth to tary in Gawnte somme dayis, my trust is, that sone afftyr she shall be aryvid theere, we shall have the commodyte to spyede owre besynes, so that I maye departe, and be at Calleeyce before the Feeste of the Hooly Spryte, who preserve youre moost Reverende Grace in prosperus heelthe with longe lyffe to his pleasyer. Wretyn at the town of Malyns, the 7th daye of Maye, 1526, by the hand of youre moost humble, &c.

WYNGFFELD R. S.

(*Superscribed*)
To my Loorde the Leegattes moost
Reverende Grace.

CXXXV. LEE *to* KING HENRY VIII.[1]

PLEASE it Your Highnes to undrestond, that albeit in my letters dated the 13th of Maye[2] I wrote to the same of the dispatche of an Ambassadour[3] from hensse towardes Your Highnes, yet aftre that, he was commawnded to tarie

[1] Holograph. Letters to the King and Council, Vol. III. No. 17. A letter to Wolsey of the same date is in Vespasian, C. III. leaf 248.

[2] This letter is ibid. leaf 244.

[3] On the 15th of April (ibid. leaf 232) Lee wrote to Wolsey a long despatch, reporting various interviews with the Emperor's ministers relative to the objects of his mission, the principal of which was to demand payment in ready money of the debts due to Henry. On this point the Emperor would give no direct answer to Lee, but declared He would send an ambassador to England for that purpose. Considerable delay was occasioned by the Emperor considering Himself excommunicated, because He had ordered the execution of the Bishop of Zamora, who had been a principal in the insurrection of Toledo, and had recently killed his keeper in prison; and the Emperor would not appear in public, until He had received absolution from Rome. Another cause of delay was the difficulty in the selection of an ambassador; the appointment being considered obnoxious to Henry, in consequence of the Emperor having married with the Princess of Portugal pending negotiations for a marriage with England. The appointment was first offered to the Archbishop of Barri, but he declined it. "He that was appointed the second tyme was "called Don John Stunica, who would not go." At last the Emperor nominated Don Inigo de Mendoza, the nephew of the Constable of Castile. In a letter to the King, of the same date (ibid. leaf 239) Lee confirms the appointment of Mendoza, and states in cypher the perplexity the Emperor was in about his marriage, and in another part adds, "Sire, thEmperour is mer-"veilously altered sithens his marriage. He is ful of dompes and solitary, musing sometyme "alone 3 or 4 houres togiders. There is no myrthe ne comforte with Him."

and

and departed not afor this daye the 21st of the monethe aforsaid. I thinke it wilbee towardes the eende of August, or he bee with Your Highnes. In ooder my letters I have declared to Your Highnes what he is, and of his qualities, wiche letters shall comme to your handes afor his commyng to Your Highnes presence.

The Legate heere sheuethe me that he hath certayne worde that a greate ost of Turcēs been arrived in Hungaria. I understond also that Don Ferdinando hathe writen lickwies to the Emperour. Somme saye that the merchauntes have letters that the Kynge of Hungarie is allredie becomme tributarie unto the Turke. At this tyme I have no ooder thing worthie writeng, but this commend Your Highnes to the continuall keeping of our Lord God. The 21th of Maye, at Sivil.

Your Highnes most bownden Preest,

Edouarde Lee,

Almosinar.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Kynges Highnes.

CXXXVI. Tayler *to* Wolsey.[1]

Sythe hyt hath pleasyd the Kynges Hyghnes and your Grace to call home Mr Cheyne[2] (howbehyt that I shall have grete lack of hys gentyll companye) I shall inforce meself to uttyrly abyde your graciose pleasure to do the best service I can. I assure your Grace Mr Cheyne hath behadde hym self here very substancially, and hath be familierly admytted in the Courte, bothe with the Kyng and Madam, and much cheryshede with all the Noblys; the which was a grett furderans to thexpedition of all suche thynges as was commytted to our charge; and had expedytly the Frenche langage to declare and purpose them. Wherin I shall have a greate lacke now aftyr hys departure. To make mention of hys feythfull diligens, hyt shall not nede; the frequent wrytyng of lettyrs declaryng the charges, and answeryng to the same, sufficiently wytnessyth hys diligent cure and bisines, the which he hathe takyn for the tyme of hys boode here to doo feythfull service to the Kynges Hyghnes and your Grace. And bycause of streyt logyng we have be compelled to be

[1] From Wolsey's Correspondence, Vol. XII. leaf 15.
[2] The letter of recal is not found.

togeddyr

togeddyr all the tyme that we have be at Cogniack, where he hath usyd me very gentylly, liberally, to my[1] gret cost and charges; wherfore I beseche your Grace on my behalf to thanke hym.

Ferthermore at thys tyme Mr Cheyne bryngyth with hym the Kynges othe[2]; and also a publik instrumente[2] made with insertion of the same. And the Kyng the 18 of May, byfore a Judge and Notarys, made hys summyssyon and ratification of all odyer thynges, et judex tulit sententiam[3], the whiche shalbe sende to Ambasydours there, as sone as they can have good wryters. Thus Jhesu preserve your Grace. From Cogniacke, on Trinitye Sonday.[4] By your most boundon servand and beadman,

(*Signed*) Jo. TAYLER Arch̃ of Bucks.

(*Superscribed*)
To my Lord Cardinales Grace.

CXXXVII. Ex literis Reverendi Domini Prothonotarij CASALIJ, xiij Junii Venetijs datis.[5]

POST ultimas meas literas[6] occurrit, quod Don Hugo de Moncada, statim post suum adventum Mediolanum, ingressus est arcem, sicuti hic inferius dicam latius, et scripsit huc literas ad Oratorem Cesareum, et alias literas ad

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[1] "hys" was first written, and (as it should seem) rightly; "my" is substituted by the same clerk's hand.

[2] Rymer, Vol. XIV. p. 175.

[3] In Wolsey's letter to Tayler and Cheyne of the 4th of May allusion is made to Francis's being obliged to make his submission to the censures of the Church, but the cause is not stated. (Caligula, D. IX. leaf 190.) On the 10th Wolsey wrote to Tayler a short letter, instructing him what he was to require of the French King, according to the treaty; viz.

"First, an oath to be made by the said French King in such fourme and maner as hath been "made here by the Kinges Highnes, according to such a minute as I have sent you alredy.

"Item, recognition and submission to be made by the said French King with an instrument "subscribed and sealed, and of like tenour as the Lady Regentes is, mutatis mutandis, testifying "the same submission and also the oth aforesaid.

"Item, the ratifications of the treaties of peace, of depredations, of the comprehencion of the "Scottes, of the Duke of Albanie, and of the dowary of the French Quene." Ibid. leaf 200 b.

[4] May 27th, which appears from Tayler's letter of 12th of June to have been the day of Cheyne's departure. Ibid. leaf 219.

[5] Record Office. Copy in the handwriting of Peter Vannes, to whom the original was probably addressed, as were the Protonotary's subsequent letters.

[6] Probably of 9th of June, of which date there is in the Record Office an extract, giving an account of the proceedings of the Emperor's troops.

Dominium credentiales. Dictus autem Orator sub credentia hec exposuit, videlicet, quod Don Hugo venerat missus a Cesare cum amplissimis mandatis componendi res Ducis Mediolani et Italiæ, et ob hanc causam nunc recta ibat ad Pontificem; et quod Cesar re vera summopere, ut semper antea, optabat pacem et quietem universalem, quem animum impresentia declarare volebat, in restitutione Ducis, et in benevola cum omnibus concordia: et multa in hanc sententiam p̄rotulit, ideoque rogabat Dominium, ut mittere vellet ad suum Oratorem Romæ existentem idoneum mandatum tractandi et concludendi hujusmodi concordiam, quam sperabat omnino placituram Sanctissimo Domino nostro, et huic Dominio, ceterisque omnibus. Addidit preterea dictus Orator, quod Hugo varijs ex locis et ex suis Capitaneis acceperat, quemadmodum Venetijs valde libere habebantur colloquia, et sermones adversus Cesarem, et quod illic innovabantur, et parabantur motiones copiarum, et quod Don Hugo super ea re scripserat, ut intelligeret mentem Venetorum, et quo pacto hujusmodi milites deberent sustineri, et quorsum tenderent tales apparatus. Quod vero ad pacem responderunt, se nemini cedere in illius desiderio, et quod eam imprimis appetunt, tum ob commune bonum, tum etiam ob Turcarum periculum, sed de responso illud concluderent cum matura consultatione, ut solent. Quod autem ad tumultus, et motiones bellorum, in hunc modum Dux respondit; scilicet, quod videntes Veneti Hispanos in armis esse, putaverunt tutum esse, ut ipsi quoque in armis essent; expedireque judicavit Dux quod, priusquam de his rebus quicquam inter se consultarent, accersirentur Oratores omnes, quorum hoc negocium intererat, illorumque sententie rogarentur. Atque ita primus omnium, Pontificis Legatus, deinde Baiocencis, prudenter et breviter multa loquuti sunt; concluseruntque ista omnia manifestissime esse nugacia et dolosa, et quod nullo pacto habenda erat eis fides, nec aures prebende, sed Cesareis libere et aperte respondendum esse. Sed Baiocensis erat aliquantulum suspensus, propterea quod Rex Gallorum juramento coegerat Nuncium Pontificis, et Agentem Dominij, ne ipsi aut eorum Domini quicquam retegerent de federe; sed Agens Ducis Mediolani clarum responsum petebat, nam hoc videbatur maxime expedire suo Duci; nam ex fœderis publicatione, obsidio relinqueretur, et confœderati non possent retrocedere, sed potius cogerentur urgere inceptum opus. Alia etiam erat causa ob quam federis publicationem exposcebat. Si enim Don Hugo in animo haberet ullam offerre conditionem, omnino utiliorem offerret, si videret fœdus publicatum. Ego vero consului nihil esse hujusmodi petitionibus respondendum, presertim quum vane essent et frivolæ; sed quia honesto aliquo responso opus erat offerentibus conditiones pacis, eram in hoc maxime anxius, nam maxima aderat difficultas, et presertim in his tribus: Primo, erat oblatio res Italas componendi, qua in re

re nihil prorsus hic agi poterat, nec audiri quidem, nisi prius concurrente Gallia, et Anglia: Secundo, accurate perpendenda erat intentio petentis, que dolose tendebat ad malum, qui prius tentare voluit animum Regis Gallorum; et id, quia non illi successit, venit Italiam tentaturus, ut alterutrum istorum, vel utrunque verius posset fallere: Tertio, considerandum erat, quid ex his practicis utilitatis posset Italie provenire. Et certe nil aliud nisi quod interim Arx Mediolani amitteretur, laberetur optima occasio, et ingereretur spacium hosti se preparandi. Primam vero consului non posse ullo modo admitti, inconsultis et non consentientibus Anglie et Francie Regibus. Ob ultimas vero duas causas, non debent ulle practice incipi aut cogitari cum Cesareis. Ideo nullum videbam quod illi daretur responsum: si tamen dubium aut fucatum dare vellent, omnino inducerent aliquam suspicionem Regi Gallorum, et Serenissime Regie Majestati; si vero aperte vellent agere, hoc ego non putabam expedire, ut nunc ita se detegerent. Igitur, hoc fuit meum consilium, ut hec responderent Oratori Cesareo, videlicet, quum ignorarent particularitates, quas afferebat Don Hugo, et quum ad Pontificem proficisceretur, ut Ejus Sanctitati cuncta exponeret, decrevisse idcirco ad Oratorem suum Rome existentem scribere, ut intellectis particularitatibus dicti Hugonis de Moncada respondeat illic pro rerum qualitate. Hoc meum judicium placuit multis; sed alia supererat difficultas, que erat in responso dando, quid sibi vellet copiarum apparatus; et ob hanc varietatem sententiarum, statim coactum est majus Consilium, quod dicitur Pregay. Et re inter illos consulta, in sequenti die nos accersiverunt, et responsum inter illos statum nobis Oratoribus minime placuit, et rursus rogate sunt sententie. Ceteri Oratores in sua opinione perstabant, et ego una cum his, qui mecum sentiebant, perstabam in mea, que plerisque probabatur, nisi quod multis videbatur ita esse respondendum, arctissimam scilicet intelligentiam esse inter Pontificem, Regem Gallorum, Serenissimam Regiam Majestatem, et Dominium Venetorum; ideo non posse, sine communi omnium consensu, de communibus rebus quicquam loqui, agere, seu tractare. Hodie, qui habetur dies 11 Junij, habebitur aliud consilium, in quo se resolvent de responso dando; et ego statim post illud significabo.

Magno cum desyderio cupio aliquando fieri certior, quid sim facturus. Nam isti Domini ad publicas suas actiones me vocant, et ego his intersum, et loquor animum meum: quibus si non adessem, Itali omnes haberent me suspectum, ne Serenissima Regia Majestas clam aliquid ageret; et si adsim, fortasse Cesarei ob id culpam aliquam apud Regiam Majestatem adversus me possent afferre. Tandem circa res publicas omnino probabatur quod differetur responsum, et inter cetera, ut interim afferentur litteræ a Duce Mediolani de his, que egerant Don Hugo et Caraciola. Accidit, ut postero die allate fuerint

literæ quas in Senatu perlegit Orator Mediolanensis. Don Hugo ingressus est arcem hora decimanona sexti diei Junij, sed primo per tympanistam hoc Duci nunciavit ex more, in hecque verba fuit Ducem alloquutus: " Cesar " eum in Italiam misit cum amplissimis mandatis dissolvendi obsidionem, et " pacifice restituendi illum in suo statu, et recipiendi ejus justificationes, que " solum accipiebantur colore et pretextu satisfaciendi Duci Borbonij, cui " promissus fuerat ille Ducatus. Verum tamen Cesari compertissimam esse " innocentiam dicti Ducis, et quod in modo bono redintegrarentur omnia." Ad que Dux respondit, fidelissimum se semper fuisse Cesari servitorem, sperareque suam innocentiam aliquando futuram toti orbi manifestam, rogavitque Hugonem, ut vellet illum ab obsidione liberare. Ad quod respondit Hugo, se hoc non habere in mandatis, nisi prius cum Pontifice et reliquis Italis compositis rebus; et sic intra biduum Romam decreverat proficisci. Prothonotarius Caracciola iverat ad Moronem, ut, si fieri posset, ex illius examine justificaretur innocentia Ducis, qui ad suum hic Oratorem responsum scripserat, quod Hugoni dederat, et quod omnino putabat, quod si voluisset illi fidem suam promittere, quod posthac obediens, et bonus servitor esset Cesari, omnino eum liberasset ab obsidione. Sed Dux suam liberationem alia via sperabat, et propterea se vehementer commendabat Dominis Venetis, et adhuc non intellexerat novum de federe, sed ille, qui secreto mittit utrinque literas, scribit se jam secreta via significasse Duci conclusionem federis.

Dux Venetiarum dixit se velle respondere in eam formam, quam ego monueram, Oratori Cesareo, premissis tamen quibusdam verbis, et colloquijs generalibus de pace; sed dixi, ut caverent, ne in verborum generalitate aliquam suspicionem parerent Regi Gallorum, et Serenissime Regie Majestati, et ne ullam intentionem darent novarum practicarum. Hodie mane misit ad nunciandum mihi, hoc traditum responsum, et Cesaris Oratorem fuisse delusum. Posthec Dux Venetorum dixit admodum expedire, ut super his rebus determinaretur, quo modo gerere se deberent cum Serenissima Regia Majestate; et hec res proposita, accersitis alijs Oratoribus, delata fuit ad me, statimque Dux subjunxit hec tantum proponi ab junioribus consultoribus, sibi vero exploratissimum esse bonum animum Regie Majestatis et causam dilationis, conveniens tamen esse, ut aperte nunc et libere ageretur. Ad quod respondi nullam super id commissionem me habere, sed facile illos intellexisse antea, quorsum tendat animus Regie Majestatis, et quid huc usque in eorum commodum egerit cum Gallis; et quamvis ipsa se nunc non declaret, tamen hujusmodi est cum Gallis sibi alligatio, et Gallis cum Venetis, ut jam possint de re omni certissimi esse, et super id multas rationes adduxi, que ipsi valde placuerunt.

Omnino valde conduceret, si sic videatur istic, ut Regia Majestas fedus ingrederetur,

ingrederetur; cum enim reverendissimus Dominus Legatus, et Regie Majestatis respectus, causa potissima fuerit, et origo fœderis, par etiam est ut debitum honorem et utilitatem consequantur. Si enim non ingrediente Rege, res Italice et Gallice componerentur, facile credendum est, quod non offerretur Regie Majestati eadem conditio, que nunc. Attamen ista omnia ego remitto prudentie reverendissimi Domini Legati.

Episcopus Laudensis scribit se multas difficultates invenire inter Helvetios, qui nimis grandia et injusta petunt, tamen se bene sperare de eis conducendis.

Veneti habent in aperto campo decem mille pedites, et mille et quingentos in munitionibus, octingentas lanceas, et septingentos equites leviores, et ducentos equites Albanesios.

Pontifex habet numerum militum electissimum, et maxime animatum contra Hispanos, qui mirabilia pollicentur; eorum numerum his adnexum ad vos mitto.

Generalis Capitaneus Pontificis est deputatus Marchio Mantue, qui preest ducentis gravioribus equitibus, et ducentis et quadraginta levioribus.

Gubernator exercitus est Comes Guido de Rangona; hic preest centum et viginti quinque equitibus gravioribus, et centum levioribus.

Gubernator Florentinorum est Dominus Vitellus, et hic preest centum gravioribus equitibus.

Dominus Nicolaus Vitellus preest quinquaginta sex equitibus gravioribus.

Dominus Alexander Vitellus preest centum levioribus equitibus.

CXXXVIII. Bishop Ghinucci *to* Wolsey.

Illustrissime et reverendissime Domine et Domine, ac benefactor unice, humillimam commendationem. Post novissimas literas, quas Dominationi vestræ illustrissime et reverendissimæ 21 presentis mensis scripsi, contigit quod Dux Mediolani, per nonnullos ex eis quos e castro emisisse tunc scripsi, significavit capitaneis Papæ et Venetorum, quod, nisi infra octo dies sibi succurrerent, ipse cogebatur sese in manus hostium tradere. Tandem Dux ipse, prout cum Duce Borbonij, Marchione Guasti, et Domino Antonio de Leva, capitaneis Cæsaris, convenerat, cum omnibus quos secum habebat, et etiam bonis, incolumem se 25 hujus ad exercitum Papæ et Venetorum contulit, a nonnullis Hispanis comitatus, et inde ad quoddam castrum, Monzam nuncupatum, a Mediolano per 10 milliaria distans, et per deputatos ab exercitu

Papæ

Papæ et Venetorum possessum, pervenit; ubi morabitur, donec Hispani milites sibi dimittant quandam munitissimam Ducatus Mediolani civitatem, Comum appellatam, quam Duci in conditionibus cum eo factis liberam cum omni jurisdictione et redditibus donarunt.

Castro Mediolani Dux Borbonij unum, Marchio Guasti alium, et Antonius de Leva tertium, prefecerunt, et sunt intus Germani partim, et partim Hispani milites.

Exercitus Papæ et Venetorum adhuc est ad mœnia Mediolani, sed communiter creditur iterum se ad Marignanum retracturus, ibique moraturus, donec exercitus Regis Christianissimi compareat, vel aliud spei habeant ex ultramontanis partibus.

[1] Excellentissimæ Dominationi Vestræ, reverendissime et illustrissime, me humillime commendo. Romæ, 30 Julij, 1526.

Dominationis Vestræ, Illustrissime ac Reverendissimæ,

humillimum mancipium,

Hie. Epŝ Wigornieñ.

(*Superscribitur*)

Illustrissimo ac reverendissimo Domino Domino, Thomæ, Tituli Sanctæ Ceciliæ Presbytero Cardinali Eborum, Angliæ Primati, et Cancellario, ac de Latere Legato, dignissimo Domino, et benefactori unico.

CXXXIX. Clerk[2] *to* Wolsey.

After my most humble recommendacion. It may lyke your Grace to understond, that yesterday I arryved here in this town of Blayse, where 2 mylis without the town mett with me Master Doctor Taylor, of whom, and also otherwise, I have lernyd many strange thinges, wherof I smelt a smoke at

[1] From this point it is in the Bishop's handwriting.

[2] John Clerk, Bishop of Bath and Wells (who was on his return from Rome), Sir William Fitzwilliam, and Doctor John Tayler, having been accredited to the Queen Regent of France, after the Treaty of the Moore, on the 16th of December 1525 reported their first audience at Lyons. (Caligula, D. IX. leaf 97.) Clerk appears to have proceeded forthwith homewards, for on the 24th he was at Poissy. (Ibid. leaf 103.) He reached England before May (Vol. I. p. 163), returned to France in July (Wolsey's Correspondence, Vol. III. No. 49.), and was at Orleans on the 10th of August. (Caligula, D. IX. leaf 235.) Fitzwilliam left the French Court at Lyons in January (Ibid. leaf 139), and Tayler remained with it till after Clerk's return, being joined at Bourdeaux in April by Sir Thomas Cheyne, who (as before stated) left it at Cognac in May. (Ibid. leaves 139–232.)

Calays:

Calays: First, that Burbon arryvyd at Jeane with 4 galies, and with hym not past 400 fotemen, and so came to Mylan, fortified the town, and putt back the Venetians to ther rebuke and shame, compellyd the Duke beyng in the Castell to dedition, promysing to hym the citie of Come and 30000 ducattes pention, and many other thynges wherof he now performyth no parte. Furthermore, on the Popis side; first, where as the Pope did attempt to have reducyd the citie of Senys to his devotion, and for that purpos sent thither 4000 fotemen and certayn men of armys; the citie, beyng advertised therof, fownd the meanys to protract the tyme with fayre wordes, and in the mean season made good preparations, and sodenly came out and discomfetyd the Popis company, so that that entreprise was clerely lost. Whiche is, I assure your Grace, a great impechement to all the Popis affairis, for that citie stondith in a very strong place hard at his nose, within 3 dayes jornay of Rome, and on of Florence, in the high waye betwen bothe. Besides this, on the othersyde the Cardinall Columpna and his faction have made 4000 men, the Duke of Suessa and Don Hugo de Moncada have made 6000, whiche company toghethers with certayn light horsis troublith verray sore the Pope on the other syde; in so muche that they have takyn a town veray nere unto Rome, and the most parte of ther company lieth within 8 or 10 mylis of Rome in certayn castelles of the Columpnays. And because I do knowe somwhat their maner in thois quarters, what the Popis power is in lyke caasis, I can assure your Grace that the Pope shold seme to be sore pressid, and to be in tantis angustijs, that lightly He can not be in majoribus. His Holynes sendith now unto the Kinges Highnes and your Grace the berar herof, callyd John Baptista Sanga, a veray honest man, well lernyd, in great favour with the Pope, and the Dataries right hand. He hath ben here with the Frenche King, and, as it shold seme, departyd thens veray well satisfied. It shold seme that the Pope is in great disperation of his affaires, and, destitute of help and succours, shold shortly be compellid to fall in to the Emperour etiam sub iniquissimis conditionibus. Thies men here, forseyng that, and fearyng in deade lest He shold so fall in, hath usyd themself the more liberally in encouraigyng the Pope to styck to his matters, and be contentyd to contribute monethly 20000 ducates besydes the 40000 comprisyd in the lieg; with many other additions to the benefit of ther warrys of Italye. And surely your Grace must warely handle thaym, for all thayr hole trust is only upon the Kinges Highnes and your Grace; and, if in thies great and extreme perplexities they be by you discouraigyd, they will doubtles yelde up the Gost.

This daye I shall departe to Amboys, and to morow I trust I shall speke with my Lady, for the Frenche King, as I understonde, is goon on foote in pilgrymage

pilgrymage to Towers. Thus the Almyghty God preserve your Grace. From Blayse, the 12th daye of August.

Master Doctor Taylor mervellyth that I brought no letters unto hym from your Grace, and nott with owt cause; but I am sur it was but forgotyn.[1]

(*Signed*) Yo^{r} Grace is most assuryd
servant and chapleyn,
Jo: BATHONIEÑS.

(*Superscribed*)
To my Lord Cardinalles good Grace.

CXL. CLERK *and* TAYLER *to* WOLSEY.

AFTER our most humble recommendations. Pleasith your Grace to understonde, that the 24th of the last monyth the Frenche Kyng and also my Lady went to a castell 4 or 5 lieges from hens for ther solace, and to passe the tyme in huntyng the rede deere, then myndyng to retorn hether agayn within 3 days; but what with the sporte, and what with chaunces that have happennyd to some of the Lordes of the Courte, and especially to Monsr de Vandon, whiche was sore woundyd in the thigh with an harte, his retornyng hither hath bene from day to day unto this tyme deferryd: notwithstonding He is lokyd for here within thies 3 dayes at the furthest.

Ther ben certain letters com from the campe of the 17th of the last monnyth, whiche doon specifie how that Cremona was not then taken, but that they had betyn the town dyvers tymys, and, as they suppose, not without great hurt to thaym that ben within it, so that they wer in great hope and likelyhod shortly to opteigne it. They specifie also that ther ben all redy come 13000 Sweces, and that they had worde that the Marquys of Saluce, conductour of the 500 men of armys sent over by the Frenche Kyng, was arryved on that syde of the montaignes. Howbeit, his men of armys ware nothing so farre forwardes.

The Popis Nuntio here also hath shewyd us, how he hath sent unto Englond a commyssion from the Popis Holynes to treat super introitu Regis in novam ligam, wherein we gave hym veray small comforte, showing hym that we doubtyd moche, what the Kinges Highnes wold do in it, considering that

[1] The last paragraph is added by the Bishop himself.

res

res Italie were now in longe difficilioribus terminis then they were 2 or 3 monythis agon, and that the caas was now changyd, and all through ther defaulte. They excuse themself, and ley the defalte sore to the Frenche men, whois men of armys, as they saye, be not yet arryved. Here is an apologie made for the defence of the Frenche King, in that He kepith not the articles concludyd betwen Hym and the Emperour at Madrill; the which we send unto your Grace, bycause the Great Chaunceller affirmyth it to be of his own doyng. Thus the Almyghty God preserve Your Grace. From Amboys, the 5th of Septembre.

Your Grace is most humbyll
Chapleyns and servantes,
(*Signed*) Jo : Bathonien̄s.
Jo : Tayler, Arch̄. Buck̄.[1]

(*Superscribed*)
To my Lord Legattes good Grace.

CXLI. Wolsey *to* Clerk.[2]

My Lord of Bathe, in my most herty maner I recommende me unto youe. So hit is, the Kinges Highnes on the behaulf of the Lady Margaret, by hir Ambassadour here resident, is advertised that an Ambassadour[3] sent toward

[1] There are in Caligula, D. IX. several letters from Clerk at the French Court till the end of the year, but the only one from Tayler is of the 13th of November, on the occasion of Francis receiving the Garter, (leaves 244–292.) Clerk's letter of the 27th of September states that the King and the Regent had directed their journey towards Blois (where was as yet unburied the body of the late French Queen, who died in March 1524), with intent to set forth her burial towards Saint Denis. (Ibid. leaf 250.)

[2] From Wolsey's Correspondence, Vol. XVII. leaf 27. The Postscript is in Crumwell's writing.

[3] Inigo Mendoza. See letter of Archduchess Margaret, dated 20th of September. (Galba, B. IX. leaf 31 b.) A despatch from Tayler of the 17th of July (Caligula, D. IX. leaf 161) leads to the belief that he was stopped at the instigation of the Pope. Clerk on the 5th of October says that he will not fail to solicit his delivery, though he understands that they colour the retaining of him on the ground that since he entered France he had sent letters of exchange into Lombardy for the maintenance of the Emperor's army. (Ibid. leaf 252.) On the 14th Clerk adverts to the subject again, but the King had not then returned to Paris. (Ibid. leaf 255.) And on the 24th he announces that the King had written for the relaxation of the Ambassador, but that the Provost of Cassel had sent word that he was not yet delivered, upon which Clerk spoke to the Chancellor of France, who blamed Mendoza for not having demanded a safe conduct, but concluded by affirming that he was at liberty. (Ibid. leaf 256.) On the 28th of November he received credentials from the Archduchess Margaret for England. (Galba, B. IX. leaf 36.)

His Grace by the Emperour oute of Spayne, who in his waye was at the Frenche Court, and spake with the French King, having his good consent and licence to repaire hither, is deteyned and stopped at Depe by the Governours and officers there, wherof the said Lady Margaret maketh grete complaint, thinking the same to be done by the Frenche Kinges commaundment; desiring therfor that letters may be wryten from hens unto that Court for his relaxation and delyveraunce. And albehit the Kinges Highnes and I thinke of suretie that such detention procedith not of the French King, ne by his knowlaige, yet, forasmoch as the same may be dishonowrable, remembring also that by reason of the obligation reciproque his cummyng canne be to no dammaige unto the French Kinges affaires, but rather furtheraunce, seing that in any communicacion to be hadde ther must be mutuel concurraunce of assentes, which canne not be hadde if the wayes of Ambassiadours and messengers be intercluded; I have therfor spoken with the French Ambassiadour here resident, desiring him to wryte with effect for his deliveraunce as appertayneth; praying youe also so to set forth the mater, alleging the said respectes and considerations which be true, as he be no lengar deteyned, but suffred to repaire hider, for declaration of his charge, according to honour and good congruence, like as the French King with owth any suspicion taken on this side, hath recours by Ambassiadours to and from thEmperour for his parte. Which doing shalbe bothe honorable, and also better serve to the conducing of any thing, that may comme in communication, to the benefite of the French Kinges affaires, thanne shuld his lengar stopping or detention. I praye youe therfor to solicite it with effect accordingly. And hartely fare ye well. At my manour of the Moore, the day of Septembre.

Post scripta. Ye shal receyve herwith a paquet of letters sent to the Kinges Ambassadours being in Spaine with thEmperour, the substaunce and continue wherof resteth in pressing and persuading the said Emperour, al particuler interesses and affections layde aparte, to entende to universal peax, withdrawing his army in Italy, and upon reasonable summes of money to make delyvery of the French Kinges hostages. The Kinge and his Counsail here thinketh that after he shalbe advertised of the imminent daungier and peril wherin the realme of Hungary doo stand, He wil, oonles that He be utterly destitute of grace and good counsail, geve ere and herkening to the Kinges charitable admonitions inclyning unto universal peax; which I besech Almighty God may shortly succeed, tanquam

tanquam res plusquam necessaria. I pray youe take ordre that the said paquet of letters may be saufely and spedely conveyed, for they shal conferre gretely to the common affaires. And thus eftsones hartely fare wel.

CXLII. Tayler *to* Wolsey.[1]

Pleasyth yt your Grace, the 4th daye of October came to Parys my Lorde of Bathe, and as I cam from hym, I met with Mr Ychingham, the whiche was com out of Spayne[2]; and howbeyt that he had letters out of Spayne to the Court of Fraunce, in as muche as the Kinge was not come to Parys, nor my Lady, my Lord of Bathe and I thought yt was not expedyent that he shulld returne backe to the Court, but to hast him in to England; and therfore suche letters, as he brought to the Court here, wer delyvered to the Chaunceller of Alancon, to be send to the Court, and Mr Ychingham to spede hym to your Grace. Suche newys as be here of Italy, Rome, and Hungarye, my Lord of Bathe shewed me he had certefyed your Grace; I beseche Allmyghty God amend them. Thes 12 dayes I have be here at Parys by the Kinges commaundment, tarrying for his commyng, of the whiche as yet we have no certeynte. Yf He com not shortly, I wyll resort to his Grace, and take my leve of Hym. Syth my commyng to Parys, I have sene Mr Deane of Wellys[3], and

[1] From Wolsey's Correspondence, Vol. XII. leaf 12.

[2] Osborne Echingham was the bearer of letters of the 7th and 17th of September, answered by a despatch, of which a French translation is in Galba, B. IX. leaf 214.

[3] This was Wolsey's natural son, Thomas Wynter, who (according to Le Neve) succeeded to the deanery of Wells on the 26th of March 1526, and resigned it in the latter part of 1528. It appears by Clerk's letter from Boulogne of the 26th of July 1526 (Wolsey's Correspondence, Vol. III. No. 49.) that he was then escorting Wynter to Paris; and among Wolsey's Correspondence there are not less than nine letters from Wynter, all from Paris, and all holograph, of various dates prior to 1529, from several of which he appears to have gone thither for the purpose of completing his education. His letter of the 5th of June [1527] (Vol. XV. p. 112.) commences thus: "Debeo, "fateor, Reverendissime ac Illustrissime Domine, si perpetuis tuis et immensis in me meritis "respondere vellem, perpetuo et sine intermissione tuæ Sanctitati scribendo gratias agere. Nun- "quam enim cessat tua benignitas de me bene mereri, sed quia meritorum et munificentiæ tuæ "premium non meas gratias, sed profectum meum in virtute et literarum studijs expectas, rarius "fortasse quam officium postulat, meis literis reverendissimam tuam Dominationem interpello. "Occasionem autem scribendi inpresentia dedit, non tam singularis hujus nobilis viri humanitas "atque incredibilis in me candor et studium, quam quod superioribus suis ad me literis signifi- "cavit mihi Lupsetus, reverendissimam tuam Dominationem velle me in domo alicujus Galli "civis, quo linguam citius discam, collocare. Quod certe consilium valde mihi placet, non ea

and on the seconde daye of October I was at a lecter within him commensed in Greke, the whiche dayly shall be contynued at towe of the clocke at after none. He ys not as yet well settellyd; for the sodeyn deth of one of the compeny he was compelled to leve hys howse, and ys nowe with a Scottysshman, a kynd and a very gentyll person and well lyerned, and dothe all the pleasure he can for Mr Deane and all his compeny, nowe Mr Deane and Mr Doctour lye in his howse; yt standyth in a very hollsom soyle with a fayr and a large garden, sequestrate from recorse of people, havyng a churche within them and dayly servyce, and every nyght the gate shit. There within ys a howse longyng to my Lord of Saynct Johnes. Yf my Lord of Bathe and I can obteyn of the Great Chauncellor that howse for Mr Deane and hys compenye, they thinke they shalbe as commodyously settylled as in any place of Parys. As sone as the Chaunceller commyth, we trust to be sped, for I wyll not depart out of Parys, tyll I see they be bestowed wher they may quyetly applye their lernyng, as they have begon and intend to contynewe. Thus Jhesu preserve your Grace. From Parys, the 5th daye of October, by your most bownden servaunt and dayly bedeman,

(*Signed*) Jo. Tayler Arch. of Buck^e^.

(*Superscribed*)
To my Lord Cardinales Grace.

" solum de causa quod ad destinatum finem apprime utile esse videtur, quam quod ita Sanctitati " tuæ placere intelligo, cujus sapientiæ et juditio in omnibus jure semper cedere debeo. Tuæ " Amplitudinis est mihi pro arbitrio imperare, meum jussa humiliter capessere, atque ex animo " obtemperare. Sed ut plane, bona tuæ Clementiæ venia, quod sentio dicam, Gallicæ de quavis re " oblata utcunque garrire possum, verum eam linguæ politiem, quam tua Celsitodo (que nihil non " perfectum vult et absolutum) exigit, nondum sum assecutus. Obstiterunt hactenus quo minus " assequerer, cum graviora philosophiæ studia, tum rara admodum cum Gallis consuetudo, que " tamen frequens ad linguam perfecte consequendam est necessaria." In another, of the Ides of December, he thus describes his studies: " In varia disciplinarum genera incumbo, quippe Grecas " literas, et Latinas, rudimenta metamatica, et astronomica, et in scholasticorum denique ques- " tiones, quæ præ cæteris studijs animum meum sua ingeniosa subtilitate detinent et oblectant. " Reliqui enim omnes authores præter scholasticos, cum de re aliqua disserunt, videntur in superficie " mihi natare, hi vero ad fundum usque, et intima penetrare." (p. 108.) All his letters conclude: " Tuæ Sanctitatis humillimus servulus, Thomas Wynterus." From a comparison of these signatures with those to the Declaration of the Clergy in 1540 (printed in Vol. I. p. 629) it is clear that he is the same person who was at the latter period Archdeacon of Cornwall and Provost of Beverley. A good personal description of him is given by Clerk in a letter to Wolsey of the 24th of May 1528. (Miscellaneous Letters, 3d Series, Vol. II. leaf 80.)

CXLIII. King Henry VIII. *to* Pope Clement VII.[1]

Beatissime Pater, post humillimam commendationem ac devotissima pedum oscula beatorum. Nimis ferreum cor ac saxeum pectus Christiano illi Principi indutum esse arbitramur, quem præsentium temporum miseria et tam sæva undique communibus Christianorum omnium cervicibus imminens calamitas non commoveat ad pietatem, et cujus cogitatus, consilia, actionesque omnes non debeat ad mutuam Principum conciliationem necessarie quam citissime convertere et cogere. Nos equidem, Beatissime Pater, dum Vestræ Sanctitatis Breve 22 die Septembris[2] ad Nos datum accurate legeremus, nec potuimus lachrymis parcere, nec interiorem dolorem, quem publice quietis gratia et inopinato quodam Vestræ Beatitudinis infortunio concepimus, cohibere. Regno etenim Hungariæ ad tot secula tutissimo Christianitatis propugnaculo a Turca illatam cladem, tantique Regis intellectam stragem et jacturam[3] eo graviori luctu collachrimamur, quod ex Christianorum dissidijs potius quam ulla ipsius immanissimi ac truculentissimi hostis virtute potentiam tam immoderate augeri præsentibus oculis intuemur, quum nihilo atrocius Turca Christianitati quam Christiani eidem insultent, quod si adeo Turcarum conatibus essemus regno ac viribus propinqui, ut iniquissimam illorum impietatem soli possemus arcere, non expectaremus utique ad opus tam necessarium ullius litteris, ne dum Sanctissimis Vestræ Beatitudinis adhortationibus, incitari. Hoc unum ergo superest remedium, ut Christiani Principes, sepositis odijs, abjectisque simultatibus, suas vires adversus communem presentemque hostem mature convertant, nullam namque diuturniorem moram aut consultationem ipsis oculis objectum malum amplius admittit. In hanc vero animorum conciliationem ubi cæteri Principes (Deo duce) convenerint, in quam ardentissimis omnibus officijs una cum Vestra Beatitudine illos trahere conabimur, nemini Nos pietate aut auxilijs cedemus, ac in tam sancta expeditione suscipienda, postquam de totius rei ordine et summa conventum erit, si se expedire visum fuerit, personam ipsam nostram, nedum facultates omnes quas a Deo acceptas illius causæ debemus, tam sancto mynisterio offerimus et pollicemur, nec flagrantiori voto quicquam expectamus, quam ut vel ipso sanguine et personæ

[1] Copy from the Vatican Papers.
[2] This is not found.
[3] See Vol. I. pp. 184. 202.

nostræ

nostræ sacrificio publicam Omnipotentis Dei causam Sacrosanctamque fidem et religionem quandoque juvare queamus. Ad istud quoque malum privata ingens Sanctitati Vestræ ab his ipsis (quos minime decuit) iniquisse illata contumelia accessit, quæ ob rei indignitatem tantum ipsis præcordijs mærorem Nobis concitavit, ut impium istum casum quem Cesar ipse detestari debeat sumopere indoleamus. Utcumque in tanto rerum turbine, ac in ista successuum confusione hoc arbitramur esse præcipuum Vestræ Beatitudinis officium, ut iniquissimorum hominum iniquioribus conatibus non succumbat, aut ullo pacto frangatur, nec sibi a Deo creditum temonem abjiciat, tantum namque scelus a fœda agrestium colluvie tam repente ausum extimandum est, non minus repente, Deo judice, dissipatum iri. Vestram itaque Beatitudinem obsecramus, ut et animos ex inextimabili isto pavore perculsos repetat, et suam dementiam, fortitudinem, constantiam, ac prudentiam judicet ex istis adversitatibus in authores aliquando casuris clariorem effici. Supervacaneum porro arbitramur indignitatem istam pluribus condolere, veriti ne gravem injuriam Vestræ Sanctitatis cordi nunc inhærentem nostro luctu gravius exacerbemus. Sed ita hac in re, quæ Christianorum Principum animos in se debuit concitasse, Nos geremus, ut Vestræ Beatitudini simus non solum summæ futuri consolationi, sed etiam filialem nostrum animum et erga Apostolicam Sedem observantiam, illiusque dignitatis conservande studium quam uberrime testaturi. Cætera ex Magnifico Domino Gregorio Equite Casalio, nostro apud se Oratore, Vestra Sanctitas distinctius intelliget : cui certissimam fidem habere dignabitur. Et felicissime ac diutissime valeat. Ex regia nostra apud Westmonasterium, die 23 Octobris, 1526.

Excellentissime Vestre Sanctitatis
devotissimus atque obsequentissimus Filius,
Dei Gratia, Rex Angliæ et Franciæ, Fidei
Defensor, ac Dominus Hiberniæ,
HENRICUS.

(*Superscribitur*)
Sanctissimo Clementissimoque Domino
nostro Papæ.

CXLIV. Sir Robert Wyngfeld *to* Wolsey.[1]

Pleasyth youre Mooste Reverend Grace to be advertysyd, that this nyght at the schettynge of gaate, Don Domynico de Mendos, thEmperors Embassador, arryvid hiere, by whom I have perceyvid that he hathe ben kepte as prysonner, in the castle of Arkes on this syde Roone, by the space of 4 monthis; and also in communycation he shewid that beinge at the castell of Hane on thissyde of Saynt Qwynteyne, whanne he perceyved that he shuld be taakyn, he brent alle his charge from thEmperour to the Kynge: also that at his departynge from the before namyd castell of Arkes, he dyspetchid a post to thEmperour, aswell to avyse Hym of his lyberte, as to have his charge renuyd. And, becawse that the chawnce hath happynd, as is befoore wretyn, he intendyth to ryde hence to morow towarde the Laady Margarett[2], soo that he estemyth it shall be uppon a 15 dayis or moore, or he can retorne hethir agayn; for by that tyme he sayth to hoope to have his charge renuyd. The sayde Ambassadour semyth to be abought fyffty yere of aage, or above, and speekyth good Frensche; also is lyke to be a man of right sufficyent gravite, thoow he is now but sympylly arayid, and easyly acompanyd. And, becawse that he is lodgyd withought the gaat, I cowde make hym noo chier, but with sendynge of my wyne. Howbeit, yiff he parte nott to morow befoore none, he hath apoyntid to dyne with me. And becawse I have none oothir newis to visite your Grace with, I shall maake an ende of these; besechynge Almyghty God to preeserve youre moost reverende Grace in prosperus heelthe, with longe lyffe to His pleasyer. Wretyn at Calleeyce, the 14th daye of Novembyr, 1526, by the hande of youre moost humble,

Wyngfeld Ro. S.

(*Superscribed*)
To my Loorde the Legates mooste
Reverende Grace.

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[1] Holograph. Vespasian, C. III. leaf 282 b.

[2] Her credentials for "Don Ynigho de Mendosa" are dated the 28th of November 1526. (Galba, B. IX. leaf 36.)

CXLV. Ghinucci *to* Wolsey.[1]

Illustrissime et Reverendissime in Christo Pater et Domine mi observandissime. Post alias literas scriptas ad Dominationem vestram reverendissimam, quæ datæ fuerunt die 12 presentis mensis, non scripsi ad Dominationem vestram reverendissimam, ex eo quod nullus hinc cursor discessit qui in Angliam veniret, quod ad mei notitiam devenerit. Quæ autem postea occurrerint, cum per reverendum Dominum Bathoniensem ad Dominationem vestram reverendissimam scribantur, non oportet ut ego scribam.

Credo quod Dominatio vestra reverendissima mirabitur me adhuc hic esse, et certe non sine causa; tamen spero quod, cum per me non stetisse nec stare intellexerit, dignabitur me habere excusatum. Quotidie, ut novit Dominus Bathoniensis, fuit apud agentes pro Christianissimo solicitatum pro expeditione mea, et nunc sub uno pretextu, nunc sub alio, res dilata. Tandem, postquam ad infirmitatem Domine Matris Christianissimi deventum erat, audito adventu magnifici Domini Figuillelmi, quem brevi ut asserebant expectabant, fuit Domino Bathoniensi significatum, quod si ei veritas dicenda erat, ad effectualem mei expeditionem solum expectabatur illius adventus. Expectatus tandem fuit Figuillelmus; et postquam advenit, adita fuit Mater Christianissimi, per Dominos Bathoniensem Figuillelmum et me. Quæ, postquam Dominus Figuillelmus comissa sibi exposuit, solicitata super mea expeditione responderit, me presente, eam in ordine esse. Tamen, postquam tantum tardatum fuerat, laudabat, ut expectaretur Rex filius suus, qui in crastinum venturus erat, si forte ob noviter successa in Italiam aliqua instructioni meæ addere voluerit. Hoc autem externa die fuit. Audio nunc Regem non venturum ante diem Dominicam, et ex consequenti non posse adiri nisi die Lunæ. Itaque si eamet die se super mea expeditione resolvat, quod tamen dubium est, non potero ante diem Nativitatis itineri me accingere. Certe, reverendissime Domine, magnus est animi cruciatus quem hic substineo, dum mihi tanta mora se representat; dumque video Serenissimam Regiam Majestatem et Dominationem vestram reverendissimam meo servitio frustratam, sed dum diligentiam super hoc factam considero, dumque pondero quod absque passaportu nullo modo

[1] British Museum, Vespasian, C. III. leaf 303. A contemporary decypher of the cyphered passages (which are printed in Italics) is in the Record Office, and has been collated with the original, and in a few instances corrected.

mihi

mihi aditus in Hispaniam pateret, cruciatum ipsum egomet mihi mitigo. Et certe jam multi sunt dies elapsi, quibus ego ejus mentis eram, ut si passaportus haberi potuisset, alijs dimissis bonum esset abire, uno dimisso qui postea cum reliqua expeditione ad me veniret. Mutavi autem sententiam, propterea quod reverendus Dominus Bathoniensis, ut pote vir perspicacioris concilij, me advertit non expedire ita facere, quia reliqua expeditio, si non in totum relinqueretur, nimis in longum protraheretur. Acquievi igitur prudentis viri consilio, tum ob ejus auctoritatem, tum quod etiam putavi frustra per me id tentatum iri. Non omittam dicere Dominationi vestræ reverendissimæ, licet non verear per Dominum Bathoniensem et Figuillelmum id sibi significandum, quod heri post responsum datum me presente, vocatis alijs duobus ad partem, eis dixit Dominum Johannem Joachinum scripsisse, Serenissimum Regem nostrum ei dixisse, quod ego non tam cito irem; qua nacta occasione innuit quod dum Rex expectaretur, sperabat habere literas ex Anglia, et eis habitis ego resolverer. Quantum hoc habeat verisimilitudinis, præsertim cum nihil super hoc ad Dominum Bathoniensem nec me scriptum fuerit, quilibet semiprudens considerare potest, eo maxime quod Dominus Figuillelmus dicit putasse Serenissimum Regem et Dominationem vestram reverendissimam in ejus discessu me jam hinc discessisse. Audio solitos esse hos omnia sic protrahere, etiam aliquando in eorum incommodum, quod si sit, tolerabilius videtur.

Hactenus visi sunt Galli dicere, quod licet forsan Turca Constantinopolim redijsset, dimiserat tamen circa 100000 hominum in Ungaria; ex quo conjectabantur Turcam intendere in vere redire, ut versus Austriam vel forte Italiam tenderet. Nunc cum ex urbe, licet per tardas literas, venerint nova, quæ non dubito Dominationi vestræ reverendissimæ esse nota, ex quibus conjicitur non esse periculum ut anno futuro illuc redeat. Videntur etiam Galli id fateri; nec mirum, cum, ut mihi asseritur, jam pluribus diebus hec intellexerint, et ne rerum Cesarearum auctoritas cresceret, prudenter tacuerunt. Hoc ideo ad Dominationem vestram reverendissimam scribo, ut majoris sit apud eam auctoritatis illorum opinio, qui mirantur, viso quod Cesari et a Turca et ab Italia res prospere succedunt, unde est quod videntur Galli tepescere.

Dominatio vestra reverendissima vidit modum, quo Galli protrahunt meam expeditionem. Ego non dubito quod omnia faciunt cum mysterio, nec propterea muto sententiam, quod dicant *nunc se forsan aliquid instructioni addituros ob id quod noviter in Italia successit.* Idem enim nunc, quod diebus preteritis, mihi polliceri videtur *modus procedendi eorum,* videlicet *generalia.* Quorsum autem tendant, cum difficillimum sit veras hominum intentiones scire, debile meum ingenium attingere non potest; puto tamen, presertim ex his, quæ

per alias literas Dominationi vestræ reverendissimæ significata fuerunt, *eos aliquam habere pasturam, ex qua hic meam expeditionem protrahunt, et aliquem fructum reportare sperent;* alioquin nimis essent imprudentes, qui videntur in hujusmodi *dilatione diffidentiam erga Regiam Majestatem et Dominationem vestram reverendissimam ostendere, quod meam expeditionem jam in viginti dies distulissent, et huic periculo se gratis exposuissent;* nisi forte, quod vix credere possum, intendant *tandem mihi expeditionem denegare, quod pasturam habere videntur aliquam, faciunt,* ultra alia diebus preteritis scripta, *accessus Domine Elionore nunc ad Cesarem,* licet videantur dicere *Galli eam a Cesare revocatam, hujus enim revocationis* nulla causa nunc apparere videtur, que jam pluribus mensibus visa non fuerit, presertim cum eo tempore non potuerit *Cesar aliquid scire de felici novo principio rerum suarum in Italia; sed* ex his, que superioribus diebus ad Dominationem vestram reverendissimam scripta sunt, bene videntur apparere alique cause, *quare Domina Elionora potius nunc ad Cesarem vadat, quam ierit* in preteritum. Ponderandum etiam ad hoc videtur quomodo illi, qui *hunc* Domine Elionore *accessum eis significavit, patuerit in Galliam aditus;* presertim cum paucis antea diebus *alter ex Hispania venisset,* quem non satis compertum esse videtur *ad quid venerit.* Cum alienum non parum videatur a verisimilitudine, quod solum *illud attulerit, quod ipsi publicarunt,* videlicet *dubitare Cesarem de rebus Italiæ, quia* a multis diebus *nulla inde rem novam haberet.* Item *expectare successum classis in Italiam misse.* Item *Cesarem mittere unum ad Pontificem, qui excusaret insultum Moncade.* Hæc non videntur talia, quibus consumi debeat oportunitas *mittendi hominem, dum ea tam difficilis habetur.*

De matrimonio Dominatio vestra reverendissima audiet per literas Domini Bathoniensis et Figuillelmi. Ego idem sentio quod diebus preteritis scripsi, *nisi forsan Rex Galliæ, videns Cesarem quasi Dominum Italie,* ut credi potest ex his que ultimo loco inde scripta sunt; videns etiam, quod si ea, que de *rebus Turcicis habentur ex urbe, que Dominationi vestræ reverendissimæ nota esse non dubito, vera sint, Cesar non* cogitur amplius *se ideo in preceps dare, ita* modicum *spei in concordia cum Cesare habetur, quod ad Regiam Majestatem se vertere coactum esse putet.* Quod si sit, et, prout non dubito, *pro parte* [ipsius] *Regie Majestatis negocium cum auctoritate tractetur,* puto quod quelibet *minima interpellatio ad matrimonium Principisse sufficiat, et forsan Galli instabunt.* Sed malam ad hoc conjecturam accepi ex nonnullis verbis per Matrem Regis Christianissimi heri dictis, quibus innuere videbatur *permittendum esse Cesari modo suo in Italiam debachari, unde tandem, prout ipsis* contigit, nil nisi *suorum* sepulturam reportabit. Non enim video quid sibi

sibi *cogitet Rex Gallorum, dum pati velle videtur,* (si tamen in hoc se resolvent, quod cito videbitur) *quod Cesar, qui filios Christianissimi tenet, et cui nulla vis aut necessitas* imponi *posse videtur, ut Italia potiatur, qua habita pecunias habebit.* Nisi quod de *recuperatione filiorum* [Christianissimi] *alia via quam bello sperent,* vel forsitan cogitent, omissis *rebus Italicis, se totos bello citra montes dare;* quod si intenderint, primus *Figuillelmi cum Rege Gallorum congressus* demonstrabit; non enim aliquo modo eo casu *differetur resolutio matrimonij. Orator Pontificis et Venetus, qui* tantum sibi in preteritum polliceri videbantur, *de Rege Gallorum ut eum a se indivisibilem* putarent, *visa nunc* suorum ministrorum *tepiditate,* quam etiam putant *in* [*ipso*] *Rege Gallorum invenire, titubare* videntur, vellentque libenter de hoc *esse securi, quod mandata per eos in Hispaniam missa ita mandato Regis Gallorum essent annexa,* ut illud absque suis *aliquem effectum facere non posset.*

Post scripta ea, que superius continentur, fuimus cum Christianissimo Rege et Domina ejus matre. Quid dictum fuerit, et quod responsum super matrimonio, Dominatio vestra reverendissima intelliget ex literis Domini Bathoniensis, unde non est quod ego scribam, nisi quod idem sentio quod per alias literas scripsi. Bene tamen puto, quod ante octo dies Dominatio vestra reverendissima habebit certam resolutionem.

Quoad meam expeditionem, heri Christianissimus mandavit Rubertetto ut me expediret, et ipse promisit se hodie omnino id facturum. Nunc autem redit ex curia unus ex familiaribus Domini Bathoniensis, qui ad hoc illuc ivit, et refert Robertettum hodie impeditum fuisse; sed promisisse omnino hac nocte vel cras in mane me expediturum. Quod si erit, statim me itineri accingar. Unum non omittam, quod Robertettus, dum Rex meam expeditionem heri sibi commisit, dixit eam a pluribus diebus fuisse in ordine, sed vero Christianissimus instante Cesare misisset in Hispaniam mandata pro pace componenda. Satis desiderasset (licet non credat Cesarem aliquid facturum), quod ego expectassem, donec videretur quod super hec Cesar fecisset; ex quo tamen ego omnino volebam ire, me expediret.

Dominatio vestra reverendissima, quæ non in tenebris, prout ego, sed in luce ambulat, cum undique ut puto que tractentur intelligat, poterit melius super omnibus veritatem a mendacijs cognoscere. Ego autem, ut etiam alias scripsi, cupio his que scribo non aliam prestari fidem, quam auctoris levitas mereatur. Cum vere ea scribam solum ut mandatis mihi factis obediam.

Commendo me semper Dominationi vestre reverendissime, ei humiliter supplicans, ut dignetur me Serenissimæ Regiæ Majestati commendare, quam et Dominationem vestram reverendissimam diu et felices vivere toto corde exopto. Ex Poisi, die 24 Decembris, 1526.

Excellentissime Vestre Illustrissime et Reverendissime Dominationis

Humillimum mancipium,

Hie. Epŝ Wigornieñ.

CXLVI. John da Casale *to* Vannes.[1]

Ad tertium decimum Decembris ea quæ gererentur copiose vobis significavi[2], atque Equitis[3] fratris literas[4] una ad vos misi, ut ex ijs cognosceretis quid Romæ ageretur. Hic nunciatum fuit eos, qui Mediolani continebantur, exivisse, ut Papiam proficiscerentur, atque occurentes Germanos qui Papia exibant in itinere convenirent: sed vera hæc nuncia non fuerunt, quamvis et pro certo haberentur, et ea ex ipso Duce accepissem. Borbonius cum veteribus copijs Mediolani erat: inter quas parum quid discensionis ortum est: cum enim Hispani monasteria quedam ipsiusque Mediolani forum depredari vellent, ipse cum Germanis militibus eos prohibere voluit; quam ob causam interea utramque nationem seditio quedam intercessit. Sed mox pacata est, atque nihil successit. Jam vero ad libitum, ut volent, populari per eam urbem poterunt. Ita enim rebus omnibus exhausta est, ut nihil quod arripiant reliqui sit, propter quod permulti nobiles viri ac feminæ clam effugerunt, et adversa omnia perferunt, ac etiam complures ex his divites unde vivant coacti sunt victum queritare, adeo ut putem multo magis hasce Lombardiæ regiones afflictas ac deperditas esse, quam eæ quibus paucis ante diebus Turcarum Rex omne genus maleficij intulit. Credam etiam Christianos Principes loci cujusquam injuria plus non debere commoveri, quam tot ac tantis Lombardiæ calamitatibus.

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[1] Record Office.

[2] Not in the Record Office, which however contains a letter from John da Casale to Vannes of the 30th of November, detailing at length the military operations in Italy. Other communications from the same quarter are to be found in Vitellius, B. VIII.

[3] Sir Gregory da Casale.

[4] Some extracts from these letters are in the Record Office, but not the originals.

Ad

Ad 20^{m} diem hujusce mensis a vobis reddite mihi sunt literæ, Regisque ad Senatum Venetum literas attuli, quibus ea prædicavi quæ mihi ad rem facere visa sunt. Duxque suspirans, mihi respondit perspectum esse posse suum dolorem Regi ac Reverendissimo, quem conceperant ex Hungariæ Regis[1] interitu, ac provinciæ amissione, nec non ex cæteris omnibus quæ contigissent; ac hoc dominium moleste ac graviter ferre, quicquid calamitatis in Christianum quemque principem, cujus res male se habeant, accidat, seque propensos ac paratissimos fore inferrendis semper auxilijs; sed nunc damna ac molestiæ private adeo eos apprimunt, ita in angusto ac difficili loco res site sunt, ut istius publici commodi ac boni immemores esse cogantur. Quod vero attinet ad Regis optimam in se ac cæteros voluntatem, quam Rex præ se fert, nihil se dubitare, eique habent gratiam, eumque semper ita novere: tante vero temporum difficultates sunt quibus adiguntur, quod optarent ut amici preter animi propensi significationem aliquid majus etiam prestarent, in hac præsertim causa in qua de publico omnium interesse agitur: eos vero dicebat hanc provinciam suscepisse Regis ac reverendissimi Domini exhortatione, atque impulsu animi aliorum Principum, quod si existimassent tam modice sibi eos auxiliari debere, fortasse etiam super hoc multo melius ac maturius cogitassent, propter quod magnos sumptus fæcere, neque unquam facere desistunt: cum videant omnia in angusto esse collocata, in horas enim expectatur Pontificis cum Vicerege aliqua reconciliatio, quæ ceteris omnibus incommoda atque adversa sit, quod vero ad pacem inter Christianos tractandam eadem Dux respondit, quæ in superioribus ad vos scripsi; hæc enim verba sunt: "cum enim Cesar ex "sententia res diduxerit, ut omnium Dominus fiat, pacem minime curabit." Vehementer eos hortatus sum ut cogitarent huic negotio aptiorem quenquam non posse adhiberi, quam Regem nostrum ac reverendissimum Dominum, quod neutra ex parte pendeant, atque maximæ authoritatis sunt apud ipsum Cesarem et Regem Galliæ, ac maxime rebus Italiæ sunt studiosi, quæ omnia ij quidem Domini animadvertunt. Tamen minime sperant Cesarem in pacis studia propensum fore, in eo redigeretur, ut secus facere non posset.

De rebus Turcarum diffuse ad vos scripsi. Turca non adest amplius: sed cum Christianorum Principum discordias ejus adventus sedare debuisset, magis accendit, et ideo non oportet nunc Regem vel pecuniam vel quidvis aliud mittere. Italiæ res adeo sunt variæ ac mutabiles, hæ vero regiones ita a

[1] Lewis II., King of Hungary, slain by the Turks at Mohacz on the 13th of August.

vobis

vobis longinquæ, ut conducibilius mihi videatur, ut Rex et Reverendissimus similia his committant, quibus soliti sunt cætera committere, qui ea administrent, prout ipsa temporum conditio postulare videatur: quod si (ut eques frater scribit) pecuniæ illæ vel in ejus manus prælate essent, vel huc ad me, quo magis a Pontifice abessent, nec tam propere Ejus Sanctitati numerarentur, neque eas Pontifex aut videret aut tangere, nisi ea faceret propter que persolvuntur. Nunc quidem sunt veluti telum manu emissum, quod revocari non potest, sive bene, sive male agat. Pontifici cuperem quod totidem nummi a Rege in Italia fuissent missi, qui ad summam 50000 aureorum ascenderent; quoniam cum his semper devincto tenuissemus hos Principes inter spem ac metum, ne facerent nisi quæ Regi ac Reverendissimo placerent. Cesarianos autem semper timere fecissemus, quo facilius ad pacis conditionem, judice Reverendissimo, adducerentur propter metum ne pecuniæ illæ expenderentur, et Cesar nullo modo de Reverendissimo conqueri potuisset quoad expensi non fuissent. Hoc erat quod sæpius frater et ego scripsimus; quamvis hoc nobis nocuisset. Namque Principes suspectantes nos esse in causa quod non solverentur, nos ea de causa odissent: sed Dominis nostris, quibus tenemur, sit satisfactum. Deinde quid ad nos? Vos tamen rogo ut reverendissimo Domino in mentem redigatis, ut interdum velit cum his nuncijs Sancti Domini nostri et hujus Venetæ ditionis, declarare nos erga illos valde offitiosos esse; tanquam queratur nos harum regionum rebus nimis intentos esse, quamvis ejus reverendissime Dominationis mihi gratiæ agende essent. Quod eo jam officio functus est: quod ex Venetorum oratore qui isthic est missis ad me literis cognovi; quanto enim isti nos erga ipsos magis propensos putabunt, commodius apud eos nostrorum Dominorum negocia tractare poterimus. Allate præterea sunt litere Senatui Veneti ad 23 Octobris scripte, ex quibus auditoris discessum in Hispaniam cognovimus: missæ etiam ex Gallia, unde cognovimus apud Gallos ingnorari, quam in angusto res Italiæ essent. Illis enim tunc Hispanæ classis discipatio nunciata fuerat, quodque Germani regrediebantur. Nunc vero isthæc audient, quibus si non consulucrint, vobis cogitandum relinquo quam male res successure sint. Literas Roma accepi, quas ad vos mitto[1], ex quibus cognoscetis, quam dubiæ res essent. Hinc non defuimus quin ad Pontificem scripserimus, aliosque ut scriberent adhortati sumus, ut eum confirmaremus, atque ejus Sanctitas cognosceret hos Dominos nunquam defuturos, quin pro viribus se opponant quibuscunque accidere possint: jamque partem suarum copiarum ultra Padum adversus Germanos traduxerunt, qui cum

[1] Not preserved.

oppugnentur

oppugnentur, neque pecunias neque commeatus habeant, cogentur aut dissolvi, aut sua sponte dirimi. Pontifici etiam prædictum est ex hac concordia omnem ejus ruinam exoriri, ut eques frater ei copiose dixit, neque dicere desistit; ex cujus literis vos id cognoscetis, ad quem eadem ego quoque scripsi. Ac profecto, si per 15 aut 20 dies supersederit Pontifex, quoad aliquid ex Gallia intelligatur, unde sibi major spes addatur, sperare poterimus; atque etiam si Viceregis impulsu, Capuanique exhortatione qui apud ipsum Viceregem est. Si autem Pontifex conditionem ullam accipit, quemadmodum propter vilem ejus animum valde vereor, male res succedent, atque eo magis si Parmam ac Placentiam Viceregi tradat, ad quas Cesariani transibunt, et exercitum alent, ac ipsi stipendia dabunt: ita quod hac causa insolentiores fient. Quod si Pontifici, ut vobis scripsi, cum Cesarianis simpliciter concordaretur, neque illis quencquam horum tradderet, minus reliquis noceret. Spes, quam habemus quod Pontifex supersedeat, est ob nefaria Viceregis postulata. Hodie vero 27 die ex literis Florentia cognovimus, Florentinos bono esse animo, ac pecunias comparare, adeo quod isti Domini optimum quid sperare cæperunt. Omnis enim Pontificis metus a Florentinorum metu dependet. In hijsdem nunciabatur duas naves onerarias cum 500 peditibus, excurrentes ut Janue supetias darent, a Domini Rentij classe que Saonæ est prohibitas fuisse, qui coacti pedem refferre et tempestate exagitati sunt, et naves in terram propulse sunt prope Saonam. Homines incolumes evaserunt, quos Rentius omnes fugavit, occidit, et captivos fecit. Nuntiatum est etiam, quod Rentius e portu exiverat, ut Romam versus navigaret, ac tempestate maris compulsus est cum triremis in portu reverti. Naves maximæ, que lungius in mare processerant, amplius se in portum recipere non potuerunt, sed ulterius sunt pervagate, de quibus nihil habetur. Nuntiatum est etiam Cesarem Ferramoscam, unum ex Cesaris nobilibus, a Cesare missum Mediolano transisse, ac Romam ad Pontificem proficisci, quem magni momenti res affere opinantur. Facile quidem esset, quod Cesar audire potuerit in Italia suas res male se habere; Genua commeatu laborante, ac sine ulla spe suppetiarum, discipata Hispanorum classe, ut fama fuerat, Germanis omni pecunia exhaustis, expectantibus stipendia Hispanis qui sunt cum Vicerege, ut nobilem hunc misserit, qui meliorem pacis conditionem ad Pontificem deferrat: quod quidem, ut puto, pejus foret: sperare enim possumus Pontificem tandiu constantem, quamdiu Viceregis postulata adeo sunt nepharia, ut nullo modo accipi debeant.

Numerus militum sub Venetis merentium, qui Padum transierunt, ad summam ascendunt 10000 peditum et 300 equitum levis armaturæ, qui secum

secum octo bombardas conduxerunt. Jamque Germanis proximi sunt facti, e quibus, si qui causa commeatuum longius a cæteris progrediuntur, eos occidunt. Venetijs, die Decembris 28, 1526.

(*Signatur*) Jo: Cas: Prot.

Literas, quas ad vos scribo, interdum Venetis tabellarijs committo, interdum ad Dominum Bathoniensem dirigo, ut ad vos mittat. Nescio quam celerime ad vos perferantur. Quod ad me attinet, ea qua possum utor diligentia; sed, quia reverendus Dominus Bathoniensis Parisijs erat, Regisque Curia in diversis locis, uti perveniant, nescio; si serius allate fuerint, me excusatum habeatis: cum potuero commodius aliquid præstare, non ulli sumptui parcam, quo maturius vobis reddantur.

(*Superscribitur*)
Al Reveren. M. Pietro Vanni, Secretario, &ca.
Londini.

CXLVII. King Henry VIII. *to* Pope Clement VII.[1]

Beatissime Pater, post humillimam commendationem ac devotissima pedum oscula beatorum. Quum Vestra Beatitudine ex optimi parentis officio plurimum adhortante pacem, quoad fieri per Vos poterit inter Christianos, conciliandi provinciam susceperimus, eo certe animo, ut hac semel stabilita de immanissimis fidei nostre hostibus oppugnandis et reprimendis fæliciter postmodum agi queat. Decrevimus propterea suborientibus malis, quæ opus tam salutare possent impedire, pro viribus occurrere. Intelligentes itaque recentes milites tum ex Hispania tum ex Germania nuper in Italiam descendisse, verendumque sit, ne ex ista adaucti exercitus occasione non solum nova atrocioraque in dies bella et inimicitie patrentur, sed etiam Sanctitatis Vestre Sedis Apostolice dominijque Florentini status in discrimine constituatur, in qua cogitatione dum versaremur, visum Nobis est fidelem ac dilectum Consiliarium nostrum, Secretiorisque nostri Cubiculi nobilem familiarem, magnificum Equitem Dominum Johannem Rosellum, ad Sanctitatem Vestram impresentia mittere, per eumque sibi declare filialem

[1] Copy from the Vatican Papers.

nostrum

nostrum affectum, copioseque aperire quod nostrum super hijs rebus sit judicium, quidque optimum factu censeamus. Vestram proinde Beatitudinem vehementissime rogamus, ut eidem Domino Rosello in omnibus eam fidem, quam loquentibus Nobis haberet, prestare dignetur. Et felicissime ac diutissime valeat. Ex regia nostra Grenwici, die 2 Januarij, 1526.

Excellentissime Vestre Sanctitatis
devotissimus atque obsequentissimus filius,
Dei Gratia, Rex Angliæ et Franciæ, Fidei
Defensor, ac Dominus Hiberniæ,
HENRICUS.

(*Superscribitur*)
Sanctissimo Clementissimoque Domino
nostro Papæ.

CXLVIII. RUSSELL *to* WOLSEY.

PLEASITH Your Grace to understand that, synse my last letters from Lyons, I arrived at Chambery, where I founde the Duke of Savoye, by whome I perceyved that the ways werr sumwhat dangerous: wherfore I requered his advise and aide for my sure passaige thorough his countres, wich durith within 30ti myles of Savone. Whereunto he answ[*ered*][1] that he was very well willing so to doo, sayng that he woldbe always redy to do the Kinges Highnes all suche pleasure and service as might lye in his powear, and desiered me to have hym recummended to your Grace. He offred me for my conduit to send a gentilman with me. After wich I desieryd oon of his messingers, and so he sent with me a herraude at armes of his, and a messinger also, with a [*full*] commission to all his townes that they shuld aide and assiste me, as thei wold doo his owne person. Imme[*diately*] after my departure from Chambery, I met with a gentil[*man*] of the said Dukes, who came from Myllan, and said t[*hat*] oneles I made haste to passe the mountains, the [*passaige*] shuldbe stopped by thImperialles, so that no man [*might*] passe. Wherupon, for to make the more dilligenc[*e, I left*] my folkes behinde, and rode day and night with my , til I came to Savone, wich was the 28ti day [*of this*] monneth, at wich tyme I founde this towne in g[*reate*] fere of thImperialles for taking of the same. The g[*arnison*] of this towne about

[1] The MS. is damaged at the edge.

8 or 9 dayes agon, viz persones, aswel for lack of money, as also to sto[*p the*] passaige of vituailes from Genua, went owt to opt[*aine*] some bouty for ther refresshing. And some they toke, [*which*] they brought into a little villaige that thei had, where they werr besieged by the garnison of Gennes, [*and*] other Imperialles, in nomber too thowsand. And after divers assaultes deffended, thei began to make appoy[*ntment*] togithers. Of the bande of the garison of this towne the half werr Gennovaiz, and the other Ytalians, and ther captaines in likewise. The said Ytalyans agreed to deliver the Gennovaiz to thImperialles, so that them self might be receyvid with the said Imperialles in wages. I write to your Grace of this matter, bycause I thinke your Grace [*shalbe*] advertised of the same otherwise than it is, and ther[*of*] made more than it is.

I have spoken with Counte Petre de Navare, thAdmirall, for my passaige towardes Rome, who desierith me to take pasience here for thre dayes, bicause the residue of the galleiz be gon to conduit Mons[r] de Vaudemont, viz. the Duke of Lorraines brothar, towardes Rome. If thei come not by that tyme, I shall have suche as be here; and sayeth he is mynded to se me seurely conveyed. The said Counte sheweth me, and so sayth all others that commyth from Rome, that the Popes Holines doth very well, and hath levyed ten thowsande men whome He hath sent as nere Naples, as his grounde doth extend. ThEmperours army, as Almayns and other, as yet doth make small spede towardes Tuscane, and have receyvid a dukate apece sith ther commyng; but they be promised that the last day of this monneth thei shalbe paid a monnethes wagis: if the same come not, it is thought here that they wol rather retorne, than marche forwarde.

Pleasith your Grace to cause the Kinges Highnes to write some letters of thankes to the said Duke of Savoye, aswell for his doinges in tymes past not unknowen to your Grace, as also for this he hath doon now; and the same letters to be sent to me to Rome, so that I may deliver them commyng homeward. And thus Jesus preserve your Grace in longe life and contynuall prosperite. Writtin at Savone, the 28[ti] day of Januarj.

(*Signed*) Your humble servant,

J. Russell.[1]

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[1] He wrote again from Savona on the 1st of February. Vitellius, B. IX. leaf 26.

CXLIX. RUSSELL *to* KING HENRY VIII.[1]

PLEASITH Your Highnes to understande that I arrived here the 6th of this monneth, and that 12 myles from hence I founde certaine Turkes and other goode horses for me and my folkes, sent by the Popes Holines. And too myles from hence mete with me the Datary, and certaine other gentilmen, who accompaignied me to my loging, and nedes wold have had me to have logid in the pallaiz, and had prepaired for the same, notwithstanding I made refuse thereof as at that tyme, shewing the said Datary that yt was not best for me so to doo, bicause that others that came of like messaige from other Princes werre not loged there, and that the same shuld cause a gealousi to be had amongest them, for that I shuld be better intreated than they. Whereunto he answered, that the Popes Holines was more bounde to Your Highnes more than to anny other Prince, and that Your Highnes had doon more for Hym than all the Princes Christien. Al this notwithstanding, I went to Sir Gregory de Casales for that night, who in likewise met with me 4 or 5 myles owt of this said towne. In the next mornyng after, the Popes Holines sent to me the said Datary, accompaignied with certaine prelates and gentilmen, to bringe me to the Pope. And, after I had declared my charge, shewing Hym the good mynde Your Highnes bare towardes Hym, His Holines was therof very glad, and greatly conforted and reyoysed more in that Your Highnes sent Hym, than though anny other Prince had sent Hym 200000 ducates, for that that you dede was but upon your gentilnes, and for the deffense of the Churche, and others did not performe that thei had promised. Wherefore He estiemyth Hym self as greately bounde to Your Highnes, as ever Pope was to anny Prince, and sayeth the same could never have come in a better tyme than now. This sending hath greately reyoysed also this said cite, and every mannes raport is, that Your Highnes doth shewe Your self Defensor of the Faith, according to your title, and by the same have relived them that werre half dede, insomuch that I thinke verely Your Highnes never spent monney, that shall sounde more to your honour, than this. Yt is not to be mervelid, though He was in greate feare, considering that the Viceroy with a greate companny came hitherwardes, demaunding as high demaundes as thought he had had the Pope prisoner, and ferre owt of reason, and the Popes Holines was unpurvayed

[1] On the same day Russell and Sir Gregory da Casale wrote a joint letter to Wolsey, which contains much more intelligence than that in the text. Vitellius, B. IX. leaf 49.

bothe of monney and men, and besides that by a vue taken is knowen that here ar inhabited 7000 Spaniardes.[1] I am greately bounde to the Datary, who sayeth he is woon of your servauntes, and gevith Your Highnes greate prayse, and for your sake kepith me companny, and ridith about the towne with me for recreation, wich he usith to doo with no strangier that commith. Where I lye in the pallaiz, I am mervelously well intreated, and al at the Popes cost, and gentilmen sent to kepe me companny dayly.

As this night arrived here Signor Rance, who cam from the camp, and shewed the Popes Holines that the Viceroy hath devided his army in to thre townes of the Popes upon the confyns of Naples, and hym self retired in a nothar towne callyd Pountcorve. The said Signor Rance hath also shewed the Popes Holines, that he with 5 or 6000 men wol goo to a countre callyd Brusse, towardes a citie callyd Laquela, wich countre is of great partes; and there he shall finde manny frendes, aswel of certaine bannisshed owt of Naples, who is withdrawen thither by the Popes helpe, as also of other thinhabitauntes there; so that from thense they may goo seurely to Naples, and elles where, and by the same constrayne the said Viceroy to retire hym self in to strong townes, and so to leve the countre at their pleasure; wich interprise I thinke shall take effect.[2]

The saying is here that Mons[r] de Vaudemontes commyng hither was to have the Popes nyce, and that the Duke of Albany laborith asmuche as he can

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[1] The letter to Wolsey here has a passage, stating that the Pope was contented, and had sent commissions to England for conclusion of peace, putting the same wholly in Wolsey's hands, and had also written to the French King for the marriage of my Lady Princess; that Russell offered himself to go to the Viceroy for cessation of arms, but the Pope thought best to tarry a little, as the Viceroy had retired, and his men should pursue him as fast as they could, for which they had urged the Datary, and the Count de Carpe the French Ambassador, to send forth 2000 men with 20 galleys, "to londe theym in Terrezyn, wich is betwext the Viceroy and Gayet, and "so to inclose hym in suche maner that he shall have no victuales, nor yet goo to Gayet where "he thinkith to goo;" and that the Imperials, having Jeronime Morron prisoner, demand a large ransom for him.

[2] Here follows another passage: "For that interprise the said Sig[r] Rance shall receyve here "20000 ducates, parcell of the 30000 ducates wich the Frenche King sent hither by one Roba "Dangieu, notwithstanding his commission was to deliver 10000 ducates to the Pope, and 20000 "to the said Signor Rance therewithall to do his pleasure." It proceeds, that the Pope was determined to follow the war to the utmost of his power, and thought it not necessary for Russell to go to Bourbon (although he had commission from Henry so to do), as the Viceroy had all the authority; that Russell and Casale had an interview with the Duke's Ambassador, and offered the mediation of Henry to settle the differences between the Duke and the Pope; that the Ambassador answered, that his master was compelled so to make his end with the Emperor, but that he would be glad to fall to agreement, and to enter into the league with the Pope, so that he might part from the Emperor with his honor; and that the Pope was most inclined that "Francoiz "Forceulx" (Sforza) should enjoy the Duchy of Milan.

that

that the King of Scottes shuld have her, and the Duke of Ferrare in likewise laboreth for his son. Then I shewed Sir Gregory that I thought she shuld be a mete marriage for my Lorde of Richemounde, and so amongest other communications we asked the Datary whether Mons[r] de Vaudemont went about suche thinges or noo; and he said nay. We said than that, if the Popes Holines wold marry her to have good alliaunce, we knew where He shuld bistow her better than of anny that is yet rehersed, viz[t] upon a Duche in Ingland, that might spend asmuche as too of the best of them. And he perceyvid straicte whome we ment, and thought that the Popes Holines woldbe very wel contentyd to have suche alliaunce. We said we had no commission to speke of no suche thinges, but that we did was upon our owne myndes. Yf Your Highnes thinke this mete, pleasith you to advertise us of your pleasure in that behalf. I had ben here long before myne arryvall, but I tarryed at Parrys 8 dayes for my dispache, and 5 dayes at Savone for my passage, and a day and a half at Civitas Veche, or I could get horse; so that I lost above 14 dayes. And thus Jesus preserve Your Highnes, and send Your Highnes good life and long. Writtin in Rome, the 11th day of Februarj.

(*Signed*) Your humble subget and servant,

J. RUSSELL.

(*Superscribed*)
[*To the Kin*]ges Highnes.

CL. LEE *to* KING HENRY VIII.[1]

PLEASE it Your Highnes to undrestond that wher we[2] looked that this post sent by the Emperour sholde have dispatched the 10th of this monethe, they heer passed 2 dayes after, and in the meane season gave answer to the Oratours of the confederates; wiche answer the Emperour nowe sendethe to his Ambassadour there to shewe to Your Highnes. It semed to me by Secretarie Baiardes[3] wordes, that the answer is no thing pleasant to them. I can not see that anye goode successe of peax between these 2 Princes can folowe, but by the hondes of Your Highnes; and as I saied to Baiard, I have good hope that,

[1] From letters to the King and Council, Vol. III. No. 18. Holograph.

[2] That is Lee, and Ghinucci Bishop of Worcester, who reached Medina del Campo on the 19th of January. Vespasian, C. IV. leaf 1.

[3] Bayard, the French Orator, arrived in Spain in the latter end of January. Ibid. leaf 33.

if

if the Kyng his mastre have sent sufficient mandatum, with suche ample instructions as the Emperour avowethe to have sent to Your Highnes, that good conclusion maye comme therof. The 12th day of this monethe at nyght, Jhon Alemaigne sent to me the answer[1] to our requestes on Your Highnes behalf delivered to the Chaunceler in writing, wiche answer, as they sent it, is in our commen letter to my Lord Legates Grace. It is general; for they trust that the particularitees of all thinges bee afor this tyme disclosyd to Your Highnes by Don Hinigo. Our Lord evermore governe the affaires of Your Highnes to your honour profett and suertie.

The Dolphyn and his brodre bee had from Burgos ferthre in to the lande, to a towne of the Constable is, and manye of the Frenshe men, that gave attendaunce on them, bee dismissed to retorne in to Fraunce.

A Biscayine, that was Treasorer of the last warres in Naverre, shewed me that the Prince of Navarre makethe greate preparation of men and ordenaunce to comme in to Navarre.

Our Lord evermore governe Your Highnes affaires to the most advaunce-ment of your royall honour profett and suertie, and continue the same in healthe. At Valedolit, the 13th of Februarie.

Your Highnes most bownden Preest,

EDOUARDE LEE,

Almosinar.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Kynges Highnes.

CLI. JOHN DA CASALE *to* WOLSEY.[2]

Illustrissime et Reverendissime Domine,
Domine mi semper colendissime,

Ex ultimis literis Dominatio vestra reverendissima intellexerit, quanti momenti et quantæ utilitatis fuerit Domini Roscelli adventus in Italiam, et quem-admodum omnibus gratissimus fuerit, animumque Pontificis valde confirmaverit. Roma præterea nunciatum est placuisse Pontifici ut Dominus Roscellus ad Viceregem se conferret, agendi causa super his rebus quæ sibi a Serenissima Regia Majestate et reverendissima Dominatione vestra demandata fuerant,

[1] This will be found in Vespasian, C. IV. leaf 39, dated at Valladolid, the 10th of February 1527. Their letter to Wolsey transmitting it has not been found.

[2] Record Office.

videlicet

videlicet ut indutiæ tractarentur. Atque ita Dominus Roscellus ad Viceregem profectus est, a quo honorifice admodum complexus est, cui efficacioribus verbis quam potuerit commemoravit quæcunque a Regia Majestate et reverendissima Dominatione vestra sibi commissa fuerant. Sed Vicerex nunquam tamen a primis postulatis se retraxit, tum de pecunijs et vadimonio, tum de Columnesium restitutione, ut Dominatio vestra reverendissima diffusius cognoscet ex literis Equitis fratris, quas ad Dominum Petrum mitto. Tamen paulopost Vicerex Cæsarem Feramoscam ad Pontificem dellegavit, qui omissis tandem petitionibus de pecunijs, vadimonio, et Columnensium restitutione, ad honestiora deveniens paginam albam Pontifici attulit. Et tunc Pontifex postulata fecit, convenit, capitula conscripsit: quæ tamen adhuc non sunt confirmata, nec obsignata: quibus nunciatis omnis Veneta Respublica mærore ac luctu confecta est: atque hi Domini simul omnes maximo dolore confecti sunt: quare ego, ut inquirerem an facti certiores essent de isthac Pontificis conventione, in Senatum me contuli: cui scripta eadem fuerant, quæ mihi, facta scilicet capitula esse, nondum tamen obsignata: mihi autem ab istis Dominis dictum est se valde metuere, si id transactum non esset, mox transigendum fore; quare ægro animo erant, ac mirabantur nunc rebus confœderatorum tam bene et prospere succedentibus, Angliæ Regis Oratores et Negociatores compositionem tractare aut armorum suspensionem, nam ab Oratore suo ab Urbe cognoverant Dominum Roscellum illum ipsum esse, qui Pontificem accedebat ut hanc armorum suspensionem solus per se faceret. Quibus declaravi Dominum Roscellum, et equitem fratrem, hæc procurare, verum cum satisfactione et consensu Regis Galliæ, et Venetorum, ac denique ut ipsi una omnes consentire deberent, neque aliter; quare hanc ex illorum animo suspitionem evelli, et feci ut ad hoc conquiescerent, eosdemque adhortatus sum ut ut quæcunque possent prestare, facerent, ut Pontifex ab hac particulari conventione se abstineret, et ideo vellent suis copijs jubere, ut procederent, ut Germanis militibus obsisteretur; nam, quotiescunque Florentinorum res in tuto loco positæ essent, Pontifex ad compositionem ita avide non assentiretur. Hi Domini responderunt se non defuturos, quin præstarent quæcunque denique possent, et jussuros ut suus Generalis, ægrotante Urbini Duce, ut nunc invalidus est, ipse castra moveret, et quicquid esset opus conaretur. Heri autem in concilio Rogatorum decretum est ad Pontificem esse scribendum; et sic scripserunt, ne aliquo pacto Ejus Sanctitas ad hanc compositionem particularem convenire vellet: quod omnium rerum subversio foret, præsertim cum nuperime ex proximis literis ex Gallia melius ad hæc omnia consulatur. Ex qua pollicitationes facte sunt majores quam unquam antea, quas etiam re ipsa comprobare cæperunt, nam

Christianissimus

Christianissimus Rex Dominum Langem cum pecunijs expedierat: præterea etiam Ejus Sanctitas cogitare debet animum, quem Serenissimus Rex Angliæ et reverendissima Dominatio vestra ostendunt atque habent, se velle ei opem ferre, ut etiam re ipsa expertus fuerat, sibi auxilium ab Ejus Serenissima Majestate allatus fuisse: atque etiam ipsi ut præstare melius in sententia ipse Pontifex posset et hostibus resistere, volebant Ejus Sanctitati triginta milia aureorum solvere, et quæcunque ex cætero possent nullatenus deesse, ne Ejus Sanctitas tam indignum facinus committeret, quod universi pene orbis maxima esset ruina.

Dum hæc scriberem, redditæ mihi fuerunt literæ ab equite fratre, quas sicut mihi sunt redditæ ad reverendissimam Dominationem vestram mitto; nec potui propter temporis penuriam apud hos Dominos tractare ea, quæ in his significabantur, et quoniam, nisi mane adiri possunt, timebant hi Domini, atque omnes qui isthæc novere et tractant, nos imprimis literis certiores faciendos Pontificem concordiam inivisse; et, quod molestius ferebam, suspicabantur hi Domini a nostris oratoribus has indutias efflagitari. Res aliter se habent. Dominus Roscellus huc se conferret, ut latius in equitis literis Dominatio vestra reverendissima videbit. Qui eis declarabit ejus omnes commissiones ad publicam utilitatem tendere, et hanc esse Serenissimi Regis et Dominationis vestræ reverendissimæ mentem. Spero omnia bene successura, vel si aliter evenerit quam speramus, agemus ita, ut intelligant se fuisse in causa, nec per Serenissimum Regem nostrum et Dominationem vestram reverendissimam stetisse, quin eorum utilitati consuluerit: interim quoad fieri poterit rem protraemus, ut quoad possibile est Pontificem in sententia sustineamus. Quæ succedent, quæque tractabimus, proximis per primum tabellarium ad reverendissimam Dominationem vestram perscribam. Hæc nunc pro temporis penuria ut potui sucinte ad Dominationem vestram reverendissimam scripsi. Venetijs, die 26 Februarij, 1527.

Excellentissimæ Dominationis vestræ Illustrissimæ et Reverendissimæ,

(*Signatur*) S^or^ Jo. CASALIUS Prot.

(*Superscribitur*)

Illustrissimo ac Reverendissimo Domino Domino Thomæ, Tituli Sanctæ Ceciliæ Presbytero Cardinali Eboracensi: Angliæ [*Primati,*] Cancellario, ac de Latere Legato: [*Domino ac*] Benefactori meo optimo.

CLII. JOHN DA CASALE *to* WOLSEY.[1]

Illustrissime ac Reverendissime Domine,
Domine mi semper colendissime.

QUONIAM impresenti ab isthac conventione Pontificis cum Vicerege[2] omnia pendent, ut suspensus est Dux Borbonius, cæterique ejus ductores, an capitula subsignare debeant, non possum quicquam certi significare. Quæ autem fuerit mens Pontificis, et quæ capitula egerit, quidve agere instituat cum Vicerege, ex literis Domini Roscelli et Equitis fratris reverendissima Dominatio vestra intelliget; quarum exempla, sicuti semper consuevi, mitto, ut dilucidius rem teneat; ac reverendum Dominum Bathoniensem certiorem feci de ijs quæ successerunt, ac eum rogavi ut statim omnia perferri ad reverendissimam Dominationem vestram curaret.

Quod ad harum regionum res pertinet, ex quo per duplicatas literas reverendissimæ Dominationis vestræ hanc Pontificis concordiam significavi, hæc sequuta sunt, quæ ut melius ac plenius cognoscat, altius reppetam. Quamprimum Borbonius de conventione certior factus est, ductores ac centuriones acersiri jussit, ad quos habito sermone super ea rogavit, ut singuli milites ac stipendiarios suos consulerent, quid eis agendum videretur; itidem commemorans quam difficilis esset commoratio et redditus, quantique periculi processio si progredi vellent, nam in Ætrhuriæ profectione multæ sunt angustiæ locorum, commeatuum, ac rerum aliarum incommoda, a quibus eorum animos retrahere nitebatur, exhortans tamen, si adeo parati atque animati essent, ut inservirent Cæsari, quemadmodum semper antea fecerant, facile esse impedimenta omnia et quidcquid arduum foret superare. Centuriones stipendiarios suos alloquuti sunt, quorum pars major respondit se velle ulterius progredi, inter quos præsertim Hispani, qui ad hoc promptiores erant, asserebant omnia sibi perferenda esse, vel si compellerentur herbarum radices in cibum summere. Singuli præterea responderunt, uti quisque animatus erat, quemadmodum reverendissima Dominatio vestra percipiet ex exemplari literarum cujusdam viri qui sermonibus his interfuit, quod ad Dominum Petrum mitto. Hoc etiam causa fuit ut ductores omnes ac milites accirentur, qui Ferrariam se contullerant ob res sibi ipsis necessarias comparandas, quemadmodum plenius reverendissima Dominatio vestra perspiciet ex literis Ferraria acceptis a familiari meo, quem ad Domini Wyat liberationem procurandam

[1] Record Office.

[2] A copy of this capitulation of the 29th of March 1527 is in the Museum, Vitellius, B. IX. leaf 81.

 dellegaram;

dellegaram; qui importunitate ac diligentia apud Ducem Ferrariæ usus tandem effecit ut dimitteretur, licet laboriosum et difficile fuerit eum ex manibus illorum rapacium militum extorquere, qui mulctare omnino hominem volebant, sicuti ipse Ferrariæ Dux ad me scripsit. Cæsariani hoc in statu versati sunt a vigesima die Martij usque ad 28, in qua penitus decreverunt nolle se quicquam observare quod a Viceregc decretum esset, sed progrediendum esse die postero aut in Ætrhuriam aut in Æmiliam, vel quo magis ipsis utile foret; cui consulto assentiri noluit Marchio Guasti, peditum omnium primarius ductor, asserens nolle sese opponere menti Cesaris, quapropter multi etiam nobiles secum Ferrariam profecti sunt; quo nuntio ad Guicciardinum allato, qui in exercitu Pontificis Bononiæ locum tenet Ejus Sanctitatis, hac de re pavidus, et existimans Pontificem deceptum esse, et id ex mente Viceregis accidere, ad hunc senatum efficacissimas literas dedit, rogans, quando hoc evenerat, ut nollent pro ea amicitia, quæ inter eos semper fuit et extat, Pontificem deserrere, qui dolis et arte circumventus erat, cum animadverterent hoc publice et privatim interesse. Itaque cum suo exercitu procedere vellent, et Cæsarianos prohibere, ne in Ætrhuriam, aut aliam quamvis regionem progrederentur, cum etiam cognoscerent si Pontificem ejusque omnia subditionem suam Cæsariani atraherent, reliquum etiam totius Italiæ eos esse subversuros, quod ad eorum causam sicuti ad quemvis alium pertinet; ob quam rem isti Domini primo aliquantulum ancipites fuerunt ac suspensi, cogitantes, se debere suum exercitum in discrimen adducere pro Pontifice qui eos destitueret, cum præsertim ejus mentem adhuc nescirent, an bellum omnino gesturus esset, an potius in pactionibus perstiturus, atque omnia potius passurus, quam rursum arma capere; id tamen inter se decreverunt velle se omnia prestare, si Pontificem viderent denuo ad bella propensum et animatum. Ego eos adhortatus sum ut eadem ad Pontificem scriberent, eumdemque confirmarent, pollicentes se omnia pro Ejus Sanctitate acturos, ne aut metu aut desperatione compulsus Cæsarianorum quæcunque postulata acciperet, quod libentissime fecerunt; allatæ postmodum a Guiciardino aliæ literæ fuerunt 29 die scriptæ, in quibus significabatur Cæsarianos ab oppido Divi Jovannis castra movisse, et Bononiam versus tendere; quare hos Dominos rursus obsecrabat ut maturare vellent quod in alteris scripserat, exercitum scilicet eo versus transmittere, animadvertens quod si ij pactiones non servarent, Pontificem iterum compelli ad arma capienda, seque deffendendum, quam etiam Florentinorum mentem esse asserebat; et statim postera die renunciatum est quemadmodum castra moventes ad pontem Rheni duobus milibus passuum Bononia distantem pervenerant, unde excurentes quosdam levis armaturæ equites, qui urbem exiverant, captivos fecerunt, et properantes cum maxima parte exercitus ultra Bononiam Æmiliam versus

versus se recceperunt, quæ res magnum terrorem incussit ijs de quorum interesse publice aut privatim agitur; quapropter copiæ Gallicanæ, quæ Bononiæ erant, munitam urbem relinquentes, prohibendi itineris causa, per quod itur in Æmiliam, sese Imolam recceperunt, quæ urbs 20 milibus passuum Bononia interest. Bononienses vero, quam firmis presidijs eorum patria præmunita erant, nihil de expugnatione metuebant. His nuncijs allatis, rursus ad hos Dominos accessimus, orantes ut consulere hisce rebus vellent; responderunt se paratos esse ad opem ferrendam Pontifici, non solum si bellum sibi gerendum assumeret, ac cæteris confœderatis omnibus constanter adhereret, verum etiam si in inducijs persisteret, quod eo diligentius facerent, si hæc a Pontifice desiderari aut peti viderent. Perlatæ postea nudius tertius ac heri literæ ab urbe sunt, in quibus significabatur Pontificem jam audivisse Borbonium non solum nolle inducias confirmare, verum etiam castra movisse; quod ubi Pontifex rescivit, maximo timore ac merore affectus est, et conquestus hac de re est cum Vicerege, qui se prestiturum pollicitus est ut ab incœptis Borbonius desistat; non tamen aliquid Pontifex parat, quo se tueri possit, si forte accidat ut nullo pacto Borbonius inducias ingredi vellit, vel quia secus facere non possit, vel quia ita res sit ex composito cum Vicerege, ut ex literis Equitis fratris reverendissima Dominatio vestra cognoscet. In suis tamen literis Pontifex hos Dominos rogat, ut suum exercitum transmittere vellint; quod audientes ipsi jusserunt ut Urbini Dux suas copias ultra Padum traduceret, quod puto a se non tam festinanter faciendum, cum Pontificis animum non videant ad bellum tendere, quod apertius etiam ex literis cognovere, quas hodie ab urbe accepimus, quarum exemplare ad reverendissimam Dominationem vestram mitto. Vereor ne id Pontifici eveniat, quod sæpe dictum est. Ipse cum Vicerege inducias contrahet, Borbonius intercedet. Interim Pontifex, qui in urbe exercitum diremit, omnesque civitates in regno Neapolitano captas restituit a confœderatis pene in his regionibus derelictus est, pre timore non audebit iterum arma capere; interim Vicerex ei verba dabit, donec ad extremum excidium incidat. Et quamvis multi existiment velle Cæsarianos, sicuti ei antea predictum est, pecunias his dolis a Pontifice extorquere, hoc minimum esset, si posset se pecunia redimere ac in tuto esse, quin isti, post aliquas pecunias extortas, et postquam aliquantulum retrocesserint, iterum irruant et alias pecunias exigant, atque alia damna Pontifici inferrant. Hæc fuerunt antea prædicta, et præcipue per reverendissimæ Dominationis vestræ literas; quæ tamquam oraculum futura pronunciarunt, quæ si citius prælatæ fuissent, ita sigillatim omnia tangebant, quod puto omnino ejus animum commovendum fuisse. Sed quid nunc de eo sperare possumus? Qui multis captis oppidis in regno Neapolitano, et hostium rebus in angustum aductis, et confœderatis

omnibus eum pro viribus coadjuvantibus confirmari non potuit, ut bellum prosequeretur nec retrhai quin conveniret, nunc vero sperare volumus, quando omnia oppida restituit, exercitum suum dissolvit, et harum regionum copiæ disjunctæ sunt; hostium vero vires auctæ ut rursus ea arma capere vellit, quæ tam ingnominiose deposuit, profecto mea hæc est sententia, eum potius in hac conventione omnia perpessurum, quam iterum arma esse capturum, quoniam non possumus determinate Pontificis mentem perspicere, et quid agendum sit deliberare. Volui hæc prolixius narrare, ut inde posset reverendissima Dominatio vestra quidcquid opus fuerit ellicere, cui me humillime comendo. Venetijs, die sexta Aprillis, 1527.

Excellentissimæ Illustrissimæ ac Reverendissimæ
Dominationis Vestræ,
(*Signatur*) Sor Jo. Casalius Prot.

(*Superscribitur*)
Illustrissimo ac Reverendissimo Domino Domino Thomæ, tituli Sanctæ Ceciliæ Presbitero Cardinali Eboracensi, Angliæ Primati, Cancellario, [*ac*] de Latere Legato, Domino ac benefactori [*meo optimo*] &c.

CLIII. Wallop *to* Wolsey.[1]

Pleas yt your Grace. The 12 day of March I wrot to yow my last letters unto the same, wheryn I advertysyd yow of a Ambassator of the Kynge of Poell that cam to the Kyng of Beem[2], trustyng to have made a pees bytwyxt Hym and Waywda. In the wych he hath letell profytyd, for the Kyng of Beem wyll have no pes with Hym, but ther ys a trewys taken tyll the mydyst of June. The 28 day of March the Kyng departyd out of Prag in to Moravya, and at hys beyng ther the Emperours Ambassator and I axyd leve of Hym to go into Hongary to vysset the Quenys Grace hys syster, wych lyeth in Presbrowgh, the furst towne of Hongary joynyng apone Ostryge; and at my beyng ther I presentyd to Hyr the Kynges Hyghnys most hartyst recommendacions, schowyng Hyr how I was sent owt of Ingland in August last past, trustyng that I schold have byn with the Kyng hyr husbond afoer the batell[3]; and yf I cowyd have browght hyt to pas, hyt

[1] Holograph.

[2] The Archduke Ferdinand, who, on the death of Lewis II., assumed the title of King of Bohemia in right of his wife Ann, the sister of Lewis.

[3] See p. 556.

schold

schold have byn motch for hys comfort and gret releve; and how I had my byllys of exchaynge with me for the same. I delyverd Hyr a letter from the Quenys Grace, whych afermyd the same. When Sche hard that, Sche fell in a wepyng; and after Sche was somwhat pacyfyd, Sche gave hyr humble thankes to the Kynges Hyghnys hyr unckyll, seyng that Sche and all hyr brothern and systers hath ever fownd the Kyng good to them, and hyr trust ys that He wyll so contenew; and as for hyr part, Sche seyth Sche ys nat able to mak Hym amens but only with hyr prayer; and hyr trust ys that the Kynges Hyghnys wyll help hyr brother the Kyng of Beem to get ageyn sych townys as the Turk hath in Hongary afoer Waywda, whom Sche seyth the Kyng hyr unckyll knowyth nat. And as for the realm of Hongary, Sche puttyth no dowte but hyr brother schall have hyt schortly, as of ryght He owght to have. For Sche seyth that Wayda ys hatyd the mor part of Hongary over; for he demaundyth of hys sogettes the 10th part of ther gooddys, whych they wyll in no wyse graunt unto; and they, whych afoer was hys fryndes, now desyryth the commyng of the Kyng hyr brother. And bysydys that ther ys a Moer, whych lyth apone the borders of Hongary, ho hath assemblyd to gether 9 or 10000 horsmen and fotmen of all nacyons, and hath promyssed to take the Kyng of Beems parte. At my beyng in Presbrowgh ther cam letters that he had kyllyd 3000 men of ware of Waywdas and on of hys best capitens. In the castell of Presbrowgh lyth a jentylman of Hongary, ho wyl nat delyver hyt, nother to the Kyng of Beem nor to Waywda, nor wyl nat declare for whom he kepyth hyt. In the towne the Kyng of Beem kepyth garyson. I ynsuer your Grace the Queyn of Hongary dyd intret me very well, and at my departyng Sche sent me a goodly cupe. The seyng ys here for sartayn that the Turke ys deed, and hys heldyst sone, and hys second sone ys Emperour, woo ys but 4 or 5 yere old. In my returne toward the Corte, I met with a Ambassator of the Morys, ho came frome the Kyng of Beem, and he schowyd me the maner of hym and of hys oppynyons. He callyth hymself Emperour of Constantynnople, and how he sayth that he ys sent by God to ponysh the Turkys, and to expuls them owt of Gresia, and that he knowyth well that they schall no mor prosper in thos partes, but dayly to lees that they afoer hath gotten; and wylnat schow wher he was born, nor of what kenred he comyth of, nor wher he was browght up, but that God hath sent hym thethar. Mony he hath none, but levyth apone the contry of Hongary. Hys Ambassador schowyd me that he ys very vertuous, and hys costom ys to slep 2 owrs of the nyght, and pray the thurd, so as the thurd part of the nyght he spendyth in prayers. Also he seyth he ys a very good man of war, and syns hys beyng in thos partys he hath

hath kyld dyvers Turkys. He lyyth not far from Peter Wardayn, a towne with a castell that the Turk gate at hys last beyng in Hongary. The sam Inbassator schowyd me, that hys commysyon that he had to the Kyng of Beem was that the More his master wold that the Kyng schold invade the realme of Hongary as schortly as he cowed, and that he wold eyd hym to the uttermust of hys power; and he seyth that the Kyng hath promysyd hym to be in Hongary in the mydyst of June. No dowt he makyth preparacion, and al hys sobgetes be in aredynys. The grettyst lyclyod that I se ys that the Beemys hath promysyd hym 6000 fotmen and a 1000 horsmen for 6 monythys, and the Moravys 500 horsmen and 3000 fotmen.

On Saint Georges evyn I arryvyd at the Corte, and as sone as I was come, the Kyng sent for me to wayt apone Hym to the cherch, to do honor to the Order of the Garter. I ynsuer your Grace He rode thether yn gret tryumph, and dyd were hys abbet acordyngly, usyng in the cherch all the sarvys ther to belongyng; and the sam day I receyvyd to letters of Doctor Fabre, hoo was Ambassador in Inglond, on from the Kynges Hyghnys, and a nother from your Grace beryng date the second day of Apryell. On Saint Georges day the Kyng tok the Quenys Grace with Hym to the cathedraull chyrch, wher He herd hys mase solemly, schowyng as mytch honor to the Order as cowed be posseble, and yerly He usyth the same, and I have sene Hym weer the coller of the Order at dyvers gret festys. The same day He commaundyd me to dyne with Hym and the Queyns Grace, as I ynsuer your Grace I have done dyvers tymys, and am intretyd as well as can be posseble. After denar I schowyd Hys Grace that I had receyvyd a letter from the Kynges Hyghnys, and as of yours I made no mencion, and incontenent He had me in to hys prevy chamber, wher I dyd declare to Hym thefect of the Kynges leter, one artickyll after another, nat forgettyng your commandment and advyce, whych He did leke ryght well, tyll I came to my goyng to Waywda, whych He lekyd no thyng. I declaryd to Hym how the Kynges Hyghnys intent was nat for nothyng that schold hynder Hym, but rather for hys profyt, and the Kynges pleasure was, that I schold advertes Hym as well of thynges that schold be prejudiciall to Hys Grace, as of what intelygens or practys that the seyd Waywda hath or myght have with the Turke, and also I schold know mor of the Turkys affers ther then to be heer. To the wych He mad answer I schold know nothyng ther but lyys, and as for hys part I schold do Hym lettell pleasur. And then He axyd me how the Kynges Hyghnys namyd hym in hys letter, and what hys pleasur was that I schold call hym. I answerd Waywda, and so the Kynges Hyghnys namyd hym in hys letter, and I offryd to schow Hym the letter, wych He refusyd, nat mystrustyng the Kyng

Kyng hys unckell, that He wyl do Hym so gret a dyspleasure as to wryt hym Kyng of Hongary. And then He seyd to me, if I schold go thether and name hym Waywda, he wold not receyve me, but send me away with dyshonor, and I schold be yll intretyd. I answard Hys Grace that I was a sarvant, and most abaye my masters commandment, and as for dyshonor, ther kowed be none, and as for hys yll intretyng I caryd nat for, so has I myght doo my dewty, and as for that I wold nat let to goo, prayyng Hys Grace to geve me leve and to mystrust no thyng, for He schold have no cause. He seyd He knew well that the Kyng hys unckell wyl do nothyng that schold be to hys hyndrans, but what schold hys fryndys thynke, yf the Kyng hys unckyll, wych they reken heer hys best frynd next the Emperour, yf he schold send hys Ambassador to hys enymy, and what comfort hyt schold be to hys enymys. He axyd me, yf I had eny word of my last letters that I sent be my sarwant. I answerd I had none. Then He wold that I schold tary that answer, seyyng that He knowyth well the Kyng wyl nat that I schold goo in to Hongary, when He dus perceyvyth thefect of my letters; and I schowyd Hys Grace hyt was no soffyciant dyscharge for me. Then He mad me answar I schold nat goo, and that He wold wryt to the Kynges Hyghnys how He hath stopt me, and to take thys for a playn answer. Then I had no mor to say, but to take pacians, tyll I know farther of the Kinges Hyghnys pleasure and your Graces. I insuer your Grace He wyll never soffer me to pas in to Hongary, for no letter that the Kynges Hyghnys or your Grace can devyse, without I goo with Hym; and sory I am that I may nat acomplysch the Kynges Hyghnys commaundment and your Gracys.

The Kyng seyd to me that hyt wer good that the Kyng his unckell now schold make ware apone the Turke, consederyng He had no war thys to or thre yere, and also He ys indeferant, and hath no war in no plase wherby He schold be pute to eni charge. I answerd that the Kynges Hyghnys alone without ayed of other Pryncys cowed lettell advayll, and with owt a universall peax be made that every Pryns may ber hys portion, He wyll nothyng do theryn; but yf Hys Grace wyll labor to the Emperour for a universall peax for hys part, as the Kyng dayly doth stody and procure for hys part to the other Prinsys, then he wyl nat be inferyor to no Prynce in gevyng hys eyd for the presarvacion of Crystes religion. He seyth He wold gladly labor to the Emperour for a peax unyversall, but He fyndyth soo lettell feyth in Princes promices, that He ys a shamyd to wryte to Hym, for He hath byn so oftyn tymys begilled; for when He rekened Hym most suryst of them, yf they fownd eny thing for ther profyt, they caryd nat for ther promys. He

seyth

seyth hyt wer better to have good war than an yll peax, and He seyth ther ys no mane that hath mor nede of peax then He, consederyng the confines that He hath with the Turkes.

I insuer Your Grace Doctor Fabre, that was in Inglond with Salamancka, hath well reportyd the gret honor, that the Kynges Hyghnys and your Grace schowyd to them, nat only to the Kynges Grace her, but al the Cort over, wych every man rejoyses therof, and non so moych as I: afoer they cast meny dowttes.

And wher I dyd wryt to your Grace that Salamanckas commyng in to Inglond was faynyd, I ynsuer your Grace meny men was of that oppenyon, for he hys yll beloveyd in thes partes, and by that menys he schold pas the better. I spak to the Kyng of hym dyvers tymys, to the intent I myght know the sartente; and He seyd that he was gone in to the Low Contry, and of hys goyng in to Inglond he never spake word. Hyt ys nat possebell to wryt to your Grace the sartenty of every thyng, but as I here and cane perceyve I wyl do my best to advartys your Grace ther of. The same day the Kyng departyth from hens to Bressell in Slecia, and from thens to Prag. Other mater I have none to wryt to your Grace at thys tyme; besechyng the blessyd Trenite to presarve your Grace with long and most prosperyus dyngnyte. Wryttyn at Wolmys in Moravya, the 26 day of Apryell.

By your Graces most humble
and bownden sarvant,
JOHN WALLOP.

(*Superscribed*)
To my Lord Le[*gates good*] Grace.

CLIV. RUSSELL *to* KING HENRY VIII.

PLEASITH Your Highnes to understand, that the 10th of this monneth I receyvid your letters for my repaire towardes Your Highnes, at Porte Venere, whither I, being onewardes on my jornay, was by tempast tornyd backe againe, where I founde a courrar, wich I dispached from Rome a fortenight agon, to certefie Your Highnes of the new liege, that the Pope hath made, with all other occurrantes; as by my Lorde Cardinalles letters[1] Your Highnes shall more amply be advertised. The said courrar could in nowise passe, the

[1] In the British Museum, Vitellius, B. IX. leaf 105. It is very nearly the same, mutatis mutandis, as the despatch in the text.

whether

whether hath ben so contrarious hitherto. The last day of Aprell I parted from the Popes Holines at his instance, with comission to Your Highnes and to the Frenche King, to advertise Hym of the Popes extreme necessite, and to perswade Hym, by suche reasons as I know and as I have instructions, to lay apart all delayes, and spedely to socour His Holines and Hym self. For wich cause the said Pope hath dispeched in likewise one Mess^re^ Laurens Toscaine, that doth in Rome for the Frenche King, to advertise the King his master of the same. Besides this He hath dispeched the Generall in to Spaine, and on of his with hym, to advertise, by complaynte, thEmperor aswell of the treson and deceyte that his armys have used towardes Hym, as of ther littil estieme of his owne commaundement. Thus dispeched, we arrived at Civita Vechia the said last day of Aprell, and by reason of evil whether taryed til the 4th of this monneth, or we entred gally. In the meane season I receyvid letters from Sir Gregory[1], mentionyng the successes of Rome synse my departing, wich I now send my Lorde Cardinalles Grace. Our dilligence hath ben letted by dangier of taking of foistes of Turkes, and by tempast.

As toching certaine Cardinalles the Pope makith, I ensure Your Highnes it hath ben no litle travaile to us to move Hym thereunto, insomuche that ones He said He wold rather lose his right hand, then ever doo or consent to it, and that it was to his perpetuall shame to make anny for money.[2]

Bourbon made spedy dilligence by 15 and 20 myles a day, leving Florence, for that he was advertised that the same was strongely fortefied and manned, which caused hym to leve that interprise, and thought it most requesite for hym to take his way toward Rome, wenyng to finde the Pope dispourveyd for the deffense of the same, being wel assuryd that His Holines, upon the promes of the Viceroy, had dissolved his army. So that I rekyn, by counte of Sir Gregorys letters and by other advertisement, that the sixt of this moneth he arrived before Rome, where is prepared to withstand hym. Yf the army of the liege follow, as it is said (viz. where thImperialles dyne they suppe), ther is no dowte, God willing,

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[1] Sir Gregory da Casale's letter, dated on the 2d of May, is in Vitellius, B. IX. leaf 103.

[2] In the letter to Wolsey is here added, " Ther names, and what they ar, I knowe yet no fader " then your Grace may perceyve by the said Sir Gregorys letters: but He promised to make six." Sir Gregory's letter states, " Pource Sa Sanctite a delivere faire aucuns Cardinaulx, et prandre a " se soir deniers deulx, et demain les creer en Consistoire, et croy quil ne fera autre, sinon Perusia, " Gadi, et Copys, avec lesquelz estoit conclud a quarante mille" [escus].

It appears from Ciaconi that on the 3d of May 1527 the Pope created five Cardinals; viz., Benedict Accolti, Bishop of Cadiz; Augustine Spinola, Bishop of Perugia; Nicolas Gaddi, Bishop of Ferino; Hercules Gonzaga, Archbishop of Tarragona; and Marinus Grimani, Patriarch of Aquileia.

 but

but thei shalbe put to a greate afterdeale. Ther was never men, infidelles nor other, that ever usyd such tyranny as thImperialles useth. As knoweth Our Lord, Who send Your Highnes prosperous life and long. Written at Savone, the 11th day of May.

(*Signed*) Your humble subget ande servant,
J. Russell.

(*Superscribed*)
[*To the*] Kinges [*Highne*]s.

CLV. John da Casale *to* Wolsey.[1]

Illustrissime et Reverendissime Domine,
Domine mi semper colendissime, &c.

In ultimis[2] quas ad reverendissimam Dominationem vestram dedi, calamitates nostras, ut puto, ea cumulate cognoscere potuit, quæ vel solo et unico verbo significari queant, si scribatur Roma capta et direpta est. Verumtamen quia dubitatur, ne tabellarius ille periclitaverit, cui de tot flagitijs literæ publicæ commissæ fuerant, eadem rescribam quæ in superioribus nunciata sunt, atque addam quicquid postea subsecutum est. Utque reverendissima Dominatio vestra rem melius cognoscere possit, quasdam ei copias habitorum nunciorum e castris Venetis mitto, ex quibus ordinem et successum rerum omnium perspiciet, cum nulla ad nos aliunde tanti casus significatio detur. Allatæ sunt huic Senatui e castris literæ argumenti ejusdem quod in superioribus sum complexus, et cum Secretario Domini Camilli Ursini locutus sum; qui Camillus in suburbij conflictu præsens interfuit, idem retulit, quod e castris nunciatum fuit. Cum Pontifici persuaderetur, quod cum tribus millibus peditum Roma defenderetur, perstitit, et discedere ex urbe in tutiorem aliquem locum noluit; immo plurimis abire volentibus, suasque fortunas alio transferre, per edictum interdixit, ne quis sub capitis pena quicquam ex urbe deportaret, quæ interdictio calendis Maij facta est, cum nunciatur hostes citra Senas devenisse. Profecti postea sunt quinque dierum spacio tam magnis itineribus, ut omnium opinionem vicerint et superarint, ejusdemque ipsius noctis tempore, qua pervenerant summo mane, urbem invaserunt, idque effecere quod ex alligatis copis cognosci potest: nam subita et improvisa isthæc adventatio in causa fuit, ne quod necessarium erat præpararetur; quod si pontes diruti et prostrati

[1] Record Office.

[2] Not preserved.

fuissent,

fuissent, impossibilis erat in urbem transgressio. Nunc eo res redacta est, quod si Pontifici mox suppetiæ non ferantur ab his Dominis, ut ex arce Sancti Angeli effugiat, Ejus Sanctitas cogetur ad aliquas serviles vel saltem ingnominiosas pactiones devenire, aut vi capietur, cum nece omnium qui ibi inventi erunt. Cum primo res nunciata est, hos Patres adhortatus sum, in castra scriberent, ut Urbini Dux Romam versus progrederetur; nunciatum enim fuerat eum propter hoc superstitisse, quia de processione nihil ei demandatum fuerat, sed responderunt eorum Ducem et Proveditorem tam amplas hac de re comissiones habere, quod absque mandato facere id poterant, et quod oblata occasione facerent, neque his obstantibus prætermitterent quin ad eos scriberent. Tamen puto ijs non videri utile, ut ulterius progrediatur. Cuncti postmodum oratores in Senatum accessimus, hortantes ut id mandare vellent. Nam exercitus vix quicquam præstaret propter ea, quæ in horas innovantur, quæ novis indigent remedijs, sic ista quæ maximi momenti sunt novo indigent mandato. Dicebamus præterea de more esse exercitus alere, et cum hostibus pugnetur; neque tantum ad defensionem, verum etiam ad offensionem, et ad repulsionem hostium quales sunt isti, et quod hæc unio facta est, ut Cæsar ad honestas pactiones cogeretur: et quod si semper occasiones expectentur ad concertandum, quibus Cæsariani sint inæquales, nihil unquam de negotio hoc transigetur, et horrenda hæc calamitas illata est ex negligentia nostra, millies enim confligere potuimus, nunquam tamen bello congressi sumus, nunc hostes debilitati sunt interfectis tribus millibus eorum, Borbonius ductor occisus est, ipsi in delitijs et divitijs immersi sunt, huc illuc divisi, hæc occasio prætermitti non deberet, quæ si optatum exitum sortiretur, e tantis difficultatibus eriperentur, victoresque essent, et plus ex hac re dignitatis eis augeretur, quam posset ex quacunque re unquam addi: et si etiam aliter accideret, et tunc exercitum amitterent in tam justa et honesta expeditione, mox alterum in Insubria reparare possent, et cuncti Christiani Principes ijs adjumento essent, et in hoc Deus faveret, quod bellum suscipitur in gentes multo pejores quam infideles sint, quæque longe majora flagitia præstiterunt, quam Turcæ præstitissent in sacerdotes, presbiteros, fratres, religiosas mulieres, et ecclesias; adeo quod Romanis displiceat, quod Turca Romam non adventarit ad hæc facienda, cum in Hungaria erat, minus enim infesta et moderatior urbis direptio fuisset, minora sacrilegia: his tandem rationibus his patefecimus, quod si eorum exercitus progrediatur, Pontificem cum Cardinalibus, qui sunt in castro Sancti Angeli, liberabunt, quod maximi lucri et existimationis esset; nam cum Ejus Sanctitate omnis Hetruria et totus Ecclesiæ Status ad confœderatorum voluntatem accederet, quod si ab alijs Pontifex capiatur, omnia secum collabuntur et corruunt: ac etiam speramus, si forte dispersos hostes invenerimus, nunc eos

expugnare et vincere; quod si expectemus ut prædam in aliquem locum traducant, resque suas componant, et ducem eligant, ditissimi facti sunt, aliorum militum delectum habebunt, et in certamen ipsis obviam venient, eos superabunt, omniaque adiment, quæ possederint. His et alijs rationibus permoti sunt, atque heri vespere in Rogatorum Concilio decreverunt sibi scrivendum esse, ac committendum ut eorum exercitus procederet, atque si opus esset confligeret, atque omnia fierent quæ ad rem facere viderentur, ipsi tamen non sperant urbem amplius recuperari posse: namque asserunt Cæsarianos se munitos intus retenturos, neque expugnari posse. Respondeo quod victoriæ ex occasionibus proficiscuntur, si cum nos castello Sancti Angeli opem ferre volemus, hostes non exierint, Pontificem cum cæteris omnibus liberabimus, et fortasse etiam ea via ingressum urbis tentabimus; si pars eorum exiverit ad castelli defensionem, eo in tempore congredi secum poterimus, et superare, et nostri milites ferociores erunt, magisque animati, cum intellexerint se Romam direpturos esse, et prædæ compotes fore, et in perpetuum complectendos et honorandos; nescio quid agent in ultimis. Præterea nunciatum est, hoc eos statuisse ut Federicus a Bozolo cum 150 gravis armaturæ equitibus, cum ingenti caterva levis armaturæ equitum et peditum archibusorum proficisceretur, et tentaret, si Pontifici suppetiæ ferri possent, adeo ut e castro eripi posset. Hoc idem cum hujusmodi comitatu decreverat Guido Rangonus Comes, quod multi difficile arbitrantur, ni cunctus exercitus subsequatur: quod si subsequatur, facile est ut eveniat. Nuntiatum præterea fuit e castris 14 die hujus mensis, quemadmodum Urbini Dux jam castra moverat Romam versus, cujus pars copiarum jam ad Urbem Veterem pervenerant, quod oppidum Roma distat duabus dietis, et Perusii res composuerat. In Insubria ij qui Mediolani sunt nostros iterum milites invaserunt versus Laudem et Sanctum Angelum. Franciscus frater, qui omnibus his negotijs interfuit, et viriliter se gessit, quod valde ijs Dominis placuit, ad hos Dominos scribit majorem eorum jacturam fuisse: legerunt mihi hi Domini hoc mane literas quas eorum orator qui isthic est scribit, ac ea quæ ex Gallia nuntiantur, quæ in maximam spem eos erexerunt, et si celeriter expediantur, certe maximo adjumento erunt. Nec plura. Ego me Dominationi vestræ reverendissimæ humilime comendo, quæ diu fœlix valeat. Venetijs, die 16 Maij, 1527.

Excellentissimæ Illustrissimæ et Reverendissimæ Dominationis vestræ.

(*Signatur*) S^or^ Jo: Casalius Prot.

(*Superscribitur*)

Illustrissimo ac Reverendissimo Domino Domino Thomæ, Tituli Sanctæ Ceciliæ Presbytero Cardinali Eboracensi, Angliæ Primati, Cancellario, ac de Latere Legato, Domino [*meo ac Benefa*]ctori optimo &c.

CLVI. Wallop *to* Wolsey.

Pleas it your Grace. The 26th day of April I wrote unto yowe my last letter to the same, advertising yow of the receyte of 2 letters oone from the Kynges Highnes and an other frome your Grace; and also how the Kyng of Beeme wolde nott suffre me to pas into the royalme of Hungrie. At whois being in the contre of Slesia, which joyneth uppon the frontiers of Pole, I desyred His Grace to gyve me lefe to se the Kyng of Poles Courte, wherto He was right wel content. And at my commyng thider, I declared unto His Highnes the commissione that I had to the Kyng of Hungrie that ded is, and also the commission that I had to the Waywda, and howe that I was stoppid by the Kyng of Beeme. Moreover I shewid Hym howe the Kynges Highnes and your Grace gave me commawndement that, if I came nyghe his confines, howe I shulde visite Hym, and shewe Hym what love the Kinges Highnes and your Grace do beere unto Hym, for that yowe bothe knew Hym for so vertuose a Prince, and that He so well defendid that parties of Christendome frome the malice and extreme persecution of Turkes, Tartars, and Moskovites; and ferdermore for that He wolde in no wise that any ungraciose sect of Luter shulde entre into his contrees, and what goode policie He usid therfor, for the which the Kinges Highnes and your Grace did not a litle rejoyse. I assure your Grace He was very glad that it pleasid the King and yow to send to visite Hym, saying that nother sithen He was King, nother in the tyme of his predecessor was never no Englisshe Embassadoure in that parties. Wherfore He in his moste hartiest and loving maner thankith the Kinges Highnes and youre Grace, and that it pleasid yowe so to extime Hym, for the goode defending of theis parties and preservacion of his contrees frome the ungraciose secte of Lutere, saying that if ther war any thing in his royalme, wheryn He myght do the Kinges Highnes other your Grace pleasure, He wolde be as glad to do it as any man lyving. And as for my parte, what He myght do me pleasure in, for your sakes He wolde be glad. I assure your Grace that I was not in all my journay so well entreatid, as I was with Hym and his nobles. Howe be it, me thowght afore I was as well entreatid as cowde be, but this chere was so goode and with so goode hartes, that I cannott write to moche therof. And also presentes war geven to me, not allone by the King Hym selfe, but also by his nobles. Over all this tyll I came into the King of Beemes contrey, I lay every nyght yn the Kinges castelles, or some of his noble mennys, all waies well providid for. My dutie is to reporte

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as I fynde cawse. Hiderto I have ben well entreatid in all contrees, that I have passid thorow. I pray God that, whan it shall please the King and yowe that I shall retorne, that I may fynde the reste of my journay as pleasaunte as I have fownde it hiderto; for I entende nott by Goddes grace to retorne the same way that I came forthe, to the entent that I may se other contrees that I have not seene afore, by cawse of ferder spreding abrode the Kinges moste vertuose intencion and purpose, as I ensure youre Grace I have done hiderto, as far as is possible to be in theis parties of Christendome, and left no royalme onvisited, save Denmarke oonly, which liethe somewhat fer of.

Pleas your Grace, at my retorne into the King of Beemes Courte, att Pressell in Slesia, I spake with Duke George of Saxon, and salutid hym bothe in the Kinges name and yours, which was right glad therof, in so moche that he desired me yn any wise to retorne by his lande, offering that what he myght do to the pleasure of the Kinges Highnes other your Grace, it shulde be hym the moste pleasure that myght be.

As towching newes, I have none of any certainte, but that the King of Beeme departithe frome hens the 21th day of this moneth towarde Prage, there to tary but 7 other 8 daies att the ferdest, and fro thens to departe to Vienne, where He entendith to putt Hym in a redynes to invade the royalme of Hungarie. And the likelyhode is grete, as I before tyme in my laste letters have written to your Grace, for the Beemes have promysed Hym 6000 fotemenn and 1000 horsmenn; the Moraviens 3000 footemenn and 500 horsmenn; and the Slesiens 2000 footemenn and oone thowsond horsmenn, the space of half an yere; beside that Austriche, Carinthia, Tyrolles, and Steyrmarke have promysed Hym; which I here say is a right goode nombre. I ensure your Grace the Waywda hathe litle power to resiste Hym, withoute that the Turkes wyll gyve hym aide, withe whome, as many menn thinke, he hathe practise.

The King of Pole faverith Hym very moche, and wolde that ther ware a goode peas betwene them. But as towching any aide, I cannot perceyve that He wyll geve Hym except it be by coloure, for He hathe enemyes ynowgh all redy.

The King of Poles first wife was the Waywdas suster, by whome He hath a dowghter abowght the eage of 13 yeeres, whome His Grace wolde in any wise I shuld se, I assure yowre Grace she is a faire lady, and as the commune reporte is right vertuose.

Where as I have written afore to youre Grace that the Turke was ded, suche fame was not in Hungarie, and that contrees, oonly, but also in Pole: how be it, there cann no man as yet know the certaintie.

Please yowr Grace moreover to understond, that here is an Embassadour frome

frome the Waywda of Muldavia, whiche contrey lieth betwene Pole and Turkye. And, as he hym self tolde me by an interpreter, his Lorde offerithe the King of Beeme all service and pleasure to the uttermoste of his power.

As towching the Diete, that shulde have begonn at the feste of Sainte George in Ragensbruch, it taketh litle effecte, for the Princes of Almayne wyll not come thider, excepte the King of Beeme be there present. And bycawse that He, otherwayes empesshid for the royalme of Hungarie, commyth not, they sende but oonly there Oratours thider. Other mater I knowe none to write unto yowr Grace at this tyme, beseching the blessid Trinite to preserve your Grace with long and moste prosperous dignitie. Written at Pressell in Slesia, the 20th day of Maij, 1527.

By youre moste humble and bowndenn servaunte,

(*Signed*) JOHN WALLOP.

(*Superscribed*)
To my Lord [*Cardinal*]s goode grace.

CLVII. CLERK *to* WOLSEY.

PLEASE it Your Grace, after my most humble recommendation, to understond, that abowt the 15 of this moneth, by letters sent from Venyce, it was spoken that the Duke of Burbon with the armye imperyall by vyolence shold enter Rome as the 6th of this moneth, and that in the same entree the sayd Duke shold be slayne, and that the Pope had savyd Hymself with his Cardynals in Castell Angell; whyche tydinges, bycause they ware not written unto Venyce, but upon relation of a souldiar that came from Rome to Viterbe, and bycause ther cam hither no maner of confirmation therof unto this day, they war not bylevyd. This day ther is come letters from Venyce, confirmyng the same tydynges to be true. They write also, that they have sackyd and spoylyd the town, and slayne to the nombre of 45000, non parcentes nec etati, nec sexui, nec ordini; amonst other that they have murdryd a marveillous sorte of fryars, and agaynst pristes and churchis they have behavyd thaymselfes as it doth become Marranys and Lutherans to do. It is also written that the Pope, after ther entree, dyd send on unto Venyce for socours for his escape; and the Venecians wryteth that they have sent a good nombre, bothe of men of armys and also of fotemen, whiche with suche as bene there alredy shall joyne unto the castell and receyve the Pope owt, as it is written. I remembre well

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the citie and the place, and the ennemyes beyng there of that powar that they be of, ther is no lykelyhode that this thyng can taake any good effect. Upon the comyng of thies tydynges, and upon receyt of your Gracis letters of the 21 of this moneth, the whiche I receyvyd yesterday, I have been this day with the Kyng, Who in effect confirmyd unto me the newys afforesayd; shewyng furthermore, that He had depechid his capitayns and comissioners for the levyeng of 10 mil Sweces immediatly, and takyth the matter veray ernestly, as the caas in deade importith, and sayde that He lokyd howrely for som good woord from Monsr de Tarbe, from whom He sayd He had had no worde sythens his departyng. He thynkyth verely that his armye and the Venetians shall socour the Pope. He saith that this man, sent from the Pope to Venyce, reaportyth that thImperialls, now sythens the sakke, have offeryd the Pope condicions off appoyntement, vizt that His Holynes shold leve Castell Angell unto thaym with soche richesse and store as is in it, and besydes paye unto thayme 300 mil docattes at dayes, and that His Holines shall goo into Spayne, and submytt Hymself to thEmperours discreation: the whiche conditions He reconnyd that the Pope wold never graunt unto.[1]

According unto your Gracis commaundement, in the best maner I cowd I movyd the Frenche King, in the Kinges Highnessis name, for the admission of the 2 gentilmen your Grace wrote unto me of; and He is right wel contentyd to admytt thaym, and to gyve thaym entretaynement accordingly, with veray good and lovyng wordes, sayeng that of what qualitie soevir they be of, beyng putt unto Hym by the Kyng hys brother, they shold be welcome unto Hym, and that He wold not faill but make of thayme, as the great love and amytie that is betwen the Kinges Highnes and Hym doith requyre. And as towchyng ther place and entretenement, He sayd that He wold do well ynough for that, and that they shold be contentyd; ne made me non other but suche a generall answer. Notwithstonding, I perceyve by Hym, and by som other that I have talkyd withall, that it wilbe hard for thaym to be admytted into the chambre, and therfor at ther comyng hither, I will advertise thaym that they shall requyre no suche thyng.

I have seen Master Doctor Stevyns oration, whiche I assure your Grace me thynkyth veray eloquent. I trust Your Grace lokith for no suche of me. I shall endevir my silf to do the best I can, and shall kepe me in generalities according to your Graces advertisement. On thyng assuryng your Grace that there shalbe no tale so well lykyd here as a short shall;

[1] See Wolsey's reflexions on these events, Vol. I. p. 189.

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as for the rest it cannot be amysse for this audience. Thus the Almyghty God preserve Your Grace. From Parys, this 28 day of Maye.

(*Signed*) Your Grace is most humbyll chapleyn,

Jo : BATHONIENS̃.[1]

(*Superscribed*)
To my Lord Legattes good Grace.

CLVIII. WOLSEY *to* GHINUCCI, LEE, *and* POYNTZ.[2]

MY Lord of Worcester, Mr Almoner, and Mr Poyntz, I commende me unto you in my right herty maner, not doubting but that, long before this tyme ye be advertised of the shameful crudelities committed by thEmperours armye in the citie of Rome, and against the Popes Holynes and Cardinalles, being aboutes the same with the spoyles ravynes and other detestable enormyties by them don; suche as, if it be true that is here reaported, the like coude not have chaunced, ne more ignomynie have ben shewed bothe the citizens, and other men wemen and childern, religious people, the holy places and reliques of saintes and otherwise, if the said citie had ben taken by Turkes or other enemyes of Cristes religion; which to here and understonde, and specially that the same is don by the capitains and army of Hym that is reputed the chief and principall of Cristen Princes, is to the Kinges and my grete regrete and hevynes: the circumstances wherof, bicause the Kinges Highnes and I doubt not but they shalbe better and more certeinly known to you ther, bifore the receipt of thise letters, than they yet be there or here, I shal nede no further to reherse. The onely remedy nowe after God is, that suche, as be good catholique and cristen Princes, do study for the redubbing punishement and reformacion of this most shameful and detestable attemptate, and the reintegracion of the thinges nowe over all brought unto this myserable state, to the danger and periclitacion of Cristes feithe and of al Christendome; wherin it is thought unto the Kinges Highnes and the Frenche King expedient

[1] In the State Paper Office is a very detailed memorandum drawn up by Sir Thomas Boleyn, Viscount Rochford, of the proceedings from day to day of himself, Bishop Clerk, and Sir Antony Browne, who were commissioned to take the oath of Francis I. to the three treaties concluded at London on the 30th of April. Rymer, Vol. XIV. p. 203. The diary extends from the 27th of May, when Rochford and Browne left Calais, to the 13th of June. The oath was solemnly taken at the high altar in the choir of the Church of Nôtre Dame on Whitsunday the 9th of June.

[2] Headed, "Copy of my Lord Legates lrẽs to the Kingꝯ Ambassadoꝛs resident wt thEmpoꝛ."

to knowe and understande thEmperours mynde opynion and determynacion: that is to say, whither this have ben don by his order commandement and consent, or not; or whither He do accepte this demeanour of his capitains and armye in good parte, lawding justifying and approving the same; or whither He, never consenting therunto, be, as it aperteynith, highly and grevously displeased and myscontented therwith; being mynded, to the declaracion of his sincerite and example to al other, to see it with al diligence reformed punyshed and redubbed, or not: the certeintye wherof the Kinges pleasure is that ye shall, by all good waies and meanes to you possible, investigate enserche and knowe, aswel of thEmperour Hym self, whiche ye shal mowe commodiously do in lamenting unto Hym the said crudelites, and declaring unto Hym howe moche displeasant the same is bothe to the Frenche King and the Kinges Highnes, and so oweth to be unto all good Princes and people, as by his outewarde and secrete doinges in folowing the avantage that He might take against the Popes Holynes or otherwise upon the same. And if ye shal perceyve that the said Emperour shall shewe demonstracion of myscontentment and high displeasure with this mater, than shal it be necessary ye jointly with the Frenche Ambassadours ther resident do procure and solicite, and that with most spedy diligence, all suche thinges to be don as may conduce the Popes liberte and the said Cardinalles, the preservacion of the Se Apostolique, without losse dammage or hinderance, restitucion to be made as ferre as may be of hurtes and injuries susteyned, with suche punishement and reformacion in his army, as it may appere to all the worlde the same his miscontentement procedeth of sincere hert and mynde without any fayned demonstracion; the circumstances wherof, ne howe this mater shal or may best and most vertuously be redubbed, can not be here specially lymited, bicause the particularities of the greves be not yet certeinly known; but if thEmperour be mynded to see reformacion therof, it is not to be doubted but He and his Counsail wol do the same, with suche fashion circumstances and order, as to his declaracion and manifest justification, and the weale of the churche, dignite of the Pope, and See Apostolique shall accorde: the trouthe wherof shal not fayle to appere by thexperience of his actes. For his innocencye can not herin be declared, yf He omyt any parte of that whiche ought to be done, and may be in his power to do, to the reformacion and punishement hereof; wherin if He have this intent, I require you to advertise the Kinges Highnes and me his mynde in diligence; and He shall not faile to have the best counsail, whiche His Grace or I can geve unto Hym for thaccomplishment of the same.

Nevertheles,

Nevertheles, if ye shal perceyve by outewarde demonstracion or otherwise, that the said Emperour is right well contented with this the demeanour of his folkes in Italy, and that He do or woll approve justifye and folowe the same, or that shewing a countenance of displeasure, He nevertheles do the contrary; the Kinges pleasure than is that ye with all diligence possible advertise me therof, and what ye shal knowe in all and every the circumstances of the same, with the preparations that He shal further make to the prosecucion of that mater. For doubteles, if upon your advertisement to be made hither of thEmperours answer to the instructions sent by you, Sir Fraunces Poyntz[1], it shalbe thought convenient to the Kinges Highnes and the Frenche King to give you and his Ambassadours order for making of the intymacion of werre, this shalbe a principal and chief grounde and occasion, wherfore not only they, but all other good Princes owe and shulde be moved therunto for the defence of the feithe, churche, Se Apostolique, and in maner of the hole cause of Cristes religion; whiche, if this oultrage should and might be with violence maynteyned and folowed, were like to be totally subverted and brought unto ruyn. The Kinges Grace and I pray you therfore to use all dexteritie possible for knowlaige of the premisses, and therof to advertise His Highnes and me with all diligence and expedicion, as His Graces and my speciall trust is in you.

CLIX. Weston *to* King Henry VIII.

Serenissime Potentissimeque Rex, et Domine noster colendissime. Sacratissimus tuus Hierosolymitanus ordo lege sua et more majorum contulit mihi Prioratum fœlicissimi Regni vestri, nunc nuper a bone memorie confratre meo Thoma Docray vacante. Supplico humiliter ut clementia serenissimæ et potentissimæ Vestræ Majestatis dignetur mihi, subdito suo fidelissimo et servitori humillimo, dimittere hanc mercedem laborum meorum, quos longo tempore in militia Hierosolymitana terra et mari pertuli. Consuevit enim omnibus subditis suis ac religiosis prefati ordinis semper Majestas Vestra relinquere beneficia a dicto ordine in vestro Regno assignata. Erit hæc Tuæ Majestatis gratia dignissima preclarissimis tuis heroicis virtutibus, utilissima

[1] The original and the secret instructions to Poyntz, signed by King Henry VIII., and additional instructions from Wolsey, are in the Cambridge University Library, MS. 1037. E e. 4. 27. pp. 43. 55. 64., and it is remarkable that no minute or draft of them is found to exist elsewhere.

et honorifica mihi ac familiæ meæ, Numini Majestatique Vestræ semper devotissimæ. Petit eam a Te reverendissimus Magnus Magister Hierosolymitanorum equitum et totius ipse equestris ordo. Spero quod tam nobilis ordinis, et meas, familiæque meæ preces clementia Majestatis Vestræ hic exaudiat. Quam Deus Optimus Maximus diu nobis et suis regnijs custodiat incolumen. Cornetti, die ultima Junij, 1527.

Ejusdem Serenissimæ Potentissimæque Regiæ Majestatis

Fidelissimus subjectus et humillimus servitor,

(*Superscribitur*) (*Signatur*) WYLLM WESTON.

Serenissimo Potentissimoque Regi Angliæ et Franciæ, Domino nostro.

CLX. LEE *to* KING HENRY VIII.[1]

PLEASE it Your Highnes. The first of Julie Monsr de Tarbes and Sir Frawncesse Poyntz arrived heere. The Emperour appointed an Arbisshoppe and a Cownte[2] to meet with them, but they wold come secreate in the morneng, because they came in post. The Emperor took them full well, and gladlie hard their charge and made thertoo redie answer, some tymes smyleng and jesting with Monsr de Tarbes, and at all declared Hym self glad to have peax, and that He no thing more desiered, ne is more naturallie enclined to, and evermore aswell in the first audience as all ooder folowing He evermore made loveng and kynd mention of Your Highnes, avoweng that He accompted You as his fadre, and that onlesse for your mediation He could not have been induced to suche thinges, for any ooder man or meane, as nowe He will condescend unto. The conditions proposed were, the first,

[1] Holograph. From the Museum, Vespasian, C. IV. leaf 170. In the same volume is a long despatch of the same date from Ghinucci, Lee, and Poyntz to Wolsey, extending from leaves 145 to 153, and from 166 to 169. It is apparently undated and imperfect (and is so stated in the Cottonian Catalogue), arising from the fact that the leaves of many of the letters from the Ambassadors in Spain, in this volume, are intermixed one with another. The despatch to Wolsey is of great length, and enters minutely into the demands of the English and French Ambassadors, the answers of the Emperor and his ministers to the same, the intimation of war to be made by the Bishop of Tarbes, in case the Emperor should refuse to accede to the terms proposed, &c. &c. It embraces a period, as does also the letter in the text, from the 1st to the 17th of July; and the details of the negociation are carried on by the three Ambassadors from the 17th to the 21st of July in a letter of the latter date from them to Wolsey, Ibid. leaves 162–165. 176–178.

[2] The Archbishop of Bari and the Count of Oropeace, Ibid. leaf 139.

2 millions of crownes, the toone to bee payed in hand at the deliverawnce of the pledges, the tooder to bee payed in 3 yeres, good suertie, suche as His Majestie shold bee content with, geven for the suertie therof. To this He answered more was offerd afor, above 2 millions to discharge his debtes towardes Your Highnes. The 2d condicion that the Frensh Kyng is content to supersede from the superioritee of Flawnders and Artoise for terme of the Emperors lief, and liek wiese for the titles of Millan and Napulles for terme of lief. To the terme of lief He made answer, that He entended to make peax for his heyers also perpetuall. As for Napuls He saied the Frenshe Kynge hath all redie geven his title to Monsr Valdemont. The third offre, and all, was that the French Kyng is content that the Emperour have pension of Millan, honest and sufficient, for terme of Franciscus Sforcia is lief. To this He made no answer. But as toocheng this, Monsr de Buclans[1], Secretarie, shewed me, that the Emperour hath alredie commawnded Antonio de Leyva, Governor of Millan for the tyme, to demawnd of Duc Franciscus by an herald, whider he bee content to stond to his triall; and if so, that then he shall saye to hym on the Emperors behalf that the Emperour is content that he choose, and if he bee tried innocent, he shalbee restored againe, if ooderwiese that then he must stond in the Emperours grace. The saied Monsr de Buclans made insinuation to me that nowe that Burbon is ded, the Emperour, beeing delivered of his promesse, the restitution of the tooder, althowgh he be fownd faultie, shold bee the more easie, albeit he knewe well, that if ever he bee restored, he shall bee restored at the request of Your Highnes, and at no ooder mannes, ne for no ooder meanes. Mo articles then afor rehersed the Bisshoppe of Tarbes hathe not opened, ne will; which thinge somewhatt abasshethe the Emperour and his Counsell, that mutche greater offers hathe been made by meane personaiges, and as they saied they looked to have had offers with avawntaige at Your Highnes intercession, and that wher the Frensh Kyng pretendethe that for Your Highnes sake He came to thees, they bringe forthe 3 or 4 offers made by diverse and some meane personaiges, of his Frensh Kynges owne couraige, greater they saied than thees, speciallie the Viceroyes letter which the Bisshoppe confessed to bee his hand, writen opon charge geven to hym by mowthe of the Frensh Kyng and of Madam; wherin above 2 millions to bee payed all at oones afor the deliverawnce of Madame Elionere and the pledges, if the Emperour wold needes so. He offerd to paye Your Highnes all your debtes, and to observe the treaty of Madrill, Burgonne and Millan oonelie except. They browght forthe a nooder writen with the handes

[1] John L'Alemand.

of

of a Secretaire called Comacler, whiche semed as ample, and yet a nooder copie of instructions geven to the President of Burdeaulx heere resident, and Secretarie Bayard sent to this towne; wiche copie the President denied, the Emperour and 3 of his Counsell avowed; and in deed the President grawnted the same aftre ward to us. We have so handled the thinge, that the Emperour hathe promysed to come to demawndes, and will propose to us his conditions, and the moderacion of them with the most secreate of his mynd He will referre to Your Highnes; desiereng us to bee meanes to Your Highnes that in the handeling heerof it maye liek You that in consideracion of his honour no thyng bee doone to the prejudice of the treatie of Madril (wiche, untill all thinges bee concluded, He wold have stond in good strengthe); and that it maye further liek Your Highnes so to beare Your self in this thing, that it may appere *that thees offres comme not of Your Grace.*[1]

We trust that for this tyme *the intymacion of war is past*, wiche we mutche rejoyse opon good hope, bicause we can not doubte but that Your Highnes doethe also rejoyse it.

As I wrote afor, toocheng a pension to bee taken of Franciscus Sforcia, the Emperour made no answer; but of justice He answerd as He was wonte, and as we have in sondrie letters advertised Your Highnes, the Secretarie, Mons[r] de Buclans, shewed me that the Emperor hath geven commawndement to Antonio de Leyva, nowe Governour of Millan, to demawnd of Duc Franciscus by an herald, whider he will stand to triall or not, and if he will, to declare to hym that the Emperor is content that he choose his owne judges, and if they trie his innocentie, that he shalbee restored, and if ooderwiese that than he must stond in the Emperours grace: he made insinuation to me, that if ever he bee restored it shalbee at the contemplation of Your Highnes, and not by anye ooder man, ne meanes. This he told me secreatlie. He saied morover to me; "the Frenshmen we heer "offer you a pension in Millan; by whatt authoritie? if you have anye "ther, it must comme by us." I answerd, "we noder ask pension ther "of the Frenshmen, ne of you, but offer you pension therin, so that the "Kinges Highnes will induce the Frensh Kyng wiche pretendithe title ther, "and Franciscus Sforcia ther too." "Well," saiethe he, "somme good maye "comme therof."

I forgatt afor, that Mons[r] de Tarbes offerd to the Emperour that the Frensh Kyng is that he still kepe Tornaye, or retorne again to the possession of Hesdine, leaveng Tornaye to the Frenshe Kyng; but not that He shall

[1] The passages printed in Italic are in cypher in the original.

have

have bothe. The Emperor made but light heerof, sayeng, that thees thinges shold lett no peax.

We moved also the Emperour, accordeng to the tenour of letters sent to us from my Lorde Legates Grace, of the thinges of Roome, lamenting the cruelties and spoiles done ther, and speciallie the contempt of the person of our Holie Fader and the Cardinalles, saieng that it must needes bee mutche slawnderowse and horrible in the eares of all Princes and ooder, to heer that the hedd of Christes religion is by a christen Prince, and the cheef of Princes, taken and holden prisoner; eftsones desiereng His Majestie of Your Highnes behalf that for the honour of Christes religion, and in the avoydeng of the ignominie therof amonges the infidelles, He wold put His Holinesse to libertie and see amendes made for damaiges doone, as He myght, and punishment apon the autors of this horrible oughtraigeouse deedes. He answerd that as yet He had no certainte in whatt case the Pope is, but oonlie that He was in Castell Angle whan his people entred, and that He thinkethe, if He bee prisoner, it is for so mutche that He is restrayned of libertie to comme ought of Castell Angle by the souldiers, wiche nowe beeing wylde heddes, unrulie, and withought awe of capitaignes, have the saied capitaignes in their power, and that He heerethe they saye they will have their hoole payment of 400000 ducates, or the Pope come owght; and that if He were ther Hym self in Person, He shold also bee in their handes; so that noder He, ne none of his Counsell, will heer it spoken that the Pope is prisoner. He saied morover: "I trust to "my uncle, and to His Holinesse, and to all the world," that He wold declare Hym self ooderwiese than He is paynted, and that He wold in evident demonstration shewe Hym self a christen Prince, and the most humble and devoute child of the Churche, and of His Holinesse; and that He doubted not so to satisfie His Holinesse at all poyntz, that His Holinesse shold hold Hym self content. He saied morover that the Pope wold come in to Spayne. The Secretarie saied to me, that he thowght that His Holinesse wold bee in Spaigne soner than men wold looke for Hym.

The saied Secretarie shewed me that thees thinges all shold come to Your Highnes handes to moder all thinges, wiche also the Emperour saied; and that the Emperour wold desier to have newe lieage with Your Highnes, wiche He more estemethe than lieage with anye Prince elles. Manye tymes He saiethe that oonelie Your Highnes shall induce Hym to thinges, that ooder wiese He wold not doo. Mons[r] de Pratt, and Mons[r] de Buclans told us that He saied; "If ever I bee browght to anye condicions, wiche I shall thinke unreasonable, "the Kyng my uncle shall bring Me to them." The saied Mons[r] de Buclans told

told me also that he uttrelie thowght that Your Highnes *shuld have, if it so shall please Your Highnes, the doughter of Portugale for the Duke of Richemount; she shal have* 400000 *ducates and more, and commyth of the eldest doughter, whiche possibilite is good.*

I undrestond that the Kyng of Hungarie and Baivoda bee agreed by the meanes of the Kyng of Poyle. Ooder newes we have none worthie to bee writen to Your Highnes, and thees of Hungarie bee not yet sure.

Sir Frawncesse Pointz hathe shewed me Your Highnes most benigne and graciouse remembrawnce of your pover preest, that it lieked the same, tendering my long travail heer, not withought some sicknesse, to saye to hym that he and I shold comme home togiders; wherin I most humblie beseche Your Highnes I maye knowe your forther pleasure, wiche I shall most obedientlie folowe at all pointes, and daylie praye for the prosperouse preservacion of Your Highnes. At Valdolit, the of Julie.
Ooder thinges be comprised in our commen letters in cyphres and ooder, necessarie for Your Highnes to knowe.

Your Highnes most bownden Preest,

(*Signed*) EDOUARDE LEE,

Almosinar.

Aftre I had writen thees letters this farre, orever I could send them forthe, we so mutche labored and compassed allweys by the advise and consent of Mons[r] de Tarbes, that the Emperour hathe proposed his demawndes, wiche (as the first demawndes commenlie bee) bee seen to us, as the Emperour afor saied they shold bee, great and fatt; but John Almaigne puttethe me in trust that in his letter sent to Your Highnes, and instructions geven to his oratour, Your Highnes shall knowe his most secreate mynde and resolution. At this season, I thinke, because of haste of the post, we can not send the demawndes reformed unto Your Highnes, but within 2 or 3 dayes we woll doo our best diligence to send a noder currour volant, withe the uttremost that we maye enclyne the Emperour unto heere, for we well knowe that no man shall enclyne to the uttremost resolution but Your Highnesse, with Whome, He avowethe, He knowethe not wiche waye He can have anye debate, beeing so assured in Hym self towardes Your Highnes.

The Emperour nowe despatchethe Mons[r] de Verie towardes the Pope; wiche commission I suppose good, for he is, as they saye, the Emperours mynion.

The

The Generall of the Observantes is comme[1], who, heer men thinkethe, hathe large commission to entreate between the Pope and the Emperour. *The French Kyng, as Ave Maria*[2] *confessed to me*, hathe geven to them jointe commission for his businesses; albeit peradventure it is nowe extinct by rayson of the coming of Mons[r] *De Tarbies.*

The Secretarie, in a communication between hym and me, saied toocheng *the Duke of Mylan, that he is not worthy to have it*, ne that it werre wissedome to *geve again the Dukedome to hym, for he wolde rendre it to the Frenche King, therfore it is better that we geve you the doughter of Portugale, and with her the Duchie of Myllen:* so it must bee. He many tymes swarfethe in wordes, but I can not think that he spake this of his owne hede. He saied in generalitie as mutche afore in the presence of the Bisshoppe of Worcester and Sir Francise Poyntz, that the Emperor must rathre geve it to his freend than to this man, avoweng heerwith that the Emperour hathe no such freend as the Kyng is. We entend within 3 or 4 dayes to dispatche a post to Your Highnes: Whome Our Lord evermore preserve. At Valdolit, the 17th of Julie 1527.

Your Highnes most bownden Preest,

EDOUARDE LEE.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Kinges Highnes.

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[1] He arrived on the 16th.

[2] This person is first mentioned by Lee in cypher in a letter to the King, dated Valladolid, 27th June (Vespasian, C. IV. leaf 157): "*Hider is comen Ave Maria the Observaunt, a great "practiser in busineses of Princes, whom I have seen with Your Grace.*" "*He tolde us that he "was sent from the Frenche King to the Emperour to entreate of peax and of the redemption of "the pledges.*" The objects of his mission seemed very doubtful. He is again mentioned in a letter in cypher signed by Ghinucci, Lee, and Poyntz, but written by Lee, to Wolsey (Ibid. leaf 174): "*I have advertised the same in my ooder letters sent the of the beeing here "of Ave Maria, and he hath commission of the Frenche King for entreatie with thEmperour "for deliverance of the pledges and peax. Mons[r] de Tarbes at his arrival rebuked him, for "bicawse he called hym selfe the Frenche Kinges Commissioner, and willed hym to come to me to "make excuse that he had no other commission but to entreate of peax; whiche hath encreased "my suspicion in this behalf; for I secreatlie heer that he hath commission at large joyntly with "the General of the Observauntes, which shuld have been heer afore this, but that he was taken "on the see by Turkes. I am also secreatlie enformed, that they had in commission to bring "thees matters, odre holie to the arbitrie of the Duke of Savoy, or elles joinctlie with the Kinges "Grace.* All that I think is nowe dasshed."

CLXI. Wolsey *to* Ghinucci *and* Lee.

Reverende Domine Wigorniensis, et Domine Elemosinarie, Salutem et Commendationem. Ea est apud Regiam Majestatem, animumque meum, de vestra fide industria probitate et circumspectione concepta opinio, atque adeo multis argumentis certa persuasaque, ut securus semper vobis omnia communicem, que vel ipsa summum secretum exigant, nec nisi aliquo cum periculo possent evulgari. Cujusmodi quiddam quum sit quod inferius per has literas vobis significabimus; vestrum erit ea prudentia atque dexteritate tractare, atque diligentem inprimis cautionem adhibere, quod nihil dubito diligentissime precavebitis, ut apud vos adservetur summo silencio, nulli preterea communicandum. Est autem hujusmodi.

Nuper in Anglia obortus est rumor, qui nescio etiam an ad vos usque pervagavit, agi scilicet apud Regem, aliosque Regis consiliarios nonnullos, de divortio inter eum Serenissimamque Reginam; qui rumor quemadmodum vanus omnino falsusque est, ut postea videbitis, sic non temere natus, nec absque causa. Etenim certissimum est illud, et quod vobis adjuratis audacter eloquar multis argumentis, et apud multos ex doctioribus quos ea de re consulendos duximus, versatam et tractatam quescionem fuisse de Regis dispensacione super impedimento illo matrimonij, quod orbi notorium est, Regem nostrum sui fratris duxisse uxorem. Non eo quidem consilio ut inde divorcij sentencia sequatur, neque enim de divorcio ulla mentio, sed ut omni ex parte instructi Gallorum objectionibus facilius satisfaceremus, qui cum ultimo apud nos essent missi legati Dominam Principissam Regi suo in matrimonium petituri, quendam ea de re scrupulum injecerunt, et cum illis de precontractu Domine Elieonore objiceretur, atque Regem ideo suum veluti priori matrimonio alligatum cum Domina Principissa contrahere non potuisse: illi contra matrimonij impedimentum nobis rejecerunt, unde nata est Domina Principissa, edoceri petentes quonam pacto removebatur, ut omnibus tandem hinc inde explicatis recta utrinque via omnia procederent, et nihil olim difficultatis suboriretur, si regni successio ad Dominam Principissam ob defectum prolis mascule deveniret. Sane vero nostra a Gallis postulacio equa justa et honesta fuit, cum propter alia multa, tum quod Domina Elionora uxor Christianissimi Regis in tractatu Madryllie dicebatur. Quod autem Galli a nobis contenderunt, non perinde doctu necessarium, et tamen quo magis illos ad probationes et documenta provocavi, ut de veritate ejus rei posset constare, an Rex Christianissimus aliquo

aliquo priori contractu implicaretur ad confirmationem matrimonij Regis nostri, et eorum que ex adverso dici poterant refutationem multas raciones congeri fecimus, in aliquot volumina excrescentes. Ceterum hinc spargi rumor ceptus est, et ad aures usque Regine delatus, apud quam veri fidem statim obtinuit, peperitque aliquam brevem tragediam, sed quam explicata rei series statim dissolvit et finijt. Nunc vultu et verbis disserenata omnia, et in aula cessit veritati suspitio, aut saltem cessisse putatur, nisi forte Regina, vel in ipso auditi rumoris calore, vel nondum sibi satis persuasa vanum esse et fictum quod audierat, aliquid de ea re Cesari curaverit communicandum. Hoc siquidem est quod nunc vereor; hoc est in quo vestra tum prudentia tum diligentia adhibenda est sollicite, ut exploretis an aliquid de hac fabula Cesari hactenus innotuerit. Nam ex eo tempore quo primum prorepsit hec fabula ab Anglia in Italiam, discessit Ferdinandus medicus, post illum Fransciscus Philippes, qui Serenissime Regine ab intimis consilijs semper fuit. Creditur autem in hoc missus uterque, ut hec Cesari referant. Tantum conjectura est, sed ex verisimilibus nata. Et quoniam falsum est quicquid in hac parte refert rumor vane, confictum denique apertissimis manifestissimisque modis apud Reginam revictum, eo magis nolim a Cesare credi, ne quid paci per mendacia impedimenti fiat. Rogat autem vos Regia Majestas, et itidem ego, ut medicum istum Ferdinandum et Franciscum, si ad vos veniant, at isthic appulerint, quid dicant, quid referant, quid faciant, observetis omni qua poteritis sollicitudine et diligentia. Qua de re si vel Cesar vel alius quivis verbum apud vos ullum dixerit memineritve, vos vestra prudencia sic respondebitis, ut adversam si quam habent veritati opinionem ex animis eorum penitus evellatis. Ita tamen ut non nisi interpellat quidquam, apud quemquam de eo loquamini, nec omni que acta fuerunt ordinem et rationem explicetis, commemorantes videlicet quid nos Gallis, et quid Galli nobis vicissim objecerunt, quæ cunctis divulgari non expediet, sed tacito rei ordine et omissa Gallorum mentione summatim respondeatis in dissolutionem matrimonij nihil excogitatum, sed ut certa sit et indubitata matrimonij Regis nostri causa, si quæ olim quescio inde moveatur, cui rei confirmande vel illud argumentum adjicere poteritis quod de divorcio nihil queat in occulto tractari, ut quod apertum judicium omnino requirat, nec sit cur Regia Majestas, si illi in animum de divorcio venisset, manifestam et publicam cognitionem fugeret, et frustra sibi querat occultam disceptationem. Breviter rei, ut gesta est, omnes circumstancias vobis enarravi; unde videtis quam non sit verum quod circumtulit rumor, auctor tamen fabule que Cesari narrabitur, videlicet si quid sit quod ei a Regina per istos significabitur. Itaque sic vestro in hac re utimini judicio, ut et Cesari quoad licet satisfaciatis, ceterisque omnibus et vobis ipsis secretum adservetis, quod de nostra cum

Gallis contentione explicavi; nec aliter, ut prefatus sum, super predictis apud quemquam verba facientes, nisi prius rogati et interpellati. Et quoniam per alias literas, quas una cum presentibus mitto, vos Dominum Wigorniensem ad nos quam primum accedere volumus, vos Dominum Elemosinarium rogamus et obsecramus [1] sua diligencia suppleat, nihilque omittat, quod ad predictorum diligentem observationem aut frequentem nobis desuper per literas significationem pertinuerit. Valete. Ex Abatis Villa[2], prima die Augusti.

Vester tanquam Frater,

(*Signatur*) T. CARLIS EBOR.

(*Superscribitur*)

Reverendo in Christo Patri et Domino Domino Hieronimo Episcopo Wigorniensi, et Domino Edwardo Lee Serenissimi Regis Anglie Elemosinario, et apud Cesarem [*oratores,*] nobis tanquam [*fratribus*] charissimis.

CLXII. WOLSEY *to* GHINUCCI, &c.[3]

MY LORD of Worcetour, Master Almoner, and Sir Fraunces Poytnez, after harty recommendations. These being a post scripta of myn other letters shalbe to advertise youe that I have receyved your letters dated at Vaylodelet the 31 of the last moneth[4], conteyning such suspitions and conjectures as

[1] This letter is slightly injured by damp.

[2] Wolsey's Correspondence during his mission to France at this period is given in Vol. I. pp. 191–279.

[3] From a Minute in the Chapter House, Bundle $A\frac{6}{6}$, in the handwriting of Gardyner, who acted as Secretary to Wolsey in his mission to France at this time. The date is left blank in the minute, but it was probably before the 11th of August, as on that day Wolsey mentions having sent to the Bishop of Worcester, desiring him to come with all diligence to Amiens for the purpose of being sent to Rome. (Vol. I. p. 254.) With this request Ghinucci must have complied, for Wolsey notifies Ghinucci's arrival at Compiegne on the 5th of September. (Ibid. p. 269.) As Wolsey reached Amiens on the 4th of August, and on the 5th had an interview with the Imperial Ambassador there (ibid. p. 241), it is likely this letter was written on that day. On the 23d of August Worcester, Lee, and Poyntz wrote to Wolsey from Valladolid on receiving these letters, which arrived there on the 15th. On the 16th they had audience of the Emperor, and before the date of the letter Worcester had left Spain. (Vespasian, C. IV. leaf 188.) Wolsey's intention of sending Ghinucci to Rome appears to have been abandoned, for the latter soon after returned to Spain, and arrived at Burgos on the 13th of October. (Ibid. leaf 208.)

[4] Vespasian, C. IV. leaf 183.

ye

ye have right wisely and diligently noted concerning the secrete practises of Mons[r] de Tarbes and other there for the French partie: which ther doyng, althowe yt semeth to youe right strange and sumwhat discrepant from the treatie concluded in that behaulf, geving unto youe good cause therfor to geve advertisement therof as apperteynith; yet forasmoch as synnes my cummyng hither I have been made prive therunto, and for the more spedy conducyng of the peace with the Emperour, have divised further that Mons[r] de Tarbez shuld aparte, without youe, practise with Madame Elienora for that purpose, according to such instructions as be sent unto him by Robertetes letters[1], being of such sorte as I have thought good in that behaulf; it shalbe wel doon, that keping this secrete to youer self, and dissembling the knowlege therof, ye from hensforth take the said secret practises, and such other as ye shal herafter her of, in such parte as the same be set forth, that is to say, for the atteyning of the peace, wherof I finde here good semblaunce, and have good hoope to bring the same shortly to good effecte, to the Kinges Highnes gret honnour and universal benefit of al Christendom. Wherfor, incontinently upon the receyte herof ye shal repare unto thEmperors Majestie, and advertising the same of myn arryval here at the French Court, and taking an othe or promise of Him that He shal disclose the same to noo personne, but kepe it secretly to Himself, ye shal say, that besides the conducing of universal peace, for the atteyning wherof I wil spare noo labour ne travayle, like as I have of the Kinges Highnes specially in commission to doo, my charge to the French King consistith chiefly in the concluding of maryage for my Lady Princesse with the French Kinges Personne, wherof I have had good resolution, and am almost at a final perfection therof, staying oonly for the tyme, untyl I have harde worde from His Majestie upon this myn overture; which is this, that in cace the same canne be contented, at the Kinges instaunce and mediacion and my poore intercession, to condescende to modifie his demaundes adner more reasonable conditions; and resolvyng Hymself to sende hither Mons[r] de la Chault by post, instructed with his ful mynde and final determination upon conditions of peax, I shal not oonly put over the said mariage of my Lady Princesse to the French Kinges Person, and compasse al thing as the mariage with Madame Elienora shal take effecte, but also in such wise persuade the French King as He shalbe content to condescende to al honnourable and reasonable conditions, to thEmperours good contentment and satisfaction. And setting this matier forth after your accustumed dexterite, extending also the same with as good wordes and fashion as ye canne devise,

[1] Compare this with State Papers, Vol. I. p. 269.

I hartely

I hartely desire and praye youe to advertise me with diligence, what aunswer shalbe geven unto youe in the premisses, to thintent I may therupon ordre myne abode here accordingly. And thus fare ye wel. At Amyas, the day of August.

(*Superscribed*)
To my loving Brothēr in Christe the Bishop of Worcetour, and my loving frendes Master Edwarde Lee the Kinges Almoner, and Sir Fraunces Poyntz Knight, His Graces Ambassadours with the Emperour.

CLXIII. Sir Antony Browne *to* King Henry VIII.

Pleaseth it Your Heighnes to understond that on Friday the 16th day of this present moneth I went on huntyng with the Frenche King into a forrest besides this towne, Who shewed me that He had provided two crosse bowes for Your Heighnes, such as He hath not seen their betters, the which He is mynded to send to Your Grace.

Also Poyton shewed me the same day, that he had commaundement by the King to prepare hym self to go towardes Your Heighnes in poost; but what tyme he coud not ascerteyn me, nor yet what his commission shulde be.

To advertise Your Hieghnes of such pastymes as the said Frenche King useth, the moost part therof is in huntyng, and that day that He hunteth He is at dynner in sum place in the forrest by 8 of the clock in the mornyng, to whom repair his veners and huntes, brynging with them the scantlyn and femysshyng of such deir as they have herbered, and the same ley on the table before Hym. Wherupon, aswell the gentilmen there present, as the said huntes, alledge many good reasons after my pouer mynd moche to be allowed, to prove which shuld be the grettest dere, tractyng the tyme at sum seasons therin long; whom to heer, the King hath great pleasure. And after that He is resolved which deir He wold hunt, He takith his mule and rideth thider, and never failleth to kill his dere. To praise unto Your Heighnes the goodnes of his houndes I can not, for the deir is killed more by force of men and horses than by strength of houndes; yet is there litle chaunge of deir or none.

At my last being here, his houndes were very swyft, and now they ar as slow, and therwithal il mouthed and not very wel facioned. My Lord Chamberleyn

Chamberleyn and Mr Comptroller have seen the maner of his hunting, who aswell as I do myslike the same, and I can therof make report unto Your Heighnes moch better by mouth, than I by my rude writing can enfourme the same.

Furdermore the Kinges bed is alweys caried with Hym, whan He hunteth; and anon, after that the deir is killed, He repaireth to sum hous nere hand, where the same is set up, and there reposeth Hym self three or four houres, and ayenst his return there is provided for Him a souper by sum noble man, as by Monsr de Vandome, Monsr de Guyes, or other; wherunto a great nomber of ladys and gentilwomen, used to be in his company, be sent for, and there He passeth his tyme unto ten or elevyn of the clok, amonges whom above others, as the report is, he favoreth a maiden of Madam de Vandoms called Hely; whose bewty, after my mynd, is not highly to be praysed.

The Grand Seneshall also said unto me the same day that the King was dyvers tymes mynded to send hym into England with his houndes, for that that he say it was more dificulty to kill a deir there than here, bicause of moche chaunge, and also of hedges and diches, which he shuld fynd there; and here be few or none, by reason wherof it shuld be more easier to kill here than there. But in myne opynyon, in case the Frenche King do send hym thider, he woll like his houndes the worsse as long as he lyveth.

Asfor other newes concernyng your affaires in these parties, my Lord Cardinall hath therof at length made unto Your Heighnes declaration.[1]

To advertise Your Grace of any propre thing to be bought here, I can fynd none such as Your Heighnes hath plenty of; but yf I see any mete for Your Grace, I woll not faill to get the same, yf it lye in my power. As knoweth the blessed Trynyte, who ever have Your Heighnes in his blessed tuytion. Writen at Amyens, the 21th day of August.

(*Signed*) By your humble subject and
moost bounden ꝟu^a^nt,
ANTONE BROWNE.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Kinges Heighnes.

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[1] See Vol. I. pp. 212–281.

CLXIV. King Ferdinand *to* King Henry VIII.

Ferdinandus Dei gratia Hungariæ, Boemiæ, Dalmatiæ, Croatiæ, &c, Rex, Infans Hispaniarum, Archidux Austriæ, Dux Burgundiæ &c, Marchio Moraviæ &c, Comes Tirolis &c, Serenissimo Principi Domino Henrico Regi Angliæ et Franciæ, Fidei Defensori, et Domino Hyberniæ, fratri et avunculo nostro charissimo, salutem, et fraterni amoris omnisque fœlicitatis continuum incrementum. Serenissime Princeps, frater et avuncule noster charissime, cum die 30 mensis Julij proxime elapsi ex civitate nostra Vienna cum reliqua exercitus nostri parte ad Regnum nostrum Hungarie discendissemus, et ad confinia Regni prædicti applicuissemus, adfuere illico prælati proceres et nobiles ejusdem Regni, qui Nos velut Regem legittimum Hungariæ solenni more et reverenter exceperunt, a Nobis in persona nostra solitum juramentum suscipientes. Alteras igitur, quas nobiscum adduxeramus, exercitus nostri copias alteris, quas jampridem ad castrum Dewen et Posoniense simul et Tirnaviense jam a Nobis per deditionem acquisita præmiseramus, conjunximus; proximaque inde nostra fuit ad castrum et oppidum Jauriense profectio, quorum utrunque se Nobis dedidit. Quibus acceptis, nostra deinde ad castrum Comaroniense fuit transitio, quod cum repugnare conaretur, tametsi longe munitissimum et ultra Danubium situm oppugnationi incommodissimum fuerit, intra sex plus minus horarum spatium, vi tormentorum bellicorum ad eam deformitatem et ruinam pene redegimus, quam arx tam bene sita ac munita vix accipere posse credebatur. Hoc idem visa rei magnitudine et armorum potentia, se tandem in gratiam et simul indignationem nostram obtulit, sic etiam a Nobis acceptum. Perreximus insuper ad castrum Thata, quod itidem se potestati nostræ reddidit. Reliquum iter postea versus Strigoniense oppidum et castrum instituimus. Civitas jam antea Nobis per deditionem oblata, sed castrum se nullo modo reddere decreverat, quod Nos ejus diei parte pomeridiana, qua applicueramus, obsedimus, tormentisque levioribus et expeditioribus oppugnavimus, donec per noctem graviora et validiora admoverentur; quorum vi tandem idem intra medium vix diem pariter obedire coegimus. Castrum vero et oppidum Wissegradense se quoque Nobis reddidit. Deus item Optimus Maximus Nobis, licet inmeritis, favens, usque ad Regni nostri sedem Budam, quam et in potestatem quoque nostram accepimus, conducere dignatus est; cui ut semper laudem et gloriam in actionibus nostris dedimus, ita nunc quoque gratias Illi summas agimus et habemus; et hanc expeditionem nostram adjuverit

adjuverit, et fœliciter hactenus citra ullam sanguinis effusionem succedere voluerit. Nos ubi Comes ille Scepusiensis advenire et sibi appropinquare vidit, saluti suæ fuga consulere incepit, quam adhuc continuat, nobis inscijs ubinam locorum agat; certissimo tamen accepimus nuntio illi circiter bis mille et quingentos, ut summum, homines esse. Nos vero illum gentibus nostris ubicunque poterimus insequemur, et dignis modis tractabimus. Quæ omnia, si bene monentibus et suadentibus Nobis acquievisset, intermissa fuissent. Quod Serenitati Vestræ, vel ob id maxime, quum exploratissimam habeamus suam in Nos benevolentiam et affectionem fraternam, et quod rebus nostris non nisi optime velit, ac earum fœlicem successum ex animo cupiat, significare voluimus. Quæ fœlicissime valeat. Datum in castris nostris ad civitatem nostram Regiam Budensem infra Pest positis, 22 die mensis Augusti, anno Domini 1527, Regnorum vero nostrorum anno primo.

(*Signatur*) Bon^{9} frater et nepos,
FERDINAND^{9}.

(*Superscribitur*)
Serenissimo Principi, Domino Henrico, Regi Angliæ et Franciæ, Fidei Defensori, et Domino Hyberniæ, Fratri et Avunculo nostro charissimo.

(*Contrasignatur*) Jo. LAMELL.

CLXV. WOLSEY *to* LEE *and* POYNTZ.[1]

THISE shalbe to advertise you that the 8th day of this moneth of September, I receyved your letters dated at Paredes the first day of the same moneth[2]; and albeit ye be sufficiently instructed by suche letters as by the mutuel consent of thise two Princes were lately sent unto the same, in and upon such poyntes and articles as shulde be newly proponed unto thEmperour, being so honerable and reasonable, and in maner correspondent to his oun demaundes, that it is not to be thought but that His Majestye woll accept the same without further delaye; yet I have thought convenient, by thise my letters eftsones newely to instructe you of certain grete and materiell poyntes, wherof, for your more better and assured proceding ther, it is right expedient ye shulde be advertised. The first is, although your intent I am sure is good and

[1] From a fair transcript in the handwriting of Thomas Derby. The original is in the University Library at Cambridge, MSS. 1037. E e. 4. 27. p. 70.

[2] These have not been found.

 sincere,

sincere, yet to be plain with you, ye be abused by John Almain, Monsr de Prate, and other there. For wher as they make grete semblance unto you that the Frenchemen procede not with the King and me so plainly and apertely as they ought to do, wherwith they shewed them self to be sumwhat myscontented, yet, that notwithstanding, the same John Almain and Monsr de Prate, with other of thEmperours Counsaillours, do afferme and say to the Frenche Ambassadours, that you, the King, and I, wolde not that the peax shuld be concluded bitwene the said Frenche King and thEmperour, with many other fayned and forged thinges, whiche be conteigned in a scedule in Frenche herin closed, translated out of thair ciphers; whereby ye may evidently perceyve the double dealyng of thEmperours Counsail, tending to non other purpose but to put jelousy and suspicion bitwene you ther, and consequently betwene those twoo Princes, mynding by the same to let and empeche the straite conjunccion bitwene the same; but evanuerunt in cogitacionibus et accionibus suis et stulti facti sunt, for thise twoo Princes be so knytt and unite to gether in herty love and straite confederacion, that from hensforthe, though they have twoo bodies, yet thair spirit, will, love, and affeccion, shalbe as though in the same twoo bodies ther were oone soule, accommodating all thair accions and doinges to thadvauncement of the peax, and to the delyverance of the Popes Holynes, and restitucion of the Churche and See Apostolique to thair former liberte and dignite. Wherfore from hensforthe it shalbe right expedient that ye have better regarde to the said Counsaillours and to your oun doinges ther, and in suche wise joyntly to order your self with the Frenche Kinges Ambassadours, that thEmperour and his Counsail may manifestly perceyve that thise twoo Princes be so indyssolubly knyt and conjoyned to gether, that it is not, ner shalbe, in any erthely mannes power to disjoyne or dissever the same. And, Maister Almoner, yf ye call to remembrance all thinges that hathe ben shewed unto you by John Almain, ye shal fynde fewe or non of the same to be true, but he, craftely circumventing you, hathe caused you to think that the cowe is wodd; for I assure you, of the love that I beire unto the same, his dealing with you hath ben but mere craft and to abuse. And wher as they have geven unto you a memoriall of suche offres as hathe been made by the Frenche Kinges Ambassadours, besides your knowlaige, ye may evidently perceyve the same to be untrue. For if they have in commission to agree to the perpetuel renunciacion of Mylain, why shuld the Frenche King and I instruct and commande you bothe fermely to stik at the same? Hit might percace have ben sayde by Monsr de Tarbies, that the Frenche King careth not for Mylain ner Italy, yet that dothe not inferre or imply that He wolde that thEmperour shulde have the same, wherby He

He shulde be made lord and monarke of Italy, to the daunger of al other Christen Princes. It is also to be considred that if the said offres were made by Monsr de Tarbyes, sens they be equivalent and asmoche as thEmperour demaundeth, why dothe not His Majesty accept the same? But this is done to put you and me in suspicion, and to experyment whither, by my meanes, the Frenche King might be induced and persuaded to som higher condicions, having litle or no respect to the Kinges honnour, or to thoffice of an indifferent mediatour. For howe coulde the Kinges Grace be noted so, whan He shuld strain the Frenche King to condescende to al thEmperours petitions and demaundes, doing nothing in mytigacion of the same for the Frenche King? ye may be sure, to all wise men, the same shuld be nother lawdable ner honerable. Ye shal therfore from hensforthe, like wise and circumspecte Ambassadours, considering the weighty and high importance of your charge, regarde the same accordingly, caventes ab hijs qui veniunt ad vos in vestimentis ovium, intrinsicus autem &c. The 2de poynt that I thought hereby to advertise you of is, that sens thise twoo Princes be indissolubly conjoyned and knyt to geder as oon soule spirite and will in twoo bodies as afore, hit shuld bee highly to thair dishonours and reproche, and also to the grete daunger and perill of all Christendome, if they by inadvertence shuld propone and offre suche excessive condicions to thEmperour, the like wherof He could never attain with his sworde puissance or counsail, wherby He shulde be made so high and exalted, that the same might be and redounde aswel to the daunger of al other Princes, as the occasion renewing and contynuance of a perpetuel and extingueable warre. For it is nowe manifest and explorate to all the world, not only by thEmperours accions and proceedings, but also by letters intercepted, that whatsoever exteriour visage or demonstration He dothe make, his intent drift and compasse is to be the ruler and monarke of the world, wherunto He rekynneth He shal nowe facilly attayn, yf He holly have the Duchy of Mylain, and consequently Italy, being furnished promtely with so grete sommes of money, as ye be instructed to offre unto them, wherwith both He and his Counsail do thinke and persuade to them self, He shall facilly obtein the Duchy of Bourgoyne, and that it shal not lye in the Frenche Kinges power to let Hym from the same; so that therby, having the said Frenche King under handes, He accompteth that other shall folowe the same daunce, being unable to resist his puissance. For the staying and modyfying therfore of the said Emperours entended appetites and enterprises, thise twoo Princes thinke right expedient and neccssary, for the weale of all Cristendom, that good respecte be had to the mater and succeding of thaffaires of Italye; and after the same, youe shal ordre your procedinges and doinges with

thEmperour, and specially the Frenche Kinges renunciacion of the Duchy of Mylain to thEmperours oun perticuler use, wherin His Majesty, as it semeth, dothe nowe only insist and stik; for in al the resydue of the condicions, your last instruccions be as large as your entended offres, made by the Bishop of Tarbies, be, and larger by the 200000 crounes for the dote of Dame Elyonore, whiche shuld be defaulked of the twoo mylyons agred to be payde in the lieu of the Duchy of Bourgone, whiche may be a grete persuasion to cause thEmperour to relent in the said Duchy, in recompence of the said 200000 crounes to be assigned for the same dote: and moche the rather, that for the wealthe of all Cristendom the King most instantely requireth exhorteth and desireth thEmperour to do the same, withe whose desire and request, and my most humble intervencion and prayer in that behalf, the Emperours Majesty oweth, of good congruence, to be content and accomplishe; and specially because that nowe fortune, by the sending of Monsr de Lotrik into Italy with a puissant army, hathe turned her visage unto this syde, aswel in the distrussing of thEmperours army by the see, as taking of Bosco and Jeane, by meane wherof He hath no waye to get or can be furnished with money. For as you wel do knowe, out of Flaunders and Spein He shal have nothing, Naples is utterly exhaust, out of Jermany nothing wolbe had, his mariage money is well nere spent. Wher is it than possible nowe, being secluded from Jeane and Florence, that He shal or can attayn to any money? Wherfore it shalbe wisdome nowe, at the Kinges contemplacion, to relent in demaunding the said Duchy for Hym self, and to condescende to oon of the three waies and degres conteigned in the commen instructions; and moche the rather, in consideracion of the Kinges grete kindnes and gratitude done and exhibite unto thEmperour, for whose sake oonly, and for the good of peax, the Kinges Highnes, rather than the same shuld not succede, can be contented to forbeire the mariage of my Lady Princesse with the Frenche Kinges oune Person, and for the said Emperours satisfaccion He can agree that the mariage of the said Dame Elyonore shalbe with the Frenche King; wherunto, for no mans sake in erthe but only for his, considering the nobilite of the Frenche Kinges Person, His Grace wold not agree; remembring a[*lso*] howe that thEmperour, without the Kinges consent, did departe from the mariage of my said Lady Princesse, by reason wherof He hath forfeited unto the King 500000 crounes, whiche His Grace might lawfully require and demaund, and percace herafter wol not fayle to do the same, yf no respecte be had to suche kindnes as His Highnes hath shewed unto the said Emperour. Remembring also that the King, for setting forward of the said peax, can be contented to supersede in suche rightes as His Grace might pretende, aswel to Tourney as to diverse other

other grete thinges possessed by the said Emperour, with the commyng unto the warre for his sake, wherin His Grace hathe expended inestimable treasour without any benefite that hathe ensuyed to His Highnes by the same, besides the lending of his money and the long forbeiring therof, considering also thEmperour hath often tymes sayde unto you that He entendeth not to have the Duchy of Mylain for Hym self: and, thise thinges accumylate togeder and wisely by you set forthe, it is not to be doubted but thEmperour wol relent in his demaundes of the said Duchy of Mylain, and be content with oone of the said three degres; whiche He doing with the satisfaccion of all parties, the peax shalbe concluded to his high honour and proffytt, exchewing therbye the daunger of lesing of al his thinges in Italy. And fynally after the delyvery of my letters, the copy wherof ye shal receyve herewith, and my most humble recommendacions, ye shall shewe unto thEmperours Majesty, that sens ye be finally instructed of the Kinges and the Frenche Kinges mynde, and that it is not possible to strayne the said Frenche King any further, though his childern shuld be sanctifyed, nor the King thinketh it shuld not stonde with his honnour that He shuld further prece Hym, ye shal therfore saye that it shal not be nedefull nowe to send any personage hither, or into England, but that His Majesty may resolve Hym self with you ther, upon the said offres in suche wise that good amytye may continewe bitwene Hym and the Kinges Grace, and warre and hostilite exchewed; wherof I shalbe as glad as any lyving person. Thus right hertely fare you well. From Compeigne, the 11th day of September.

Post scripta. After thise my letters writen and dated, to thintent thEmperour and his Counsail might the better consider suche reasons and persuasions as therin be conteigned, by meanes wherof He shuld the rather be induced, at the Kinges contemplacion, to remyt the having of Mylain for Hym self, I thought convenient that the same my letters shuld be translated into Frenche for your better informacion; to thintent that ye, merking and takeing out suche sentences and clauses as may exasperate the said Emperour, for the composing of thentended purpose, ye may shewe unto Hym the same clauses, not forgeting in any wise to renew [1]*and cal upon the mater of the Duke of Richmonts mariage to the dowghter of Portingale, and the gifte of the Duchy of Mylayn in contemplacion of the same mariage; setting forthe in suche wise and mater as the Frenche Ambassadors take no jelousye or suspicion therby*, and by all possible meanes *to experiment whider the Emperour dothe*

[1] The passages in Italics are in cypher in the original.

meane

meane good faythe therin, or no; supposing that nowe He shalbe informed of this *indissolubble conjunccion bitwene the French King and the Kinges Highnes, the said Emperour doth minde nothing les* in erthe than *the sayd Duchy shold be given to the Duke of Richemont; nevertheles* it shalbe right expedient by all convenable waies *to tast and prove, what the Emperours intencion and minde is in this behalf.*

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